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RETROSPECTIONS OF AN ACTIVE LIFE

A.D. 1817 John Bigelow at "The Squirrels" A.D. 1905

RETROSPECTIONS OF AN ACTIVE LIFE

BY

JOHN BIGELOW

VOLUME III

1865—1866

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RETROSPECTIONS OF AN ACTIVE LIFE

RETROSPECTIONS OF AN ACTIVE LIFE

IX—*Continued*

LINCOLN'S ASSASSINATION—REVERBERATION OF IT IN EUROPE

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, May 31, 1865.

Sir:

I have pleasure in transmitting to you an elaborate article which has just appeared from the pen of the Count de Montalembert, of the Institute, on the recent triumph of the United States over her enemies. It appears in the *Revue Correspondant.* The position which the Count de Montalembert has occupied for some years, not only as one of the most eloquent living writers of France, but as one of the most cherished lay champions of the Latin Church, gives a political significance to this article which does not ordinarily attach to contributions to the periodical press.

It must have its effect upon that large class belonging to his own religious communion who have thought it was a Christian duty to sympathize with the insurgents and the peculiar institution through which they were tempted of the devil.

I am, sir, etc.

The article of the Count de Montalembert referred to in the preceding letter, though printed among the Documents of the

State Department, was probably never read by more Americans than perhaps a half-dozen members of Congress. It is a paper, however, which it will be profitable for every American to read even at this late day—more profitable even than when it was published. It was the most comprehensive, intelligent judgment of the crisis through which our country had just passed that has ever come, so far as I am aware, from any foreign pen. In giving it a place at length in these pages I am not only doing what I intend as a public service, but paying a personal homage to one of the most gifted, eloquent and conscientious French statesmen of his generation. I regret that it would not answer its purpose to give it in the classical language of the author.

MONTALEMBERT ON THE TRIUMPH OF THE UNION

Whilst during the last days of the debates on the address an orator, illustrious for all time, charmed our minds and our hearts in pleading the best of causes; whilst upborne, on the wings of justice and of truth, he soared to unaccustomed heights, and caused his rapt audience to rise with him, news, happy and glorious above all, traversed the seas, and came to bring to souls steadfastly enamored of liberty a trembling sensation of a joy and of a consolation for too long time unknown.

The deep sorrow which has befallen, to impress on the triumph of the northern States a sacred character, should not take anything from this joy. It must survive the consternation, the terror, caused throughout the world by the assassination of President Lincoln, victim immolated on the altar of victory and of country, in the midst of one of those supremely tragic catastrophes which crown certain causes and certain existences with an incomparable majesty, by adding the mysterious grandeur of expiation, and of an expiation unmerited, to the virtues and the glories which humanity the most esteems.

Let us then greet with unmingled satisfaction the happy victory which has now assured to the United States the triumph of the north over the south; that is to say, of lawful power over inexcusable revolt, of justice over iniquity, of truth over falsehood, of freedom over slavery.

It is well known that it is not our habit to offer incense to victory—to applaud the conqueror. This is the first time it has happened to us

for more than thirty years. It is very certain we shall not abuse this novelty, and shall not make a practice of applause. Let us then be allowed to-day to abandon ourselves without reserve to a joy so rare, by connecting our present emotions with those days, too quickly passed away, when the charter of 1814, the enfranchisement of Greece, the emancipation of English Catholics, the conquest of Algeria, the creation of Belgium, came in succession to adorn the young years of this century, to rejoice and strengthen liberal hearts, and mark the stepping-stones of true progress. Behold, anew, after a too long interval, a happy victory. Behold once, at least, evil subdued by good, strength triumphant in the service of right, which procures for us the singular and supreme enjoyment of sharing, on this side of the world, in the success of a good cause sustained by good measures and gained by worthy people. Let us then thank the God of armies for this glory and this happiness. Let us thank Him for this great victory which He has now granted, for the everlasting consolation of the friends of justice and of liberty, for the eternal confusion of diverse and numerous categories of those who take advantage of and oppress their fellow-creatures by slavery as well as by corruption; by falsehood as by cupidity; by sedition as by tyranny.

But already I hear the murmur of surprise, of discontent, of protest. Even in the Catholic camp the cause of the north has been, is still, unpopular. Even on the rumor of its victory, this shameful cry, "*so much the worse,*" brought home by the *Moniteur* to the bosom of the legislative body, escaped perhaps from more than one breast, from more than one heart habituated to contend, like ours, for the causes we love and have served from the cradle.

Should we then, we are asked, should we then truly rejoice and bless God for this victory? Without fear we answer, yes, we should. Yes, God should be thanked because a great nation lifts herself up again; because she has cleansed herself forever from a hideous leprosy which served as a pretext and reason to all the enemies of liberty to revile and defame her; because she now justifies all the hopes which rested on her; because we have need of her; and because she is returned to us, repentant, triumphant, saved. Yes, God should be thanked, because that leprosy of slavery has disappeared under the steel of the conquerors of Richmond, extirpated forever from the only great Christian nation which, with Spain, was still infected by it; because this great man-market is closed; and again, because we shall no more see on the glorious continent of North America a human being, formed in God's image, put up to the highest bidder, to be knocked down and delivered as prey, with his female companion and their little ones, to the arbitrary will, the cruel selfishness, the infamous cupidity, the vile passions, of one of his fellow-creatures.

. . . . . .

Yes, God should be thanked, because, in this great and terrible strife between slavery and freedom, it is freedom that remains victorious; freedom, which, habituated among us to so many mistakes, to such treachery and confusion, compromised and dishonored by so many false friends and unworthy champions, had great need of one of those grand requitals the inestimable value of which at once shines forth to the view of all.

Yes, God should be thanked, because, according to the best averred narratives, the victory has been unstained; because the good cause has not been tarnished by any excess, nor soiled by any crime; because its advocates have not had to blush for its soldiers, nor the soldiers for their leaders, nor the leaders for their success, nor their success for having crowned base cupidity and perverse conspiracies.

Yes, in fine, God should be thanked, because the aggressors have been conquered; because those who were the first to draw the sword have perished by the sword; because impunity has not been accorded to those who provoked an iniquitous revolt, an impious war; because this time, at least, boldness and cunning have not sufficed to mislead right-minded people; because the authors of the crime have become its victims; because on passing the Rubicon of lawful action they have found on the other shore defeat and death; because having hazarded the fortune and the future of their country, with the rashness of the adventurer and the dexterity of the conspirator, the *alea jacta est* has not availed them, and that at this impious and bloody game they have not succeeded; they have played, and have lost. Justice is done.

I

Let us resume and persist. Let us not be made giddy by the temporary discomfiture of the adversaries of the American cause and of our own. Let us not believe them to be definitively converted and enlightened. By degrees, as the dazzling brilliancy of the light which the capture of Richmond all at once shed over Europe, followed by the tragic death of Lincoln, begins to fade; by degrees, as the shadows inseparable from all victory and every human cause appear along the horizon, we shall hear anew those invectives, of which the United States in general, of which the northern States in particular, have been the object. Raillery and calumny will recommence the assault to reanimate that ill-natured opinion which we have seen so ably and so wittingly maintained within and without. That perverse joy, so often given utterance to by all the enemies of liberty since the fall of the great republic might have been thought of, will again become noisy and potential on the first embarrassment, on the first mistake, of our friends beyond the sea. To-day all the world denies that it wishes, or

that it ever even wished, for the continuance of slavery, but the arguments and interests favorable to slavery have not ceased to maintain their empire.

It has not been an unimportant teaching to watch how, from the first days of the breaking out of the conflict between the north and the south, the classifying of opinions has been going on. I do not say, please God, that all friends of the south are enemies of justice and liberty; still less do I say that all partisans of the north ought to be regarded as truly and sincerely liberals. But I say that an instinct, involuntary perhaps, all-powerful and unconquerable, has at once arrayed on the side of the pro-slavery people all the open or secret partisans of the fanaticism and absolutism of Europe. I say that all the open or secret enemies, political or theological, of liberty, have been in favor of the south. It would be useless and puerile to deny that the United States count a certain number of adversaries among the Catholics, and that notwithstanding the so prodigious and so consoling progress of Catholicism in that country, a progress no one has witnessed anywhere else since the first ages of the church.

I will carefully refrain from fathoming the causes of this unpopularity of America in general, and of American abolitionists in particular. That investigation would lead me too far. I will confine myself to observing that the men of my time have always encountered in their path an opinion mistakenly religious and blindly conservative. It is that which in 1821 was for Turkey against Greece; in 1830 for Holland against Belgium; in 1831 for Russia against Poland; the same which is to-day for the pro-slavery men of the south against the abolitionists of the north. Events in the first place, and then the sympathies of the mass of the clergy and of Catholics, enlightened by events, have inflicted on this tendency severe contradictions and humiliating recantations on the Oriental question, the Belgian question, and the Polish question. I am convinced the same will happen some day or other on the American question.

But if it is annoying to arrive too late to the aid of justice and truth; if, with the exception of the learned and eloquent Dr. Brownson, we do not discover among Catholics in the United States any champion of the emancipation of the negro race, we have at least the small consolation of being able to prove that there has not issued from their ranks any apology for American slavery. It is repugnant to me to acknowledge the sacerdotal character in the author of a recent and anonymous publication, entitled "Slavery in the Confederate States, by a Missionary." If the author of this shameless book were really a priest, and if it sufficed him, as he affirms, to live among American planters for twenty-four years, to maintain loftily the usefulness and lawfulness of the slavery of the negro, even to discover in their servitude the only possible barrier to their loose habits, the fact alone of

such a perversion of the moral sense and sacerdotal conscience would in itself constitute the strongest argument against the social and religious rule in slaveholding countries.

But outside of the question of slavery, and even before this question occupied attention, there prevailed among a too large number of Catholics an instinctive aversion towards America, the origin of which it is perhaps proper to trace back to Count de Maistre. His influence, it is known, over the greatest as well as the smallest questions was incontestably the most powerful of all those which the Catholics of the nineteenth century have submitted to. This great man, like many of his peers, owes still more of his renown to his exaggerations than to his great intellect. His paradoxes have had more success, and certainly more resonance, than the genius and good sense of which he has left in the greater part of his works the ineffaceable impress; we yet are too little acquainted with the exquisite tenderness of his charming spirit, and much less still with the haughty independence, the intellect at once chivalric and liberal, the luminous and often very far-reaching policy which are revealed in him through his various correspondence recently published. But he did not like the United States; their origin and their progress contradicted some of his most cherished theories. He fell into the error of transforming his repugnancies into prophecies. We know what has been the fortune of that which he reduced to form about the capital of the United States: "Either that city will not exist, or it will be called by another name than that of Washington." He had more common sense when he restrained himself in the expression of impatience which the extravagant admirers of the new American nation inspired, saying, "Leave, leave that child in the cradle to grow bigger."

Well, we can say, in our turn, the child has grown; has become a man; and the man is a giant. This people, disdained, condemned, calumniated, laughed at, has shown in the most formidable crisis which any nation can pass through, an energy, a devotedness, an intelligence, a heroism which have confounded its adversaries, and surprised its most ardent friends; it now mounts to the first rank among the great nations of earth.

M. de Maistre dies, and in presence of the increasing greatness of the United States other arguments are sought to decry them. It is said to us, Don't talk about your America, with its slavery. Well, our America henceforth is without slaves. Let us talk of it, therefore, although many without doubt would rather talk less than ever about it. It is said especially, "The American people will not know how to make war; and if it does so, conqueror or conquered, it will fall a prey to some fortunate general, some Bonaparte, who will begin with a dictatorship, and end with a despotism which his fellow-citizens will entreat him to save them from, and who, in exchange for this safety,

will claim from them that which all Cæsars claim, their honor and liberty."

But the experience has been had, at least on this point, and never has prophecy received a more bloody contradiction.

The Americans have known how to make war; they have made it with an energy, a dash and perseverance that are incontestable; they have not become the prey of any general, of any dictator, of any Cæsar: they have waged the most difficult and most terrible of all wars —civil war; they have made it while developing in its course all the qualities, all the virtues which form great military nations; they have made it on an immense scale. No modern nation, not even revolutionary France with its fourteen armies, has set on foot or hurled against the enemy forces proportionately so numerous, so disciplined, so well equipped, so steady under fire. These traders have cast as a prey to the exigencies of war their fortunes with as much prodigality as the English shopkeepers in their struggle against Napoleon, and their children with as much of heroic abnegation as did the France of 1792 in her struggle against Europe. Whilst absurd slanderers denounced to Europe these pretended armies of *mercenaries,* attaching to them the like stigma as to our young and gallant countrymen of Castel Fidardo, more than a million of volunteers took up arms on one side for the defence of the Union and of republican institutions; on the other, for the setting up of their independence and maintenance of their local franchises; and of this million of armed men not one, thank God, has become the butcher of his brethren or the satellite of a dictator.

These forces have been commanded by improvised generals, many of whom have shown themselves worthy of marching in the steps of the most celebrated of our republican generals; by men who have been not only masters in tactics and strategy, but heroes in valor and moderation, great statesmen and great citizens; Grant and Lee, Burnside and Sherman, McClellan and Beauregard, Sheridan and Stonewall Jackson, have inscribed their names on the great page of history.

I name, designedly, the chief among the leaders of the two hostile armies; for I am happy to acknowledge that to the whole American people is due, in this relation at least, the homage of our admiration. The two parties, the two camps, have evinced the like bravery, the like indomitable tenacity, the like wonderful energy, the like intrepid resolution, the like self-abnegation, the like spirit of sacrifice. All our sympathies are with the north, but these detract nothing from the admiration with which we are inspired by the heroism of the south. Displayed in the service of injustice and of error, it is nevertheless heroism. It even seems certain that the southerners have shown more military merit, more energy and talent, more dash and brilliancy than their enemies, above all, in the first period of the struggle. How

can we avoid admiring them, while at the same time regretting that such high and rare qualities have not been consecrated to a more irreproachable cause; what men, and also, and beyond all, what women, daughters, wives, mothers, these South Americans have brought to life again in the very midst of the nineteenth century, the patriotism, the devotedness, the self-denial of the Roman women of the best days of the republic.

The Clelias, the Cornelias, the Portias have found their rivals in many a hamlet, many a plantation of Louisiana or Virginia. We have seen even in our midst fragile girls, unassuming wives separated from their kindred, despoiled of fortune, but proud of their poverty, resigned to distress, to ruin, to exile, happy thus to offer up their sacrifice for the cause of the nation, repelling with indignation the slightest idea of bargain, of concession, bearing in their haughty aspect the incontestable mark of that determination which gives birth to a manly race. Such heroines make it understood better than any thesis of what soldiers the army of the confederation must be composed, and what prodigies of resolution and constancy were needed to bring this about. These prodigies have been effected, but at the cost of efforts and of sacrifices which prove the obstinate bravery and wonderful steadfastness of the southern soldiery. It required four years of effort and seven hundred thousand men to achieve Richmond, the capital of the south. No fortress, not even Sebastopol, has cost such efforts; and as for European capitals, we need not even mention them. We know how they fall. Berlin, Vienna, Madrid, Paris, are there to tell us.

The war began ill for the north; this sudden outbreak had thrown up all the dregs of the social condition to the surface, and disclosed them to the view of all. Corruption and treason had shamelessly done their part, but presently they were denounced, restrained, subdued, and thrust back into nothingness; conquered in presence of the enemy, whose best auxiliaries they were, they disappeared; as often happens to a good cause, such causes as have God's blessing, the trial has been of advantage to that of the Americans. It has purified, warned, corrected them. Thus, then, this republic which was supposed to be absorbed in trade and agriculture, enervated by riches and prosperity, incapable of efforts and of sacrifices which pertain to war; this republic has already shown itself to be the emulator and rival on the field of battle of the Roman republic and of the Grecian republics. Like them, it has already had its two heroic wars; its Medean war and its Peloponnesian war. The war of 1775 to 1781, which created its nationality, and the war of 1861 to 1865, which has destroyed slavery, has engraven its name in the front rank of the pageant of military renown. That may suffice it; may it be enabled to halt at that point in this bloody and perilous career!

But these military virtues, as rare and as heroic as they are, seem

commonplace and insignificant side by side with the civic virtues with which the American race has shown itself to be stocked through the whole course of this formidable war. Not any liberty repressed, not any law violated, not any vote smothered, not any guaranty abandoned, no dictatorship implored—that is the real wonder and the supreme victory. Listen and look on, nations of Europe; nations that run wild as soon as internal dangers menace you; heroic nations are you also on the field of battle, but intimidated and demoralized by every civil danger; servile nations which a temporary dictatorship does not suffice either to reassure or to console, and which does not set you at ease and in shelter unless in its abdication.

Alas, where is the European nation which would have supported with this calmness and this resolution the formidable test of the civil war and of the military fever? Certainly not France, our dear country; she whom the mere apprehension of such mischiefs has reduced to such strange extremities; she who was unable to endure three days of storm, and three years of uncertainty, without making confusion of all the opinions, of all the institutions, of all the guaranties which she had so often proclaimed, reclaimed, or acclaimed with such unbridled passion. Let us then suppose France a prey, during only four months, to an intestine war such as that which for four years has ravaged a portion of the United States. Let us figure to ourselves our cities bombarded, our highways broken up, our fields devastated, our country seats pillaged, our villages burned or plundered by an irritated soldiery, our rivers and canals obstructed, our railroads demolished, our rails torn up, our trade suspended, our manufacturing industry laid desolate, all our affairs entangled, and all our interests endangered; and all this upon a question of constitutional law or of religious humanity. Yes, let us fancy France actually subject to such a discipline; let us frankly avow there would be no act of violence, no extreme measure that would not seem legitimate in order to bring it to an end. There would not be a corporal or a mountebank so despised as not to be regarded as a Messiah on the single condition of putting an end to the strife, and bringing round the reign of order and of peace at any cost.

Under all reigns in succession amongst us, political offences have always served as the motive or pretext for disturbances in legislation. After the attempt of Louvel, as afterwards with those of Fieschi and Orsini, laws of exception, aggravation of penalties, changes of jurisdiction, measures said to be for the general safety, have been at once called for and passed. If to-morrow the arm of a regicide were by a cowardly assassination to cut short the life of the sovereign whom the nation has itself selected, one half of France would instantly cry out that the other half should be sent to prison. American democracy does not experience either these panics or these rages. A reprobate, at once,

in the midst of a festival, puts an end to the chief of the state, the man who concentrated all attention, ruled all hearts, tranquilized all uneasiness. But neither consternation nor anger disturbed the self-possession of that people, truly great. The day after the crime, as on its eve, it continued master of itself and of its destiny; not a law was disregarded or changed, not a newspaper was suppressed or suspended, not a single violent or exceptional measure occurred to disturb the regular and natural movement of society. Everything kept its accustomed order; America, calm and self-assured in the midst of her poignant grief, might present this noble spectacle with legitimate pride to those officious Paris journals, the known panegyrists of all restrictions and usurpations, which dare to preach moderation to her.

The American nation, then, has not thought of recourse to suicide in order to avoid the anxieties of fear and uncertainty. It has not imitated those despairing invalids who prefer immediate death to lengthened suffering. Widely differing from those madmen of whom St. Augustine speaks, who through fear of losing the goods of this world forget the heavenly, and thus lose all, the Americans have preserved, above all, the higher good, honor and liberty; at no price would they sacrifice them for the rest, and the rest has been given to them or rendered as profit. They have lost nothing; they have preserved all; besides, they have given to the world the glorious and consoling example of a people which saves itself without a dictatorship and without proscription, without Cæsar and without Messiah, without becoming faithless to its history and to itself.

The statue of liberty, to employ the vocabulary of the terrorist, has never been veiled. The state of siege remained unknown in all the cities which were not besieged by or directly threatened by the enemy. Unless all our information be controverted, it must be acknowledged that law and order have been everywhere maintained and respected. All the newspapers have continued to appear without any restriction or censure; more than this, notorious correspondents of foreign journals, the most hostile to the northern cause, have continued to write and to send their letters to their address in Europe, without incurring any danger or meeting with any hindrance; outside of localities where military operations were in progress, individual liberty suffered no restraint, liberty of assembling together excited no distrust, nor was any class and description of citizens declared suspected or outlawed.

Mob violence, brutal and redoubtable in every democracy, must certainly have produced some offensive scenes, some isolated acts of oppression; but who confound these aberrations, always temporary, as well as justly odious, with the crimes of which the regular authorities, the legislative assemblies, have elsewhere taken the responsibility and the initiative? If liberty has been suspended in certain localities by military leaders, it has been immediately restored by the civil supe-

riors, and everywhere the generals have shown the most exemplary submission to the magistracy; everywhere they have listened respectfully to the voice of the civil authorities, and obeyed the laws with docility; not an instance is cited of interference or insubordination on their part; conquering or conquered, through this long struggle not one has derogated from the fundamental law of a free and well-ordered country; not one has shown the least symptom of realizing the predictions of the false prophets. "We shall see what Wellington will do now," said Napoleon after his arrival at St. Helena. This great contemner of human conscience did not comprehend that one might live as a worthy man, and simply a peer of England, after having gained the battle of Waterloo. "We shall see what Grant and the other victorious generals will do now," say, in undertones, the detractors of America and of her institutions. The glorious conqueror of Richmond has already answered them. Placed at the head of the principal federal army seven months ago, and already invested with redoubtable popularity, Grant refused to allow himself to be put in competition with Lincoln at the last presidential election; he refused the chance of becoming the chief of the republic in place of the "rail-splitter" who had intrusted him with the sword of the country in order to save it, as in truth he has saved it.

But that which affects and consoles and charms is that this victory has remained pure, as pure as legitimate. Admitting, as we must do, that there have been on either part in the blindness of the contest some excesses and outrages, very deeply regrettable, which the law of war still seems to authorize among nations the most civilized; admitting that some soldierly brutalities, although provoked, have been justly surprising and revolting to the proud independence of the men, and especially of the women, of the south; admitting on the part of the northern people certain acts of devastation or of reprisals which we rebuke, whilst we rate them far below the ferocity of the southerners against negro prisoners of the federal army, it remains not the less demonstrated than ever, that at no period of history has a great political contest taken place, no great political cause been gained, costing so little to justice, to humanity, to the human conscience. Never has a great war been made with more humanity. Take for example the wars of religion, and those of our revolution. Then also, as in the America of our day, the question was to reduce by force a portion of the country in insurrection, in the sixteenth century against the old order of things; in the nineteenth against the new order. What horrors, what threatenings, what punishments during those dreadful years, the consequences of which still weigh upon our national existence. Let us compare especially the measures decreed by the Convention, and the horrors committed by the terrorist generals against La Vendée; let us compare the outrages committed only yesterday by

the Emperor of Russia against Poland, insurgent and expiring, with the laws and actions of the American government against the secessionists. Nothing can be more analogous than the situation; nothing more different, thank God, than the repression. What contrast, at once lamentable and glorious! There, in Vendée, in Poland, and let us add (for the benefit of English detractors of their brethren beyond the sea) in Ireland, in rebellion in 1798, all that the devilish imagination of tyrants and executioners could invent of punishment, of torture, of outrage against life, chastity, conscience and human compassion. Here, in contemporary America, not a crime. I mean, not a public crime, avowed, official, for which the nation may be accountable, not a prisoner massacred, not a political scaffold. Nothing, absolutely nothing, like the acts of the terrorists or of the Muscovites. Neither deportations, nor tortures, nor military executions, nor fusillades; neither wholesale drownings, nor showers of grape-shot. Liberty, civilization, democracy, have nothing to blush for. These beyond-sea republicans have neither adopted nor applied the odious maxim that the end justifies the means. Thus they have dug an abyss not only between them and so many monarchs or monarchists, but between them and so many republicans, authors, accomplices, or panegyrists of excesses which dishonored the French revolution in its contest against an insurrection far holier and far more legitimate than that of the south.

It is particularly by the treatment of prisoners and wounded that the progress of true humanity and of Christian civilization is manifested. Nowhere has such progress been so striking as among the Americans during this last war. The European nations, emulous of heathens and barbarians, thought themselves authorized to hang or shoot their prisoners as soon as civil war broke out, as was done not only by the terrorists in La Vendée, the Muscovites in Poland, but even in our time, and for so long by the Spaniards, both Christinos and Carlists. The prisoners of the civil war in America, on the other hand, are treated with the consideration shown for a long time by Christian nations for the unfortunate brave. None have been seriously ill-treated; none, above all, have incurred risk of life, and we shall see, we already see them reappearing and freely resuming their social rank in their country, conquered but not abased.

What is there finer than the correspondence, published in all the papers, between Grant and Lee, between the two great chiefs of the two armies, at the moment of the capitulation of the Confederates of the 7th and 9th April? What mutual respect, what consideration, what delicacy of expression, what scrupulous observance of the laws of honor, and at the same time of the laws of humanity! But above all, what a happy mixture of dignity and of good grace! It might be termed the reproduction, after the battle gained, of that famous meet-

ing of the French and English guards at Fontenoy, were it not for a certain graver feeling, which responds to the gravity of the interests involved in the contest, and to the moral and spontaneous conviction of all those brave men voluntarily engaged in the conflict for which they all feel themselves responsible before God and their conscience.

As to the care of the wounded, as to the immense progress of humanity in this direction, you should read the book published, in Paris even, by an American well known and esteemed by many Frenchmen. Under a modest title ("The Sanitary Commission of the United States: its Origin, Organization, and Results," etc., by Thomas W. Evans, 1865) this volume conceals treasures of consolation and for admiration. There probably exists not in the world a work which gives a better account of the wonders which a beginning combined with discipline can accomplish; nothing which teaches better what a nation of men inspired by religion and liberty, severely trained in the school of spontaneous effort and of self-reliance, can effect. By the side of the perpetual struggle of individual devotedness against bureaucratic routine, are found admirable and entirely new inventions of humane industry and Christian generosity for the solace of heroic suffering. Sixty millions of francs gathered by voluntary collectors; as many millions of articles of natural production, prepared or brought in by the American women; all these resources put in operation, with as much good sense as presence of mind, by an army of physicians, lawyers, legislators, ministers of religion, merchants, students, all eager to lavish their time, their devotedness, their intelligence, to the service of their fellows; all dispensing without distinction these benefits to friends as to enemies lying side by side in the same ambulances, on the same bed of suffering. Behold a picture which truly does honor to the human race, and above all to the American people, but also a spectacle which fills the heart with the sweetest and purest emotions. We bless God for this incontestable progress, for the anguish spared, the tears wiped away, for all the miseries solaced by an inspiration which it might surely be permissible to trace back to Him.

In view of this combination of civic and military virtues in the bosom of the same people, have we not reason to affirm that the people of the United States have gained the right to be placed in the front rank of modern great nations? This greatness will for a long time yet to come be contested and detested, but it will every day be more dear to generous hearts, to hearts truly Christian, for having been definitively established upon the greatest act of contemporaneous history—on the abolition of slavery among Christians. Yes; as was said in the assembly by a worthy man (Eugène Pelletan) whose heart and whose intellect master the sympathies of those even who do not partake in all his opinions, the victory of the north, having as its result the

disappearance of slavery, is the gauge of honor of the nineteenth century. Yes; slavery is abolished, and will never reappear where it has been once abolished. No man will be found in America strong enough again to subject the enfranchised black man to the chain and the lash, as the First Consul Bonaparte did in the Antilles. It is well to dwell upon this, and to revert to it without ceasing; for if no one, in France at least, any longer is willing to be counted at this day among the apologists of negro slavery, it is not so long since that men, called to preside over the chosen of the people, openly defended, and for hire, colonial slavery.

For this benefit accomplished the blacks themselves are less to be felicitated than the whites, enslaved, through their property in the negroes, by the most shameless passions and most shameless sophisms which can infest human nature.[1] It is to them, especially, that has been rendered, in spite of themselves, the most signal and most urgent service. But still the human race and all Christendom should be felicitated. Thanks, then, should be rendered to the Almighty that a young and great nation, a Christian nation, has been able to extirpate from its bosom this monstrous institution which substitutes the herd for the family. Under what a mass of sinful prejudice, of interested falsehood, of casuistic immorality, must not a human heart be crushed, not to bound with joy at the mere thought of a revolution so salutary; not to comprehend, to bless and to shout Hallelujah for all these souls enfranchised. "If slavery is not an evil," said Lincoln, "nothing is an evil." And beside, what Christian soul can fail to perceive in this great drama the arm of an avenging God, and side by side with that divine vengeance the empire and the victory of prayer! For they have prayed, those slaves; they are not idolaters or savages; they are Christians subjected to other Christians. They have therefore prayed, and God has given ear to them. "There is a place," said Burke, the greatest man of modern times, speaking to the peers of England of the victims of the tyranny of the vassals of the East India Company, "there is a place where guiltless and industrious hands, chained and bruised by slavery, are gifted with irresistible strength; when they are raised to implore Heaven against their oppressors, there is no citadel they cannot wrench from its foundations, there is no vengeance those all-powerful hands cannot bring down upon our heads. There is something to tremble at. Look to it, my lords."

Yes, as the immortal Lincoln said, in his plain and sensible language, in the midst of the serenades and illuminations which accom-

[1] "At first I was moved by the condition of the oppressed, of the poor race which constituted the fortune of those who perpetuated its misery; at last I take to pitying the oppressors. I conjure them to have pity on themselves." (Augustin Cochin, Abolition of Slavery.)

panied the promulgation of the great act, "The American people has given a great spectacle to the world." Yes, he was right; no spectacle could be finer. In the future this will be, with the abolition of the traffic imposed on the world by England, the principal conquest of contemporaneous civilization, its title to redemption and eternal honor.

There will then disappear forever that infamous code and social rule which, putting aside all exaggeration and all declamation, and taking note of happy exceptions as well as of exceptional atrocities, reduced four millions of human beings to live deprived of regular marriage, of the right to appear in court; which established for them instruction in crime; which assimilated them to animals more or less well treated, according to their value; which condemned the women to promiscuity, the married, parents and children to heartrending separations; which exposed all of every age and of either sex to chastisements, the shamefulness of which was exceeded only by their cruelty.

I refer to the capital work of M. Cochin on the abolition of slavery all those who should experience the need of refuting the commonplaces of the apologist of slavery about the pretended happiness of the negroes, the pretended virtues of the slave-dealers, and of the whites given over to the terrible temptations of unlimited power, on the pretended impossibility of free labor in certain climates, on the pretended impossibility of producing their sugar and cotton without slavery, on the pretended disasters which must everywhere follow emancipation.

I wish to dwell but for a moment on a single point which sometimes disturbs intelligent minds, as to the supposed inferiority of the black race. Without doubt it is not destined to take the first place among the human races; but all that is passing in America proves that the enfranchised blacks are perfectly capable of understanding and practising the duties of Christian and social life, and also of becoming willing and active servants of the public and of the state. They have at once shown that they are capable of fighting, and of fighting with understanding of the cause, and for the cause which was their own. It is in vain the south has attempted to arm its slaves, and lead them to battle as to compulsory labor. "I have heard in my lifetime," said President Lincoln, with that good-humored irony which often marked his language, "I have heard many arguments intended to prove that negroes were made for slavery; but if they consent to fight that their masters may keep them in slavery, it will be the best argument of any I have ever known. He who will fight for that will deserve certainly always to be a slave. As for me, I think every man has a right to be free; however, I will willingly permit the blacks who would like to be slaves to remain so; I would even go so far as to allow those whites who boast of and envy the condition of the slaves to become slaves." But this attempt, which amused Lincoln, had no success,

while the north formed from the freed negroes excellent regiments, thoroughly disciplined, and as intrepid as the black regiments in the English service, or the heroic companions of Toussaint L'Ouverture. The party for emancipation has never produced an argument more irrefutable or a result more decisive. It may be relied on, the arms which have wielded the sabre and the bayonet under the banner of liberty will never return to debasing shackles; and these improvised soldiers have revealed, by their example to the race from which they spring, the secret of its strength as well as of its rights.

To bring round this great work, at this day so happily accomplished, Providence has made use of instruments apparently as obscure as weak and insignificant. We surely do not forget the great writers and the great orators who, to the advantage of the emancipation of the blacks, have kindled the fires of their eloquence, nor that Channing whose honored memory receives new brilliancy from the triumph of the cause he so well served, nor that generous and indefatigable Sumner, stricken down in full Senate by a brutal colleague amid the enthusiastic applause of the whole south, and who to-day finds himself recompensed for his labors, for his trials, and his honored scars; nor that Theodore Parker, who celebrated the marriage of two fugitive slaves, giving as a marriage present to the husband a Bible and a sword. "This," he said, "is to teach you to serve God with your wife, and this to defend her against any man who shall assert a right to subject her to his indulgence and his lash." But what touches us above all is to think that the irresistible movement which to-day triumphs in America over such obstacles and such storms has been especially the work of a writer of fiction, and of a man who was hanged. The romance "Uncle Tom's Cabin" all the world has read, and almost all the world admired; but no one supposed a triumphant and lawful revolution would follow from it. The punishment passed more unnoticed than the romance. There are hardly any who took an interest in old John Brown, so odiously calumniated, who finished an adventurous but honest career by expiating on the scaffold the offence of having wished, by inciting a handful of Virginia blacks to revolt, to show to the world the horrors of American slavery. Those who executed him on the 2d December, 1859, thought then that the matter was ended. Nothing was ended save the scandalous impunity of their homicidal rule.

II

But I am stopped; I hear the murmurs and interruptions of that too numerous crowd—a crowd uninformed and led astray—which passes on, repeating with inexplicable credulity that slavery was never in question in the contest between the north and south; that the war

was only brought on by questions of tariff, or of local independence, provincial and municipal. The ignorance of the uninformed who in good faith repeat these puerilities should be pitied; but we cannot sufficiently brand the hypocrisy of those who, cognizant of the facts, dare to deny in the face of Europe that the upholding of slavery has been from the first, to speak truly, the sole motive of the insurrection. You pretend, I would say to them, that slavery is not in question. I affirm that there is no question but of slavery, and I believe ten minutes would be sufficient, before an assemblage of impartial judges, to demonstrate this beyond reply.

Is it true, yes or no, that the raising of human cattle having replaced with profit the traffic interdicted by England, the number of slaves had, in the southern States, quadrupled between 1787 and 1860, and had increased from about 700,000 to nearly 4,000,000? Is it true, yes or no, that the south, far from laboring for the gradual emancipation of this increasing crowd of slaves, has not ceased drawing more closely the meshes of the network of slavery, aggravating it through a penal code which has been justly defined as one of the most terrible monuments of premeditated wickedness which the world has ever witnessed? Is it true, yes or no, that, notoriously, the laws passed by Georgia in 1829, by Alabama and Louisiana in 1830, by Carolina in 1839, and by Virginia in 1849, punished with the penalty of the lash for colored people, of imprisonment and fine for whites, the offence of having given any instruction whatever to free blacks, as well as to enslaved blacks, in order that the blacks, freed so far as concerned the body, should forever remain enslaved in mind? Is it true, yes or no, that, not content with maintaining what is called the *institution of slavery*, the south set at work all means for its propagation; that the conquest and usurpation of Texas in 1835, the violences committed in Kansas and California, and in so many other recently annexed Territories, were exclusively the work of pro-slavery filibusters intoxicated by the vision of a vast empire founded on slavery, which would spread, according to the language of their orators, from the tomb of Washington to the halls of the Montezumas? Is it true, yes or no, that the rupture, *exclusively* prepared by the ever-increasing exactions of the south, in regard to the pursuit of fugitive slaves, *exclusively* provoked by the aggression of the south, having at last broke out, was not justified, in the official manifestoes of the Confederate States, upon considerations borrowed exclusively from the danger which, according to them, the maintenance of slavery incurred? Is it true, yes or no, that the hostility of the north against slavery was the *only* complaint made in the manifesto of South Carolina on the 20th December, 1860; in that of Alabama of the 11th January, 1861; in that of Texas of the 1st February, 1861; in that of Virginia of 17th April, 1861, and without there being in any of those

documents a single word, not a single word, on disputes about tariffs or any other industrial or political question? Is it true, yes or no, that in the final debate which immediately preceded the rupture, in the minutes of the committee of thirty-three which met from the 11th of December, 1860, to the 14th of January, 1861, there was not a word, a single word, on tariffs or imposts, and that all turned there solely on the maintenance and guaranties of slavery? Is it true, yes or no, that the ultimatum presented by Jefferson Davis in the name of the southern States demanded, formally, that property *in* man *by* man, *property in slaves,* should be assimilated throughout the extent of the United States to any other property, and be declared inviolable? Is it true, yes or no, that in the new constitution which the Confederate States have given themselves, after the rupture was consummated, there are three causes expressly and solemnly designed for sanctioning and perpetuating slavery? Is it true, yes or no, that the insurrection has closely followed the frontier lines of slavery; that its intensity has borne exact proportion to the intensity of slavery therein; that, for example, in Virginia, in the principal and most known of the Confederate States, all the portion of the State where landed wealth was based on slave-breeding took up arms, while that portion where agriculture was pursued by free labor took scarce any part in the war? Is it true, yes or no, that since the beginning of the war and after their first successes, the language publicly and officially held by southern orators and writers proclaimed more than ever the absolute necessity and the eternal lawfulness of slavery? That a hundred ministers of different sects, gathered in conference at the capital of the new confederacy, Richmond, declared that the abolition of slavery was an usurpation committed in detriment to the plans of God; that the *Richmond Inquirer,* the *Moniteur* of the confederacy, of the 28th of May, 1863, printed these words: "For the three maxims of the republican motto, liberty, equality, fraternity, we expressly mean to substitute slavery, subordination, and the government. There are races born to serve, as there are races born to command. Our confederacy is a mission sent by God to reëstablish these truths among the nations"? That another Virginia journal, the *Southside Democrat,* expresses itself in terms which recall language we have heard too often since 1848: "We detest all that bears the epithet of free, even to, and comprising therein, free blacks; we detest free labor, free association, free thought, free will, free schools"? In fine, is it true, yes or no, that the vice-president of the new confederacy, Stephens, in his speech on the 21st of March, 1861, at Savannah, thus explained why it is that he follows the end and aim of that confederacy: "Our constitution has settled for all time the peculiar institution which has been the immediate cause of the rupture and of the revolution; it declares that African slavery as it exists among us is the conditions proper for the black

amid our civilization. Our government is founded on this great moral and physical truth, that the black is not the equal of the white, and that slavery is his natural condition. Our confederacy is thus constituted on a basis in strict conformity with the laws of nature and the decrees of Providence. It is by conforming the government and all else to the eternal wisdom of the laws of the Creator that we best serve humanity. Therefore, we have made the stone which our first builders rejected the corner-stone of our new edifice''?

These hideous blasphemies have been heard by God; recorded in the books of His judgment, they have not long awaited the receipt of the punishment they deserved. The reader will remark the almost absolute identity of the official language of this second personage of the insurrection, with that of the miserable assassin of Lincoln, whose crime I am very far from being willing to impute to the Confederates, but who has none the less hoisted their flag, held their principles and their phraseology. In the letter of November, 1864, in which he announces the purpose of risking his life in an attempt on the person of the chief of the abolitionists, he wrote these words: ''I regard the slavery of the blacks as one of the greatest blessings for them and for us that God ever accorded to a nation protected by His grace.''

We see, then, that the transatlantic pro-slaveryists have left to their partisans in Europe the care of disguising their cause by representing them as strangers to the maintenance of slavery. *They* have scorned this simplicity or this hypocrisy. They have opened their heart to its core, and spoken the truth with dogged eloquence. The disdain which northern people evince, under every circumstance, toward free blacks residing among them is insisted on, and, in support of this, anecdotes, more or less serious, are cited. Suppose they are all true, what will be the result? That in some portion of the northern population morals are not so high as the laws, and that the north has itself had something to expiate. Time alone can bring about the changes desirable in this respect; and time itself will with difficulty produce a thorough fusion of races so distinct. The most thorough negrophilists will probably always say, as did a Frenchman, a friend of the blacks, ''We are willing to have them for brothers, but not as our brothers-in-law.'' Meanwhile, the laws of the north guarantee to the blacks all the rights, all the civil and political liberties which the whites enjoy. And it is to maintain these laws, or rather to modify them in the interest of the blacks, to snatch some poor fugitive blacks from the bolts and bars of their masters, that the north has run the risks of a terrible war which has brought it within a hand's breadth of destruction. Besides, if the negroes are so ill treated, so unhappy at the north, how happens it we have never heard of a single black who wished to leave the north for the south, whilst every day we see southern slaves flying northward, and that, to stop them and carry them back to the self-styled paradise

of negroes, the odious laws against fugitives which brought on the civil war, the providential destruction of the *peculiar institution,* were necessary. The whole may, then, be resolved into two simple questions. If, in the war just ended, the south had been victorious, can it be supposed that slavery would have been abolished by the conquerors? No; the most audacious would not dare to maintain that. But it is the north which has prevailed, and has not this conqueror decreed abolition, and is he not resolved to maintain it? Yes; that is enough to settle the question in the view of candid men. What must be admitted is, that at the beginning of the war abolition was not in the northern programme. Immediate and absolute emancipation was not resolved on until the progress of events, and, above all, the imprudent arrogance of the south, intoxicated by its first victories, made it clear to all eyes that the maintenance of slavery was the source of the political and social evil which the civil war had revealed in all its intensity. Therefore, it is in this we must admire the direct, mysterious, and unforeseen action of Providence. It has caused civil war to end in a result which no one dreamed of in the beginning; it has used even the hands of the offenders to provoke and render necessary the chastisement which was due to them.

Yes, it is in this that we should reverence the hand of God. How, not recognize it amid this wonderful concurrence of circumstances, where everything reveals a direction of human affairs superior to all the calculations and all the purposes of man?

If the southern people had acted with moderation or common prudence, slavery would be still existing, and perhaps would have endured still for centuries. The north has never pretended to impose emancipation, immediate, or even gradual, on the south. Far from it; the north had made excessive concessions to the south, concessions even culpable, in voting for and giving effect to a law for the extradition of fugitives. No condition, no compromise, was too much for it.

It is well enough known that it was not the north which began the war; it is known that it has only maintained it in self-defence. With the exception of Brown alone, the most ardent of northern abolitionists had never employed or called in the aid of other arms than persuasion, the pulpit, the press, pacific, moral, and intellectual propagandisms. The people of the south, on the contrary, have always appealed to force, to violence, to war. Even before the war they everywhere took the initiative in acts of violence. Let us repeat it, they only had need of a very moderate dose of prudence to assure indefinite duration to their crime. They would not have it so. They have always pushed everything to extremes. When the Missouri compromise, in 1820, traced across the soil of the great republic a line of demarcation between slavery and freedom, in guaranteeing to them south of that line the peaceable possession of this shameful property, that

did not satisfy them. In 1850 they exacted and obtained that atrocious law which authorized the pursuit of fugitive slaves into free States. Even that sufficed them not. They needed to obtain, moreover, in 1859, through the famous Dred Scott suit, a decree of the Supreme Court which recognized in every owner of slaves the right to transport his slaves throughout the extent of the territory of the republic. In gaining that famous suit they have, thank God, lost slavery. Blinded by their avaricious egoism, they have themselves fallen into the abyss. By force of exactions and of violences they ended by compelling their too facile, their too complaisant fellow-citizens, to make head against them and crush them. They notoriously prepared, boldly announced, and spontaneously declared the civil war of which they have become the victims. From 1856, the time of the contested election between Fremont and Buchanan, they announced publicly that if the abolitionist Fremont were elected the Union would not endure an hour after his inauguration. During the four years' presidency of their candidate, Buchanan, they substituted conspiracy for provocation. Masters of the government, having for Secretary of War of the United States the same Jefferson Davis who has since been president of the insurgent confederacy, they had everything prepared to secure a disloyal advantage in the future strife by confiding the command of the fortresses and arsenals of the republic to pro-slavery officers. Thence their first success, which so singularly led astray and deceived European opinion. The 6th of November, 1860, the designation of electors charged to elect a new President of the republic announced that for the first time a republican, or, in other words, an abolitionist, would become the chief of the executive power. A month afterward, the 20th of December, 1860, before an act or a word from the new power, South Carolina raised the banner of separation, which twelve other States hoisted afterward. During the four months which passed before the installation of Lincoln, the southern States assembled in convention, then in separated confederation, armed the local militia, laid hands on the public money, on the federal funds—at their leisure organized revolt. The admirable Lincoln said to them in his first message of March 4, 1861, "My fellow-citizens, you who are dissatisfied, in your hands, and not in mine, is the choice of civil war. The government will not attack you. There will be no conflict unless you are the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven which obliges you to destroy us, whilst I have taken the most solemn oath to preserve, to protect, to defend the Union." To this touching, this generous appeal, the southerners replied by giving the signal for that impious war, in which, by the just judgment of God, they have met the ruin of their dishonored cause.

The American legislature waited not for the conclusion of the war to decree the abolition of crime. On the suggestion of President Lin-

coln, and by the majority necessary to alter the Constitution of the United States, there was introduced in that Constitution an amendment importing that all voluntary or involuntary servitude should cease to exist in the United States. Lincoln and Congress thus invoke the heavenly blessing on the banners of the Union, and God from the heights of heaven responds to this appeal, to this return to the eternal law. The war, which languished through four years in sad and uncertain alternations, at once changed in character. A new spirit, an invincible spirit, inflamed the generals and soldiery of the north. The march of their arms became irresistible. The fortune of war, capricious thus far, no longer ceased from smiling on this great free people, who came forward to decree the irrevocable enfranchisement of four millions of slaves. The strategy, until then always superior, of the southern chiefs, becomes powerless. The circle of iron formed by the northern forces draws more close, and finally completely shuts in around the hearthstones of the rebellion. That rebellion, once so proud and so strong, totters to its fall. All is in disturbance and confusion around it. At length the day of justice comes; the catastrophe breaks forth: Richmond is taken; the south is crushed. God ratifies the decree of Congress by victory—victory as complete as unforeseen —an irrevocable victory.

Oh, Providence—generous, luminous, ingenious Providence! It was a black regiment that first entered the capital of the insurgents—that Richmond, so long impregnable. These despised blacks, emancipated by victory, march at the head of the liberating army. They are greeted by the acclamations of their brethren, the black slaves they come to deliver and raise to their level. Are they going to avenge the wrongs of ages done to their race and to themselves? Are they going to allay, at the cost of white men and white women, their resentment of crimes and infamies, inseparable from slavery, which their fathers and their brothers, their sisters and their mothers, were so long subject to? No, no! For the fulness of happiness and of honor, these slaves of yesterday penetrated the capital of the slaveholders, took possession of it, became and remained its masters, and not a shadow of excess, not a shadow of reprisal, occurred to tarnish their victory. I attest the story. The sun never shone on a grander or more consoling spectacle.

III

Is there need, after all that precedes, to refute at length the pretence set up by the apologists of the south, of seeing in their clients the representatives of federal law, of the cause of weak States, and even of that decentralization which begins to find favor in the bosom of European democracy? I declare for myself that were this pretence well

founded; if, as one day was said by the Secretary for Foreign Affairs of England, Earl Russell, with his proverbial imprudence, if it was true that the south fought for *independence,* and the north for *domination,* the south would have no partisan more decided, more sympathizing than myself; I am convinced that the friends and supporters of liberty should favor throughout the world the cause of the weak States so recently and nobly defended by M. Thiers in the legislative body. The true greatness of a people is measured, not by the extent of its territory or the sum of its population, but by its liberty and its morality. But history unhappily demonstrates that, with the single exception of England, the liberty of nations decreases and perishes in the direct ratio of the increase of their territory and population. Intelligence and public morality too often follow the same proportion. I wish and hope the United States will give, like England, a fresh contradiction to the cruel result of the teachings of the past, and will show that liberty can coëxist with material greatness. But, at the risk of shocking those among Americans with whom I sympathize the most, I avow that I fear for them the perils of centralization, of unity and indivisibility, which are the natural basis of monarchic or military despotism. While reserving every question of right, and without approving any rebellion, I would look not only without alarm and without regret, but with confidence and satisfaction, upon the division of the immense extent of the existing republic into several States of unequal extent, but equally free, equally republican, equally Christian. American liberty thus split up into several homes of life, of thought, and of action, would possess far different guaranties of duration, and would only better exercise over the rest of the world an influence as fruitful and salutary as that of the immortal lesser states of ancient Greece, or of the Christian and municipal republics of the middle ages.

But there are some things that speak more loudly to every true heart than the experiences of the historian, or the distrusts and partialities of the politician; it is justice, it is humanity. Is it to defend justice and humanity that the southern States broke the federal tie which incorporated them with the great republic? No, certainly; it was to trample under foot the one and the other. In default of public law, of natural law, had they at least a right or even a legal pretext for insurrection? No! A thousand times no! The primary constitution of the insurgent colonies of 1777 guaranteed the absolute sovereignty of each new State, and confined itself to establishing a federation of independent republics. But the Constitution in force, that made in 1789 by Washington, and by the men "who dared to restrict liberty, because they were sure they would not destroy it," substituted for this collection of sovereignties absolutely independent, one people, one sole and whole people, not centralized and uniform like ours, but

composed of several States, but within, as well as without, bound to strict obedience of certain obligations established by the fundamental compact. It was never foreseen nor admitted by any one that this compact could be broken at the will of one only of the contracting parties. No people, no state, no community could exist if each of its members might withdraw at will, and without provocation, from the associated body. While admitting, in all its dangerous extent, the modern ——, such as has been proclaimed on one side and the other in the recent debate on the Roman question, by M. Thiers, as well as by M. Rouher—that is to say, the right to be well governed; and if not, the right to change one's government, it is still necessary to prove that there has been bad government, that there has been oppression in such manner as to render the rupture of the social tie more necessary and lawful than its maintenance. Certainly, separation might be lawful, like insurrection, but in certain rare and extreme cases. Has such a case presented itself to the southern States? Evidence, universal conscience, says no, a thousand times no. It is impossible for them or their apologists to produce any proof whatever, a single one, of the slightest attempt made against their independence.

Where are their griefs, their troubles, their sufferings? They may be defied to cite a right violated, a property wasted, a liberty smothered, or even lessened. Yes; which? Is it religion? No! Is it the press? No! Is it association? No! Is it election? No! Education? No! Property? No, not even the property of *man in man,* until now that, after four years of revolt and civil war, they have in some sort compelled the lawful and sovereign authorities of the republic to decree its abolition. Nothing, absolutely nothing, in the history of the relations of the north with the south resembles, even in the slightest degree, those violent and oppressive measures which constrained the seven Catholic cantons of Switzerland to form about twenty years ago the *Sonderbund,* so unjustly, so cowardly, so miserably crushed in 1847. Nothing, absolutely nothing, has furnished them even with the shadow of a pretext to break the federal tie, and refuse not merely to obey in certain extreme cases, but even to acknowledge the powers lawfully constituted. There has been, thousands of times, reason to say that good care must be taken not to assimilate the States which compose the Union to our existing departments, or even to our ancient provinces. Each of those States has and should have an executive power, and two elective chambers, a magistracy, courts of justice, codes of law, a police, a fiscal administration of its own—in fine, a special constitution, voted for and sanctioned by the people of each State. This is what constitutes the true foundation of American liberty. But, have all these fundamental bases been respected by all the southern States until the war broke out? Yes; it is impossible, absolutely impossible, to deny this. The northern States had neither made nor attempted

to make the slightest encroachment on the legislative independence of the southern States, even in respect of slavery, until war had been declared by the south.

But outside of this local and, so to speak, personal sovereignty of each State, there is under the Constitution of the United States a general sovereignty personified in the President, the Senate and House of Representatives, which is located at Washington. Have the northern people exercised this general sovereignty to the detriment of southern interest? No, yet once again; and had they so desired they could not have done so, because the south forestalled them by beginning the war before the north had seized the power.

Let us again, in two words, recapitulate the true state of this question so singularly misunderstood or unknown. The southerners, determined, *at any cost,* not merely to maintain but to propagate slavery, had succeeded, with the concurrence of their friends, the democrats of the north, in securing for more than thirty years the majority in the federal legislature, and the election of the quadrennial President of the republic. The day on which, *for the first time,* by means the most lawful and most regular, by the purely moral movement of public opinion, the majority, elected of representatives of the people and of presidential electors, passed from them, on that day they broke the federal compact and raised the standard of revolt. They became insurgents because they no longer felt themselves to be masters, because they foresaw that perhaps the authorities sprung from the new elections would not only modify property in slaves in the slave States, but the laws which authorized the pursuit of fugitive slaves *into the free States.* So long as, with complicity of the northern democrats, they retained a majority in Congress and had the President on their side, they held the Union to be unassailable. When the wave of public opinion turned against them; when they found that the north would very probably no longer consent to remain the accomplice and instrument of slavery; when for the first time they saw the lawful majority pass over to the side of the republicans, or abolitionists, then, but then only, they declared the Union impossible and took up arms to destroy it. It is absolutely just the same as if the French socialists had drawn the sword in 1848, after the election of Prince Louis Bonaparte to the presidency; or in 1849, after the elections to the legislative assembly. It is also precisely that which those wished to do who were of the conservatory of arts and trades of the 13th June, 1849. We know what France and the world have thought of that enterprise whose authors fell the first victims, and unpitied of any. Let us then dismiss the argument drawn from this pretended zeal of the south against the united despotism of centralization; let us dismiss it to rejoin the argument which pretends to make of slavery a question foreign to the origin of the war. Let them go together to ingulf themselves in those

limbos where sleep, buried forever, unavailable lies and refuted sophisms.

IV

What is most annoying in these sophisms is to see them above all repeated and propagated by the English with an inveteracy which the victory of the north will certainly cool, but which none the less has derogated from their good sense, good faith, and national honor. Nowhere, as is known, has the cause of the north aroused an enmity more profound, more universal, more sustained. It is asked through what rancor of sovereignty dispossessed, through what prejudice of caste, or what family enmity, they have been enabled to forget to such degree their own antecedents, their traditions, the most inveterate good or bad. With what face can they who strove with all their might against the colonial insurrection which transformed their provinces into sovereign States—they who repressed with inexcusable cruelty the insurrection in Ireland in 1798, and, with a severity excessive, although legitimate, the revolt of the Sepoys in 1858; with what face can they reproach their American cousins for the energy of the measures employed against the insurgents of the south, and the principle even of the war maintained by the constituted authorities of the republic against the aggression of the Confederates? But, above all, how can they, abolitionists preëminently, they whose susceptibility on the subject of the slave-trade gave birth to the right of visit and so many other complications with us, and with all the maritime nations—they who gave with an unheard of disinterestedness the first signal of emancipation of the negro race at the expense of their own West India Islands; how dare they be renegade of their own glory by suspecting, denouncing, decrying the motives which have guided the American abolitionists? How is it they do not perceive that they thus expose themselves to giving a pretext to the very numerous detractors who have accused them of not having undertaken the work of emancipation except as a matter of calculation, and of having renounced it as soon as the speculation turned out badly? There is in this one of those sad mysteries which the history of the greatest nations occasionally presents, and before which posterity stands amazed as much as contemporaries. Let us hope, beside, that the question now is of only momentary aberration, and let us recall to them this bright page in their own history, so well written by one of the Americans they calumniate. "Other nations," says Channing, "have acquired imperishable glory in defence of their rights, but there was no example of a nation which, without an interest, and in the midst of the greatest obstacles, espouses

the rights of another, the rights of those who have no claim except that they also are human, the rights of those who are the most abased of the human race. Great Britain, under the load of a debt without parallel, with crushing burdens, contracted a fresh debt of one hundred millions of dollars to give liberty, not to Englishmen, but to degraded Africans. It was not an act of policy, it was not the work of statesmen. The Parliament only recorded the edict of the people. The English nation, with one heart, one voice, under one strong Christian impulse, and without distinction of rank, of sex, of party, or of communion, decreed the liberty of the slave. I do not know that history records an act so disinterested, so sublime. In the course of ages the maritime triumphs of England will occupy a space narrower and narrower in the annals of humanity, and this moral triumph will fill therein a wider and a brighter page."

At all events, if the cause of the north and of emancipation in America has encountered only adversaries among the governing classes in England, in the native land of Burke and of Wilberforce, it must be admitted that it has there always been openly and energetically sustained by some of its best-known orators and political men, and in the first rank by Messrs. Cobden and Bright; and it should especially be remembered that the manufacturing population of Lancashire, and of the great industrial centres, have exhibited lively and persevering sympathies with American abolitionism. But these populations are precisely they that will suffer most from the consequences of the war, which, in favoring the United States, has interrupted the production of cotton. Nothing can be more admirable, however, than the attitude of the English artisans during the whole continuance of this crisis, so fatal to the interest of the English manufactures, which has not yet ended. The labor of the blacks in the United States gave them bread by producing the raw material of that branch of industry out of which they lived. They, nevertheless, have never imagined, never pretended, like some publicists and some preachers, that negroes were intended by Providence to be always slaves, in order to be the purveyors for European industry. Until the balance be readjusted by the introduction of the cotton culture in Egypt, where it has freed and enriched the Fellahs, and in southern Italy, where it has served, in a manner so strangely unforeseen, the interests of Italian unity, the crisis produced by the interruption has perhaps been the most severe that has ever affected European industry. The English workmen have endured this crisis, which still continues, with most magnanimous patience. They have experienced the last extremes of hunger, without any outburst, any disturbance having happened to realize the prophecies of those who had counted on their distress to obtain from England the recognition of the southern States and consolidation of slavery. They have

suffered without a murmur, without any display of military force having become needful to restrain or intimidate them, without any public right being suspended, without the slightest restriction of the liberty of the press or of publicly assembling; the millions of hungered and suffering beings have maintained an heroic calm and resignation. Compulsory inaction, distress, and hunger had everywhere taken place in that vast hive of English spinning-mills, of work, of ease, of economic progress, and of domestic well-being. The profusion of public and substantial aid prodigally given by the disinterested sympathies of their neighbors and their countrymen to these innocent victims of the war in America seemed only as a drop of water in the ocean of this distress. And yet, not only no riot, no public disturbance broke out, but at the numerous meetings, and in the various public notices which marked this crisis, so severe and so prolonged, no symptom of irritation was manifested against the upper classes, or against the government of the country. Enlightened by a good sense which shows the incontestable progress made through the spread of primary instruction since the sanguinary riots of 1819, the workmen in those English districts which constitute the greatest industrial centre of the world readily comprehended that the calamity from which they suffered was not to be imputed to the Queen, nor the aristocracy, nor the ministry, nor the Parliament, nor to any cause in England, but solely to a great historic crisis, the consequences of which would be favorable to religion and human nature. They continued not only docile to the teachings of reason and patriotism in their attitude in regard to the authorities and other classes in their country, but unshakably faithful in their demonstrations and petitions to Parliament, to their sympathies with the northern States, which represented in their eyes the cause of justice and of liberty. They have thus given the best proof of their aptitude for public life, as well as for the political rights which they claim, and which they cannot fail to obtain, and which must be desired for them, in desiring also that the regulated and peaceful admission of the masses to the electoral suffrage may be brought about with the guaranties necessary to prevent intelligence and liberty from succumbing beneath the abused preponderance of numbers.

V

Let us recapitulate, and come to a conclusion. We maintain that the victory of the north is an event as happy as glorious, and we hoped to have proved it; but should we not have succeeded, none of our readers will deny that it is the most important event of the present day, and one whose consequences are of most vital interest for the world entire.

The American Union is henceforth replaced in the first rank of the great powers of earth. All eyes will henceforth be turned on her; all hearts will be agitated by the destiny in reserve for her; all minds will seek enlightenment from her future. For that future will be more or less ours, and her destiny will perhaps decide our own.

From all that has yet passed in America, from all that is about to pass there in the future, there result for us grave teachings, lessons which it is indispensable to make account of, for, willing or unwilling, we belong to a society irrevocably democratized, and democratic societies resemble each other much more than monarchic or aristocratic societies. It is true that differences are still great between all countries, as well as between all epochs; it is true, above all, thank God, that nations, like individuals, preserve, under all rule, their free will, and remain responsible for their condition. To know how to use this free will in the midst of the impetuous and apparently irresistible current of the tendencies of the times is the great problem. To resolve it, account must first be taken of these tendencies, either to contest, or follow, or direct them according to the dictates of conscience.

The question is, then, in the study of contemporary events; not of preferences, but of teachings. It is not in our power here below to choose between things which please or which displease, but between things that are. I have not to reason here with those who have not done mourning for the political past of the Old World; with those who still dream of a theocratic reconstruction, monarchic or aristocratic, of modern society. I understand all the regrets; I share in more than one; I honor greatly some in which I do not share. I hold as much as others the religion, perhaps even the superstition, of the past, but reserving to myself the faculty of distinguishing the past from the future, as of death from life. I will not exult over any ruin, except that of falsehood and wickedness, which it has not been given to me to contemplate. Thus much said, I mean not to offend any, nor even to utter anything but a commonplace, almost trivial because it is so plain, by proving that the modern world has fallen to the lot of democracy, and that there is only a choice between two forms of democracy, but two forms which differ as much as night from day; between democracy disciplined, authoritative, more or less incarnate in a single, all-powerful man; and liberal democracy, where all powers are restrained and controlled by unlimited publicity and by individual liberty; in other words between Cæsarean democracy and American democracy. One might be well pleased not to take either the one or the other. Be it so, that is intelligible. "Delicate people are unfortunate!" But that is no reason why they should become blind and powerless; once again, the choice must be made, and the choice can be only between these two conditions. All the rest are nothing but Utopian fancies, or regrets of the archæologist; fancies and regrets, very respectable perhaps, but perfectly unproductive.

It is well enough known my choice is made, and I suppose it is also made in the same way by those to whom I would now speak. It is to them, therefore, that I present with gladness and with pride the strife which has traversed America, and the victory she has achieved (if this victory continues unstained) as a gauge of trust and hope.

The civil war might have made out of American democracy a Cæsarean and military democracy. But the contrary has happened. It remains a liberal and Christian democracy. This is the first great fact which, in the annals of modern democracy, reassures and comforts without reservation, the first which is fit to inspire trust in its future, trust limited, humble, and unassuming, as is becoming all human trust should be, but trust fearless and sincere, as might and should be that of free hearts and clear consciences.

America has just shown, for the first time since the world began, that liberty could be coexistent in a democracy with war, and, moreover, with the almost measureless greatness of a country. This simultaneous existence rests always full of perils and of hazards; but in fine it is possible, it is real, it passes provisionally out of the region of problems into that of facts.

American democracy has its creeds and its morals—Christian creeds, pure and virile morals; it is in that very superior to the greater part of European societies. It professes and practises respect for religious faith and respect for woman. But above all it practises and maintains liberty in a degree which no nation, except England, has yet been able to attain, liberty without restriction and without inconsistency; entire liberty, that is to say, domestic liberty not less than political liberty; civil liberty side by side with religious liberty; liberty to devise, with the liberty of the press, liberty of association and of instruction, with the liberty of the tribune. Notwithstanding the rudeness of its attractions, notwithstanding a certain decadence of the moral sense which seems to have shown itself there since the death of Washington, it despises and ignores the odious and ridiculous clogs, the hateful and jealous restrictions which our French democrats associate with their strange liberalism.

Besides, it approaches more nearly than any other contemporary society the object which every human society should propose to itself: it offers and secures to every member of the community an active participation in the fruits and benefits of the social union.

The new President (Johnson) has frankly adopted in his first allocution the fundamental doctrine of free and Christian countries: "I believe that government was made for man, and not man for government." In other terms, society is made for man, and not man for society or the state. He has thus laid down the sovereign distinction which separates liberty from absolute power.

Certain it is that neither want nor immorality is unknown in the

great republic. The poison of slavery with which it has been too long infected, the scum which is brought to it by the European emigration from which it is recruited, the dangers and weaknesses belonging to all democracy, aggravated by the untutored rudeness of certain social habits, all that shakes and menaces it, but does not hinder it giving to public order and to property a security, if not complete, at least sufficient, and whose superficial vacillations are a thousand times preferable to the enervating and corrupting peace of despotism.

Certain it is, also, you will never see in the United States, nor in other countries pursuing the same track, the effeminate and easy life of the eastern nations, or of southern Europe in the eighteenth century. There will be hardships, difficulties, fatigues, dangers for all and each. This action and this censorship of all the world over all the world, which constitutes the real life and the only efficacious discipline of free nations, draws along with it a thousand cares and sometimes a thousand perils. "The gods," says Montesquieu, in the words of Sylla, "the gods who have given most men a weak ambition, have attached to liberty almost as many evils as to bondage. But whatever be the cost of this noble liberty, it must be paid to the gods." America teaches us how to cure ourselves of this *weak ambition*, without denying any of the principles, any of the conquests of Christian civilization.

That which hurts and disturbs us most, us Europeans, who study America with a desire to read therein the secret of our future, is the system, or rather popular instinct, which keeps at a distance from power, and often even from public life, men the most eminent for talent, for character, and for services rendered. This legal and gradual ostracism, of which the United States have made a sort of habit, is certainly a very great evil. But I hear it said this result is not altogether unknown in certain countries which have nothing in common with American liberty, and where these victims of ostracism have not the same resource of periodic and constitutional changes, still less of weapons offensive and defensive, which guarantees to every citizen of the United States the unrestricted liberty of all. Even under the old-time royalty has not St. Simon pointed out to us "the taste to humiliate all," and "the special graces of obscurity and of nothingness" in the eyes of the master? And after all, must we despair of the world because this phenomenon of the humiliation or even the exclusion of the opulent or elevated classes occurs everywhere (except in England) as often as of old, by their own fault as often, and especially in our days, without there being any serious reproach to make to them? This is sad, this is painful, this is unjust; but this is nevertheless too general not to be an historic law, and the consequences of this new law are not always nor everywhere destitute of grandeur.

America astonishes the world by placing at the head of a nation of thirty millions of people men issuing from the humblest grades of

society, by confiding to these obscure and inexperienced men armies of a million of soldiers, who, the war ended, return to their homes without any one being induced to see therein a danger to liberty or a resource against it—a man who was first a wood-cutter, then a husbandman, then a boatman, then a lawyer, becomes President of the United States, and directs in this character a war more formidable and above all more legitimate than the wars of Napoleon. A horrible outrage causes his disappearance, and immediately one, formerly a journeyman tailor, replaces him without the shadow of disorder or protest coming to disturb the national mourning. This is strange and novel; but what is there in it that is unfortunate or affrighting? For my part, I see in it a transformation, historic and social, as remarkable and less stormy than that which substituted through all the west the Clovises and the Alarics for the vile prefects of the Roman empire. The laborers become chiefs of a great nation are a hundred-fold less repugnant to me than the Cæsars with their freedmen and their favorites. I see with an emotion of admiration these proletaries metamorphosed into potentates in nowise bewildered by their elevation. They continue to be prudent, mild, discreet. There is nothing in them which savors of the popular tyrants of other days; nor of those pretended envoys of Providence, who begin by violations of the laws, like Cæsar, and finish in insanity, like Alexander and Napoleon.[1]

What rest, what comfort, to feel oneself in the presence of worthy men, simple and truthful, in whom power defined and restricted, although immense, has not turned the head nor perverted the heart! Where search for true greatness, if it be not in these plebeian souls, which, disciplined by responsibility and purified by adversity, seem to us to enlarge with their situation and to elevate political even to the heights of moral life?

Dark and sad as her future might be imagined, and were she to be buried to-morrow beneath her triumph, America will not the less have bequeathed to the friends of liberty a never-dying encouragement. Numerous and bitter as may be our own mistakes, legitimate as may be our apprehensions, she has given us somewhat to believe in and to hope for, through ages to come, in the ideal which attracted in the last century our fathers under her banner, the ideal of which they gave the only true programme in 1789, and which can only serve as a bond between the sons of the conquerors and the sons of the victims of the French revolution.

Therefore it is that I have not feared to say that at the present hour the American people, coming out victorious and pure from so redoubt-

[1] "Recall to mind that M. Thiers, our *illustrious* and *national* historian, has demonstrated, at the end of his great work, the folly which the exercise of full powers substituted in the spirit of Napoleon for the wisdom of his earlier years."

able an experience, will take rank amid the first nations of the earth, which does not mean to say that it can be irreproachable. It has not been so in the past, and nothing announces that it must be so in the future. Side by side with all the virtues and all the great characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon race are only too distinguishable excess and gross faults, cynic and cruel egoism, fierce instincts. Behold her at the moment when these vices and defects are about to encroach on and menace her more than ever. The blindness of pride satisfied, the overweening spirit of triumphant strength, are about to expose her to the vices of power, to the depravity resulting from victory, of which democracies are as much the subjects as dictatorships. She has also much to expiate, because in the interval which has separated the war of independence from the civil war the external policy of the United States has too much resembled the external policy of the Romans or of the English; it has been selfish, iniquitous, violent, even brutal, and characterized by absolute absence of scruples. Mexico on the one hand, on the other the native and independent races, have learned to understand all the cruel consequences of the preponderance of a race eager for gain and born for conquest.

Behold her at the decisive period of her inner life. The question to be demonstrated is whether the American people, like the Roman people at the time of Publicola and Cincinnatus, possesses the spirit of moderation which causes republics to last, or whether, like the contemporaries of the Gracchi, it would open the door which leads to proscriptions and dictatorships.

There is every reason to hope that amid the first rejoicings of victory the republican majority will show itself as generous as resolved, in accordance with the noble speech of Lincoln in his negotiation with the south in January last. May it please God that there be no recourse after the triumph to reprisals, which have been abstained from in the heat of battle, which would also render inexcusable the prompt submission and complete dispersion of the conquered armies. The spirit of revenge would instil in the veins of the great nation a poison more fatal and more inextirpable than that of slavery abolished. Posthumous repressions, confiscations, proscriptions of the Muscovite order against the conquered and prisoners, offences against local franchises, or the sovereign independence of states, would excite universal indignation, and would change all the sympathies of the liberals of Europe against the transatlantic rivals of Mouravieff. To substitute centralization for liberty under pretext of guaranteeing the latter, would be to condemn America to become nothing but a miserable and servile counterfeit presentment of Europe, in place of being our guide and precursor in the right path.

For the rest, notwithstanding all the violence of language, notwithstanding many alarming symptoms, we may still hope that nothing

will come of them. Americans will remember, as their defender Burke has said, that greatness of soul is the wisest policy, and that littleness of mind does not lead to a great empire. Reconciliation should and must be brought about without humiliation, and consequently without difficulty and without delay, between parties which are not separated by any antipathies, national or religious, of creed or of language. The works and the benefits of peace, the immense industrial, commercial and agricultural movement, which war itself has scarcely slackened, will seal anew the Union between north and south. But will not the reconciled belligerents carry abroad the henceforth sterile ardor? Will the warlike spirit, so quickly and so prodigiously developed, suffer itself to be reduced to and restrained within the necessary limits? From these disbanded armies will there not issue bands of adventurers and filibusters, the terror and scourge of the neighboring people? Fearful questions, of which we ardently hope a pacific solution, because our ardent aspirations for the glory and the prosperity of the United States accord with those which every friend of right should entertain for the consolidation of the new Anglo-American confederation, in which our brethren of Canada, brethren of race and religious faith, may act a part so advantageous and so preponderant.

But our solicitudes and apprehensions are much more concentred on the domestic condition of the great republic than on its foreign relations, even much more on the dangers pertinent to all the elements of its Constitution than upon the immediate consequences of the contest which has just terminated. May it never be forgotten that the origin of its noble institutions, of its incomparable liberty, of its invincible energy, goes back to the traditional liberties and the Christian civilization, under the shelter of which the insurgent colonies of 1775 had grown up. May it acquire the difficult secret of preserving individuals as well as public authority from that subjection to the omnipotence of majorities which so naturally moulds the hearts of men to submit to the absolute power of a single individual. Let us wish for it that susceptibility of conscience, that delicacy, "that chastity of honor," almost always wanting in democratic societies, even when they know how to remain free. Let us wish they may escape, or rather resist, one of their greatest perils, that contempt for ideas, for studies, for intellectual enjoyments, which engenders torpor or drowsiness of spirit in the midst of the noisy yet monotonous agitation of local and personal policy. Let us wish them to renounce, sooner or later, that love for mediocrity, that hatred of natural and legitimate superiority, natural consequence of the passion of equality, which carries into the bosom of democratic assemblies the spirit of the courts and antechambers, and there too often reproduces one of the most debasing characteristics of despotism, perfected and popularized by modern civilization. Let us wish that there universal suffrage, more and more

clothed with all elective functions, may not condemn the enlightened and superior classes to that discouragement, that political apathy, which ends by excluding them in fact, if it do not in law, from public life; but, above all, that nothing may ever induce the Americans to weaken the federation principle which has made thus far their greatness and their liberty by preserving them from all the shoals on which democracy has made wreck in Europe. To confine the central government to functions strictly necessary, by respecting scrupulously the local liberties of the different States, is the first duty, and above all the first interest, of American statesmen. Assuredly on the day succeeding an unjustifiable rebellion, and a terrible war, undertaken in the name of an abusive and immoral interpretation of the federative principle, of federative law, the temptation to lessen and limit this principle, to tend with flowing sail toward centralizing unity, would be strong with many, but it is only by resisting this temptation and maintaining unshakable fidelity to the national, liberal, and federal tradition of the country that America will continue to be worthy of her glory and of her destiny.

That which mainly reassures us against the dangers which menace the republic, or with which she may menace the world, is the character of the American people—the nation which has learned how to pass through such terrible trials without giving herself a master, without even dreaming of it, has evidently received from Heaven a moral constitution, a political temperament quite different from that of the turbulent and servile races which know not how to secure themselves against their own blunderings but by precipitating themselves from revolution into servitude, and have no refuge or alleviation of the shame and annoyance of their domestic subjection but in foreign adventures.

What gives the best pledge of this national temperament is the personage, truly unique, whom the nation, in full possession of its free will and its natural sympathies, has twice in succession chosen as President. Everything has been said about Abraham Lincoln. He has presented to us in the ripeness of the nineteenth century a fresh example, which is not either a copy or a counterfeit of the calm and worthy from which Washington issued. His glory will not be eclipsed in history even by that of Washington. He honors human nature, not less than the country whose destinies he directed, and whose pacification he brought about with such intelligent moderation. His eulogy is everywhere, and we yield only to the imperious appeal of conscience in joining in it. But it behooves us above all, humble advocates of liberty, whose glorious and victorious champion he has been, to engrave in our souls and seal with our lives this pure and noble memory, to encourage, to console, and to bind us more and more to the laborious duty on which we have voluntarily entered. It behooves us to prove

that which the study of this career, so short but so resplendent, brings especially to light, to wit, this combination of rectitude and of kindness, of sagacity and simplicity, of modesty and firm courage, which make of him a type so attaching and so rare, a type that no prince, no public man of our age, has equalled or surpassed. This wood-cutter become lawyer, then placed at the head of one of the greatest peoples of the earth, has displayed all the virtues of the honest man beside all the qualities of the politician. His head was no more affected than his language. Since his accession to supreme rank, no one can cite of him a single expression of menace or bravado, a single expression vindictive or extravagant. No sovereign, hereditary or elective, has spoken a language more eloquent or more worthy; none has shown more calmness and good temper, more perseverance and magnanimity.

"Let us unite," he wrote to the governor of Missouri on the 20th February last, in pointing out to him the means for pacifying that State, recently submitting but still severely agitated. "Let us meet only to look to the future, without any care for what we have been able to do, say or think about the actual war, or no matter what. Let us pledge one another to harass no man, and to make common cause against any who shall persist in disturbing his neighbor. Thus the old friendship will again spring up in our hearts, because honor and Christian charity will come to our aid."

Honor and Christian charity: is it not that which is most wanting in the action and language of politicians? What can be more touching than to look upon this "rail-splitter," this Illinois husbandman, recalling the inspirations and vital conditions of humanity first to his own people; then, thanks to the prestige with which his death has crowned him, to the whole world, which attentively gathers up his slightest sayings to enlarge the too scanty treasury of moral lessons which the shepherds of men bequeath to posterity. Let us collect in turn, and seek in these words, especially what bears the stamp of that Christian faith with which he was imbued, and which all the public men of America so simply and naturally confess. Orators and generals, authors and diplomatists, and, let us add quickly, northerners and southerners, without distinction, have the thought of God ever present to them, care to call Him to witness, and the duty of rendering Him public homage always inspires them. Nothing better demonstrates, in contradiction to European revolutionists, that the most energetic and unrestricted development of ideas of institutions and of modern liberties has absolutely nothing in it incompatible with the public profession of Christianity, with the solemn proclamation of gospel truth. Let us listen to his adieus to his neighbors and friends on leaving his modest residence at Springfield, Illinois, to become for the first time President of the United States:

"No one can understand the sadness I feel at this moment of fare-

well. To these around I owe all that I am. Here I have lived a quarter of a century; here my children were born; here one of them lies buried. I know not whether I shall ever see you again; a duty is imposed on me, greater perhaps that any imposed on any citizen since the days of Washington. Washington never could have succeeded without the help of Divine Providence, in which he ever placed trust. I feel that I cannot succeed without the same assistance, and it is from God that I also look for aid."

Listen to him in his inaugural address on his first presidency, 4th March, 1861: "Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust all our present difficulties."

After four years had passed, and four years of cruel war, which he had done everything to avoid, elected for a second term, let us hear him uttering, the 4th March, 1865, the wonderful language one wearies not of admiring and repeating:[1]

. . . . . .

Listen to the last public remarks pronounced by him three days before his death in a speech, April 11, 1865:

"We are assembled this evening, not in sadness, but in the joy of our hearts. The evacuation of Petersburg and Richmond, and the capitulation of the main army of the insurgents, authorizes the hope of a just peace. Our gratification at these events should not be restrained, but in these circumstances He from whom all blessings flow must not be forgotten. A proclamation for a day of national thanksgiving is purposed, and will in due time be promulgated. Let us not be forgetful of those who, undertaking the severest duties, have gained for us this cause for rejoicing, and deserve special honor. I have been to the front of the army, and have myself had the pleasure of sending to you a good share of good news, but neither the plan, its execution, nor its honors belong to me. The whole belong to General Grant, to the skill of his officers, and the valor of his soldiers."

You there see—and it is always so about this great, honest man—the same humility, the same simplicity, the same charity. I do not believe that since St. Louis any among the princes and the great of the earth have uttered better words. Listen now to Mr. Stanton, Secretary of War, announcing to the people the news of the victory:

"*Friends and Fellow-citizens:* In this great triumph my heart and yours are penetrated with gratitude to Almighty God for the deliverance of this nation. Our gratitude is due to the President, to the army and to the navy, to the brave officers and soldiers who have exposed their lives on the battle-field, and drenched the ground with their blood; our pity and our aid are due to the wounded and suffering. Let us offer our humble thanksgivings to Divine Providence for

[1] This extract has already been cited in Vol. II, pp. 507, 508.

its care for us; let us supplicate it to continue to direct us in our duties, as it has led us to victory, and to help us to consolidate the foundations of the republic, cemented as they are with blood, that the republic may endure forever. Nor let us forget the millions of toiling men of foreign countries who, through this trial, have given us their sympathies, their support, and their prayers, and let us invite them to share with us in our triumph. That done, let us trust ourselves through the future to that great God who will guide us in the future as He has guided us to this time in His infinite goodness."

Listen to his improvised successor in his inaugural address:

"The working and the honest support of the great principles of free government have been the objects of my whole life. The duties of head of that state devolve on me; I will discharge them as I best may; God alone controls the result."

Listen, on the other hand, to his rival, Jefferson Davis, president of the rebel confederacy, in his late message of March 13, 1865:

"Let us learn to rise above every egotistic consideration; let us learn how to make for the country the sacrifice of all that belongs to us; let us learn to bow humbly to the will of God, and invoke with reverence the blessings of our Heavenly Father, to the end that, as He protected our fathers in a contest similar to our own, He may deign to permit us to defend our homes and our altars, and to maintain inviolate the political rights of which we are the inheritors."

Listen, again, to the gallant Lee, general-in-chief of the insurgent army, in his farewell proclamation, after the capitulation of the 10th of April:

"Soldiers, you will carry with you the satisfaction of duty faithfully performed; and I sincerely pray that a merciful God may grant you His blessing, and extend His protection over you. With an admiration without bounds of your devotion to your country, and with great remembrance of your kind and generous consideration toward me, I make you my affectionate farewell.

"R. E. Lee, *General.*"

Listen, in fine, to the representative of the United States in France, Mr. Bigelow, responding to an address of his countrymen at Paris on the 11th of May:[1]

. . . . . .

The nation whose representatives and civil and military chiefs speak such language in such a crisis is a great nation, and, I add, a great Christian nation. I know not whether the eye of God, casting a regard down to earth, would find there, in the times in which we live, a sight more worthy of him.

All that, some will say, does not pass beyond a vague and imperfect Christianism—a Christianism too close upon Deism, like that of Wash-

[1] This address has already been cited in Vol. II, pp. 545–549.

ington. That may be true, but, as the Bishop of Orleans says, we are still far from this in Europe. Vague and imperfect as it may be, it appears that the most scrupulous and exacting of Catholics can nevertheless admire and respect it, for Pope Pius IX. has not disdained to contribute to the monument of Washington.

If it be just to apply in politics the rule laid down by our Lord for a spiritual life, "By their fruits ye may know them," I think we may look without much inquietude to the future of the United States, and of all nations which, placed under the same conditions, shall know how to march in the same path. The social constitution which produces a Lincoln, and others like him, is a good tree, an excellent tree, whose sure fruits leave nothing to envy in the products of any monarchy or of any aristocracy. I know very well there are other fruits more pungent and less savory; but those mentioned suffice to justify the trust and hope which I feel, and which I would inspire in all who wish to leave, not merely their bones, as Lacordaire said, but their heart and their recollections on the pleasant side of things.

Let us, then, turn away our vision from all that in the Old World draws us by a too natural descent towards discouragement, depression and apathy, and let us seek beyond the Atlantic to breathe the inspiration of a better faith. Those who, like me, have grown gray in the faith in a future of liberty, and the necessity of its alliance with religion, must without cease recall the fine language of Tocqueville and of Madame Swetchine: "The effort outside of self, and more still the effort within, is more necessary in proportion as one advances in age than in youth. I compare man in this world to a traveller, who approaches without stopping a cold and colder climate, and is obliged to make more effort the further he goes. The great malady of his soul is the cold, and to combat this redoubtable evil he must not only keep the active movement of his spirit on the alert by work, but also by friction with his fellow-beings in the affairs of the world. It is especially in his old age that he is no longer permitted to live on what he has already acquired, but must make an effort to achieve more; and in place of reposing on ideas on which he would soon become drowsy and oblivious, must, without ceasing, place himself in contact and in contest with ideas that are adopted by what is suggested by the state of society and of opinions at the period that has been reached."

All this is true, not only of old people but of old parties and also of old creeds. Ours is the oldest in the world. It is its august privilege, it is also its glory and its strength. But that this strength in its application to public and private life may not fade, may not waste itself on vain chimeras, it must be unceasingly refreshed in the living waters of the time in which God has given us life, in the current of the emotions of the legitimate aspirations of those whom God has given us for brethren. Let us, then, make advantage of the fact that the Almighty has

vouchsafed to us to witness this great triumph of liberty, of justice, and of the Gospel; of this great defeat of wickedness, of egoism, of tyranny. Let us thank Him for having given to Christian America vigor enough and virtue enough to maintain so gloriously the promises of her youth. Let us adore His goodness, who has spared us the shame and sorrow of witnessing the miserable miscarriage of the great hope of modern humanity.

CH. DE MONTALEMBERT.

BIGELOW TO MONTALEMBERT

PARIS, June 6th, 1865.

My dear Sir:

I profit by my first leisure moment to thank you for your paper on America in the last *Correspondant*. It adds another to the long list of obligations which, humanly speaking, my country owes to what the world is accustomed to call our "unhappy war." Who shall dare hereafter to call a war unhappy that in four years has earned for the people and institutions in behalf of which it was waged such testimony from such a source? Not in half a century of peaceful existence could we have hoped to have achieved such a flattering vindication of our national polity. No American can read your article—and it will soon be in the hands of all my country people from Maine to California—without feeling personally grateful to you or without experiencing a new sense of his responsibilities as a Republican. I beg therefore to thank you in their name as well as my own for this eloquent and timely recognition of what they have done and suffered in defense of the great principles of civil liberty committed to their safe-keeping by our common ancestors. I avail myself of this occasion to send you a little volume, which I hope you will give yourself the trouble to look over. It describes one of the most graceful tributes ever paid to a man of genius.

Our most eminent American poet, Mr. Bryant, reached the age of threescore years and ten on the 3d day of November last. A club of literary men and artists, of which he was a member, called the "Century," resolved to celebrate his 70th birthday, and this book gives an account of the way it was

done; how all that was eminent in literature and art among us came to lay its contributions & do homage at the feet of their undisputed literary sovereign. When you come to know that, while building up his reputation as the first English poet of his age, Mr. Bryant has been for more than forty years the conductor of one of the most important political journals in the United States, you will be better able to appreciate the value of the homage so unanimously paid by his literary brethren to his genius & virtues.

I am, dear Sir, with great respect, etc.

MONTALEMBERT TO BIGELOW

Maîche (Doubs), July 10, 1865.

My dear Sir:

A thousand thanks for your kind remembrance of me, and for the numbers of the *New York Evening Post,* which have just been sent me from the Rue du Bac. If any other American periodical containing strictures on my Essay should fall under your notice and could be forwarded to me, you would greatly oblige me.

Your last letter, which I found on going through Paris on my way from Belgium here, was very gratifying to me, since it afforded me the proof that you were not discontented with my *plaidoyer* on the behalf of the United States. Your Brussels colleague, Mr. Sanford, says I had better have spoken *sooner;* but I submit that it is better to speak late than never—and that your cause still stands in need of much pleading. The amount of prejudice existing in all classes, both here and in Belgium as well as in England, against North America, is quite astounding. I confess I had myself no idea of it, till I had to appreciate the tremendous obloquy which I have drawn down on my own head by taking part against the Southern insurgents, and holding up to admiration the conduct and institutions of the North.

You must allow me to add that President Johnson's acts and language, and more particularly his derisive *amnesty,* have most lamentably encouraged the enemies of your great and

free Country in their animosity. How different from Mr. Lincoln's proceedings! I still hope and maintain that the sad words we have all read with dismay will not be followed up by *deeds* of the same stamp—and I feel sure that you, my dear Sir, as the accredited judge of European feeling on the behalf of the United States, will do your best to prevent your Government from losing every valuable sympathy in this hemisphere.

I have the honor to remain, my dear Sir,

With Sincere Respect, etc.

X

THE NEW PRESIDENT IN WASHINGTON

PRESTON KING TO BIGELOW

Ogdensburgh, June 1, 1865.

My dear Friend:

I CONGRATULATE you on being full Minister at Paris, and I congratulate you and the Country on the glorious results of the terrible struggle in which the existence of the Republic was involved. The Rebellion and Slavery have gone down together, and both are extinguished, I believe forever. May God grant that we may become a better people, and grow more and more worthy of His protection and His blessing.

Have no doubts or apprehensions of Andrew Johnson—he is an honest, true, and strong man, full of devotion to his Country, and the fine principles upon which the Republic must stand.

I intend to go to Washington again before long and will spend some time there this summer, if the heat does not drive me home. Let me hear from you when you find time to write, and with my love to Mrs. Bigelow and your little ones, I am,

Yours truly

JAMES BOWEN TO BIGELOW

Hastings-on-the-Hudson,
June 1, 1865.

Dear Bigelow:

I wrote to you on your accession to your honor, but I have received no reply. I hope the successor of Franklin will be as prompt in his correspondence as the Consul at Paris.

Sherman, like a spoiled child, is tearing his laurels to pieces. Never, I suspect, of a well-balanced mind, he has become intoxicated by his military success, and believes he is greater in the cabinet than in the field. He will become the candidate of the Chicago party for the Presidency unless further disclosures of his incompetency shall frighten the leaders from taking him up. They are strongly disposed to adopt him now.

Chase means to be the candidate of the Republican party, but he will be disappointed. He is on a tour through the Southern and Western States, and will strive to form there a party in his favor. . . .

Johnson means to have a vigorous administration. I am afraid it will be vindictive. If Jeff Davis be convicted of treason he will be hanged, and if Davis be hanged so will the other convicted traitors. Enough blood will be shed to keep alive the spirit of secession at the South, but not enough to extirpate it. The magnanimous principle will be half carried out. If Lincoln had lived there would not have been one judicial execution.

Johnson is weighing his Cabinet, man by man; he is indisposed to make changes, but he means to govern, and if any of his ministers are refractory or reluctant they will be dismissed. He has, I am informed, already quarreled with the Blairs.

Preston King is his confidant, and their mental characters are the same. You know King's honesty and firmness and how immovable he is when his mind is made up. Johnson is like him in these respects.

I have rotated from the army, through the "Bureau of Immigration" in the State Department, to the Commission of Charity and Correction in New York, from Arms to Alms. It is and will be for a time a pleasant employment.

Let me hear from you.

Yours sincerely

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Confidential

Circa June 1, 1865.

My dear Mr. Seward:

Many people beside myself were made happy by reading, on the arrival of the last steamer, that you had been able to revisit the State Department. M. Drouyn de Lhuys, speaking to me day before yesterday of other matters, took occasion to express the hope that you would remain in the State Department, for then, he said, he was sure all would go on well. He did not intend this for a compliment; it was an involuntary homage to your usefulness in the position you occupy.

This conversation occurred at an interview to which he invited me for the purpose of reading to me his reply to my note excepting to the grounds upon which he delayed withdrawing the declaration of neutrality of June, 1861. I had presented my note in person for the purpose of seeing whether I could not persuade him to withdraw his and give me something better, in which case I would not deliver mine. He declined then, but seemed to think either that my courtesy required reciprocation or he wished to see how I would receive his answer. He evidently expected I would be very much pleased with it, as indeed I was, and I said so, though it has come too late to be of much practical service to us.

I may as well here state that the whole tone of things for several weeks past has changed. I receive marked attentions now from the Court wherever I go. Within a week I dined with three of the Ministers, Fould, Duruy and Rouher, in company with more than fifty persons. . . . I have besides recently been notified that if I had any country people here to whom I would like to pay a special attention, the Empress had requested me to send the names to the Grand Chamberlain, that she might invite them to her Monday evening *bals intimes,* which are not of a public character nor numerous. You will see by these symptoms that the apprehensions of us have become either very much less or very much greater than they

were when I first entered upon my diplomatic duties, or else that the feelings towards us had undergone a great change in some other respect. At this moment I feel that our position as a nation here is as strong as that of any other in the world. This is largely due to a conviction, with which I think the government is inspired, that we have no unfriendly designs upon them and are superior to revenge. Besides, there is no mistaking the fact that things have conspired to give our country, its arms, its navy, its political institutions, everything about it, in fact, such a triumph that even the most venomous anti-republican cannot withhold his homage. No one dares say a word here now, whatever he may think, against Republican institutions. A year ago no one dared publicly to say a word in their favor, and very few wished to.

Prince Napoleon has ruined himself with the French people. No one is willing now to accept him as a party leader. It is not known yet who will replace him in the Commission for the Universal Exp. There is a talk of Walewski.

You will find in the *Mémorial Diplomatique* a dispatch from London placed conspicuously at the commencement. All that is said about my conferring with Mr. Adams, getting instructions from my government, hurrying back to communicate them, etc., were, I need hardly say to you, entirely of newsvendors' manufacture. It shows, however, to what shifts the Mexican party here would resort to bolster their sinking loan and quiet the public mind. I have taken no notice of it, as it was a report that could do us no harm so long as we were not in any way responsible for its circulation, and as M. Drouyn de Lhuys himself knew as well as I that it was utterly false in all its details which were within the range of his observation.

The papers here, *La France* in particular, have stated that M. Eloin, the Belgian special envoy, had an interview with President Johnson at Washington. M. Drouyn de Lhuys said that M. E. did not see the President, not even go to Washington. He saw the Empress here and went on almost immediately to Brussels. There is an impression that his mission in Europe is to present the difficulties of the archduke's position in Mexico and to take counsel upon some of the contingencies which may result in his being obliged to return from Mexico. I don't think there is a man in France now who thinks he can

remain long in Mexico except at an unprofitable waste of money and blood—I don't know that there is one anywhere else.

I was sorry to send you the addresses of sympathy without a translation, but it was simply impossible to have one made, though I have three persons at work all the time, and labor as many hours myself every day as any two of them. The absence of my Secretaries is a serious inconvenience. I am obliged to commit to the discretion of untried men many things which are of the most confidential character, while I have no one to represent me anywhere in my official character, which exposes me constantly to interruption. However, I know you are as well aware of my wants as I am and that you have neglected nothing on your part to supply them. I only hope that if some things are not done as promptly as they should, or as well, you will make some allowance for my helpless situation.

Yours, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, June 1, 1865.

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit herewith a note which I handed to his Excellency Monsieur Drouyn de Lhuys on the 29th ultimo, and a copy, with translation, of a reply to it, which he handed to me yesterday. They are severally numbered enclosures 1, 2, and 3.

In his note of yesterday you will find an avowal of his readiness to withdraw from the Confederates the quality of belligerent. This, I presume, is intended to be regarded as a practical withdrawal of the declaration of neutrality of June, 1861.

I was informed by Lord Cowley, whom I met this morning at the funeral of Marshal Magnan, that his government would probably make a like communication to our government to-day

or to-morrow. From this I infer, what I have supposed from the beginning was the case, that neither government takes a step in shaping its policy towards the United States except in conjunction with the other.

I suppose the action taken is sufficiently decisive for all practical purposes, though the declaration of M. Drouyn de Lhuys leaves something to be desired in that respect. At all events, I shall leave the subject where it is until I hear from you after the receipt of this.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

BIGELOW TO DROUYN DE LHUYS

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, May 29, 1865.

Sir:

I have received the note which your Excellency did me the honor to address to me on the 20th instant, in reply to mine of the 10th, in reference to the imperial declaration of neutrality of the 10th of June, 1861.

After reaffirming your confidence in the justice and propriety of that declaration, under the circumstances in which it had its origin, your Excellency proceeds to say that, in your opinion, measures taken in consequence of a state of manifest and declared war ought not to be persisted in when the situation which rendered them necessary has ceased to exist; that everything indicated that the time was at hand when the federal government could relinquish the attitude which the necessities of war imposed upon it, and that as soon as you were informed that the federal government renounced the exercise of the right of visit and capture, there would be no further question of belligerency with the United States; that you would then hasten to recognize the fact, and would be happy to suppress without delay all the restrictions which a state of war had imposed upon your relations with the United States, and to offer in your ports the most complete hospitality to our ships. You are pleased to add that in the

actual state of affairs the government of his Majesty no longer regards as necessary the provision which limited the stay of vessels belonging to the navy of the United States in the ports of France to 24 hours, and that orders to that effect had already been issued by the Minister of Marine.

In regard to so much of your Excellency's note as relates to the propriety and justice of the imperial declaration of neutrality of the 10th of June, 1861, I may now repeat, what I had the honor to state in my note of the 10th instant, that I have no occasion nor intention, at present, to make it the subject of discussion. It is proper, however, to avoid any possible future misunderstanding, that I should invite your attention to one phrase upon that topic in your note of the 20th instant which is liable to give an impression which the history of the late insurrection, as I understand it, will not sustain. Your Excellency speaks of measures taken by his Majesty's government "in consequence of a state of war, manifest and declared." Without presuming to know precisely what meaning you attach to the word "declared," in that relation, I deem it my duty to say that this word has a technical signification in military and political science, to which it would not be historically entitled in the sentence I have quoted. I am not aware that the government of the United States has issued any declaration of war to which your Excellency's remark could be properly applicable.

I regret that the withdrawal of the declaration of neutrality of the 10th of June, 1861, should have been offered only upon conditions of which I am unable to see the propriety. Your Excellency practically admits that there is nothing in the military condition of the United States which requires the further concession of belligerent rights to the insurgents, for you are ready to withdraw that concession the moment we renounce our pretensions to visit and search neutral ships. I respectfully submit that the propriety or impropriety of our pretensions to visit neutral ships is a question between us and any neutral power that we may aggrieve, and the decision, whatever it might be, would in no respect affect the question of belligerency in the United States. The visiting of a neutral ship by a United States cruiser would not, of itself, and in the absence of other military demonstrations, constitute evidence of a state of war between the different States of the American Union.

The neglect to formally renounce such pretensions, therefore, cannot justify a continued recognition of a state of belligerency, for which no other pretext can be assigned. To concede that the visiting of a neutral ship established the belligerent right of the visitor, would deprive neutral powers of their legitimate remedies against an abuse of the right of visit.

Besides, the United States government, in applying for a repeal of the declaration of June, 1861, abandoned any of the rights of a belligerent which it is presumed to have claimed, and became directly responsible for anything it might do in the character of a belligerent.

If, after the withdrawal of the imperial declaration, it were to visit and search a neutral vessel, it would at once expose itself to reprisals, the same as for any other violation of international comity. To require of a non-belligerent a renunciation of the right to visit a neutral vessel is, therefore, equivalent to requiring a renunciation of the right to make war upon a neutral power—a contradiction in terms. Every visitation of a neutral vessel is a distinct and substantive act, deriving no justification from any previous visitation, or from any previous necessity, and which nothing but a grave public danger can excuse. The danger ceasing, the right ceases with it, whether the privileges incident to a preëxisting state of belligerency had been renounced or not.

Were this otherwise, and were the principles upon which your Excellency proposes to act accepted, the United States may continue to visit neutral ships, and avail herself of all the other privileges of a belligerent with impunity, so long as she omits formally to renounce them; a proposition to state which is to expose its inadmissibility. No neutral power can afford to relinquish the right of determining for itself whether another nation claiming them is entitled to the privileges of a belligerent. Nor can I remember an instance of any nation ever making such a renunciation. Persuaded as I am of the correctness of these views, I will not attempt to disguise the disappointment I felt on perusing your Excellency's reply to my communication of the 10th, nor am I yet prepared to abandon the hope that, in view of recent intelligence from America, announcing the capture of the chief fomenter and official head of the late insurrection, with his fugitive companions, and their delivery to the hands of justice, your Excellency will see

an additional motive for withdrawing a declaration which can serve no purpose now but to chill the relations of two nations whose interests and traditions are constantly inviting them to the cultivation of the most cordial friendship.

I beg to avail myself of this occasion to renew to your Excellency the assurances of the very high consideration, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, June 2, 1865.

Sir:

You have doubtless been already informed by our Consul at Nantes that a popular subscription of 10 centimes (about two cents) a head had been set on foot in that city recently for a gold medal to be presented to Mrs. Lincoln. This medal was to bear the following inscription:

Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.

To Lincoln, twice chosen President of the United States. From the grateful Democracy of France. Lincoln the Honest abolished slavery, reëstablished the Union, saved the Republic, without veiling the statue of Liberty. He was assassinated the 14th April, 1865.

Up to the 30th of last month 11,129 subscribers had been enrolled and their names published from time to time in the *Phare de la Loire*. Mr. de la Montagnie called my attention yesterday, by note, to a letter which appears in the *Phare de la Loire* of the 30th ultimo from a M. Pigollet, of which enclosure No. 1 is a translation. By this letter it appears that the police of the commune of Chauvigny had seized the subscription papers in that quarter, saying at the same time that the subscription was to be stopped everywhere in France. As Mr. de la Montagnie seemed in doubt whether any official notice ought to be taken of this proceeding, I addressed to him the note of which enclosure No. 2 is a copy. I have reason to believe that the address from the members of the Press and of

the Liberal Deputies, to which an enormous subscription was anticipated, has met with a fate similar to that which has overtaken the 10 centimes subscription. The lists have disappeared, no one seems to know where.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

[Enclosure No. 1 to Dispatch No. 113]

Translation from the Phare de la Loire of May 30, 1865

We have received this morning the following letter, revealing to us a quite unexpected incident to which the subscription open in our columns has given rise.

"CHAUVIGNY, May 28, 1865.

"*Monsieur Mangin, editor of the Phare de la Loire:*

"I consider it my duty to inform you that the commissary of police of Chauvigny (Department of the Vienne) and the corporal of the mounted police of that town have just seized in my hands a subscription for the benefit of Mr. Lincoln's widow.

"The subscription was intended for you, and to be added to those which you are receiving from all parts of France.

"Here are the facts as they occurred: On Wednesday last, 24th of May, the above-named parties came to my house at eight o'clock in the morning. After politely saluting my wife and me, one of them spoke as follows:

" 'By virtue of discretionary powers, I have come to seize in your hands the subscription which you are carrying about, and the copy of the *Phare de la Loire* in your possession, as its lists are being seized everywhere.'

"I delivered up to the commissary of police the subscription list which he demanded, and the money to the corporal, remarking to them that the one could not go without the other. As for the number of the *Phare de la Loire,* it was not seized, as it was at that time in the hands of a friend.

"Such are the plain facts; I have heard nothing since on the subject. I authorize you by this letter to make any use you choose of all this, and beg you will accept, sir, my very cordial salutations.

(Signed) "A. PIGOLLET,
"Proprietor at Chauvigny (Vienne)."

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, June 2, 1865.

Sir:

All France was astonished on opening the *Moniteur* of the 27th May to read the annexed letter from the Emperor to Prince Napoleon, and still more astonished to read in the *Presse* of the same evening, and in the *Presse* only, the reply of the Prince, which is also annexed. It was impossible that the Emperor should pass in silence the address delivered at Ajaccio, but no one anticipated such a chastisement to be so publicly administered. Public sentiment, if it does not entirely sustain the severity of the Emperor, as yet reveals very little sympathy for the Prince. He is thought to have taken advantage of the Emperor's absence to present to the world a political programme not only incompatible with his own position as the annual recipient of some 2,000,000 francs and the use of two or three superb palaces from the Emperor, but so offensive to many foreign states as to compromise the Government very seriously unless indignantly repudiated by the Sovereign. This offence was aggravated by the omission to allude to the Emperor or his Government directly throughout his address. The Prince was very indignant that the Emperor's letter was published; wrote a letter resigning the Vice-Presidency of the Commission in the heat of his passion, and committed the additional outrage of publishing it; took down his flag from the Palais Royal and flew off with his family to Meudon, still, however, in the enjoyment of an income from his outrageous cousin of over a million of francs, which he did not feel the inconsistency of retaining. He has since returned and is again at the Palais Royal, sensible, I presume, that he has made a deplorable mistake. His friends, even those most unfriendly to the Emperor, condemn his conduct in the most decided terms. It is the subject of much speculation here whether the Emperor will accept his resignations. I think it is the better opinion that he will. The most prominent people about the court say that he will, while others say that the

Prince will make such concessions as will enable the Emperor to decline to relieve him, a result to which their common interests undoubtedly point. The Prince, as the representative of the Democratic element of France, afforded a certain support to the throne. By provoking and then submitting to this indignity from the Emperor, he has revealed his weakness near the throne and will no longer be regarded as a competent representative of that interest, which will henceforth look elsewhere for a voice. The Emperor will thus lose just what the Prince has lost, for of course all the Prince's popularity inured indirectly to the benefit of the Sovereign. The loss of this element, together with the announcement at the close of the Emperor's letter that there could be but one will in his Government, has produced quite an uneasy feeling here, though you will see no trace of it in the press, to which this is of course a forbidden topic. At the same time there is no disguising the fact that the Emperor's letter gave great relief to a very large class whom the Prince's speech had seriously alarmed in view of the contingencies which might confer upon him some day the direction of public affairs, the first-fruits of which would inevitably be a war with three fourths of Europe. Had the Prince any influence with the army, it is possible that serious consequences might yet ensue; but his character with the army was irrevocably lost in the Crimean war. The kindness of his allusion to the United States in his speech will probably awaken a lively sympathy for him on the other side of the Atlantic, where nothing but the democratic tone of his programme will be regarded. Such a result is to be deprecated because it is undeserved, the republicans here as well as the Court party esteeming his conduct wholly unjustifiable.

I have not yet been to thank him for what he said about us, and feel almost afraid to go, lest the step should receive a wrong construction. I have thought it best to wait until my visit could not be supposed to have any connection with the events which immediately followed the address.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO THE CONSUL AT NANTES

LEGATION OF THE U. S.,
PARIS, June 2, 1865.

Dear Sir:

I am sorry that the Commissary of Police of Chauvigny did not think it safe for the people of his commune to express two sous' worth of sympathy for the widow of our murdered President; but he knows the danger of such a proceeding better than we do. If it is as great as his conduct would imply, the commune of Chauvigny is much more to be pitied than Mrs. Lincoln, for her bereavement has ennobled her. In any event, it is their affair and not ours. Mrs. Lincoln would not desire any testimonial of sympathy procured at the expense of the public peace. I hope, therefore, you will do nothing to encourage any demonstration which is discountenanced by the authorities.

I am, dear Sir, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, 3rd June, 1865.

My dear Mr. Bigelow:

I am yet unable to write and, practically, this letter is the first which I have dictated to an amanuensis. It is written in reply to your note of the 19th of May. In that note you give me the substance of a conversation with M. Drouyn de Lhuys, which bore upon two subjects, the most important of which is an anticipated hostility of the United States against France in regard to Mexico. Judging from the little which I have been able to read in our newspapers during my partial convalescence, I should conclude that the American press has been retaliating with spirit the unfriendly criticisms and attacks on the United States in which the Parisian press has indulged during the last four years. I hope M. Drouyn de Lhuys and the French public are able to bear the irritations of our press

as magnanimously as we have borne those of all Europe. The policy of the Administration of the late President in respect to France and Mexico is well known to M. de Lhuys. It was fully and frankly made known by communications from this Department. You are authorized to inform M. de Lhuys that that policy has undergone no change by the change of Administration, but will be continued as heretofore. All attempts at violations of the neutrality of the United States will be prevented or punished with the same diligence and energy which have hitherto been exercised. The territory heretofore occupied by rebels on the borders of Mexico is now rapidly coming back within the power of this government, and all our Military, Naval and Civil authorities are charged to exercise impartial justice in respect to all nations.

It is believed that, pursuant to the instructions of the Attorney-General to the District Attorneys, all attempts at enlistment in this country for the service of Juarez have been thwarted, and that in no event could they amount to a sufficient number of men to give ground for the least uneasiness to either France or Mexico.

The other topic referred to by M. de Lhuys is the policy of the United States in insisting upon a relinquishment by the Maritime powers of their past relations with the rebels in arms against this Government. The policy adopted by Mr. Lincoln, about which M. de Lhuys complains, had no special relation to France or to any other country. That policy has been well considered by this Government, which must adhere thereto. The legality or propriety of granting belligerent privileges to the rebels against the protest of the United States and in violation of all legitimate precedents has never been acquiesced in by this Government, and those powers have been from time to time kindly and respectfully asked to reconsider a measure which we have regarded as hasty, unfriendly and inconsistent with international law. Further persistence therein, on the part of those powers, when hardly the very shadow of insurrectionary commotion remains, cannot be acquiesced in and will be unendurable to the United States. The gravity of the questions herein discussed is such that, although this note seems to wear an unofficial form, yet you may regard it as having been approved by the President.

I am, my dear Mr. Bigelow, etc.

HUNTER TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, June 5, 1865.

Sir:

Your despatch No. 91, of the 11th ultimo, with its accompanying copy of a note which you addressed to M. Drouyn de Lhuys, relative to the policy of France in according to the insurgents belligerent rights, has been received, and, in reply, I have to inform you that the manner in which you treated the subject in your communication is approved.

I am, sir, etc.

HUNTER TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, 5th June, 1865.

My dear Sir:

It devolves upon me to acknowledge the receipt of your private letter of the 3rd of April, expressing your regret at the loss of the services of Mr. Dayton, late Assistant Secretary of Legation, and to inform you that he has since visited this Department. I am also directed on behalf of Mr. Seward to state that it is gratifying to him to find his impressions as to Mr. Dayton's character and capacity confirmed by your judgment.

I am, my dear Sir, etc.

HUNTER TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, 5th June, 1865.

My dear Sir:

On the behalf of Mr. Seward and by his direction I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th of April last,

in which we learned with regret that you had been suffering from a severe indisposition which had prevented you from attending at the palace to present your credentials as minister according to arrangement, inclosing a letter from Count de Montalembert respecting the late President's inaugural, and recommending Mr. Beckwith as a proper person to receive the appointment of Commissioner-General from the United States to the Universal Exposition to be held in Paris. Regretting the illness which you have suffered, Mr. Seward desires me to inform you that he hopes the Count de Montalembert may derive much pleasure and satisfaction from the visit to this country which he contemplates, where he will be heartily welcomed. Mr. Seward will give the matter of the appointment of a Commissioner to the Universal Exposition his early consideration. Meantime, although there is no legal provision for his formal appointment, it may be safely assumed that Congress will gladly sanction the acceptance of his services upon the terms mentioned in your letter. I will thank you accordingly to signify as much to him.

I am, my dear Sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Private

PARIS, June 6, 1865.

My dear Mr. Seward:

. . . . . .

In my last interview with Drouyn de Lhuys I asked if he was not generally satisfied with what he now heard from the United States about Mexico. He said yes, that the information showed that my reports were correct, though he went on to say: "I would have liked it better if that little paragraph in Mr. Johnson's reply to the Marquis de Montholon about unforeseen circumstances had been omitted. It is a paragraph which gives liberty to the imagination," etc. I went on to say to him that if he would recall the history of the Mexican question in our Congress he would probably have no difficulty in understanding that paragraph without attributing to it any

grave significance—that it more concerned local than foreign politics and that there was no more likelihood now than before that the loyally neutral and pacific policy heretofore adopted would be departed from. I then asked him if de Montholon treated that paragraph as of any special significance. He said, no; he spoke of it very much as I did, etc.

Last evening I was at a small party at the Palace, and the Empress spoke of our conversation on the day of my presentation, said that my statements and opinions had been thus far verified, said she was well satisfied with our government in reference to Mexico, but she said she did not quite like that paragraph in the address of President Johnson. I told her I had explained it to M. D. de Lhuys and hoped he had given the explanation, with which he seemed content, to her Majesty. She did not say whether he had or not, but I was not disposed to go into the subject there and with her, for I was not sure of making a woman understand it. I merely remarked that the explanation was to be found in our past political history, that with us it was necessary for the government and people to walk by the same light, but that she need have no apprehensions of other than pacific dispositions on the part of President Johnson, I felt quite sure.

If you have time, you will do well to run your eye over Thiers' speech on the budget. It is very clear and shows the desperate condition of French finances more clearly than it was ever exposed before. He says if France remains in Mexico it is sure to lead to a war with the United States; that Mexico is costing them 52,000,000 francs a year, without the remotest prospect of any benefit, and that the only reasonable possible policy for France is to withdraw precipitately. The weak part of Thiers' speech is that, while he shows a deficit of 200 million, he only suggests a mode of saving 50 million. That may have been an omission from policy to make the situation seem more desperate.—I hear nothing yet of my Secretaries.—While writing this line Mr. Pomeroy was announced, for which I give thanks. I trust Mr. Hay will give me soon a similar surprise.

Yours very sincerely

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Private

Department of State,
Washington, 14 June, 1865.

My dear Sir:

I am glad to see by your last letter, without date, that you are getting along so well. I trust that our European difficulties are virtually passed. Give yourself no uneasiness about the gossip of Paris and London in relation to your movements. You are not likely to be misunderstood here. M. Drouyn de Lhuys was right. The Belgian envoy to Mexico did not make his appearance here. Application, however, was authoritatively made by an agent of Maximilian for a private interview with me, which was declined. I will look particularly at the address of the French Committee on Emancipation and also at Montalembert's article, and do what I can. It is proper you should understand, however, that my house continues to be both a garrison and a hospital. My studies and official labors are tentative only, rather than real. My limbs and muscles require to be further strengthened and habituated to their ancient exercise. The Secretaries and Consul appointed for Paris are going at last. I wish they had been as prompt in their departure as I am sure you will find them agreeable in their deportment and conversation.

Believe me to be, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Private

Paris, June 9, 1865.

My dear Sir:

The Prince Napoleon's resignation of the Vice-Presidency of the Privy Council and of the Presidency of the Exposition

of 1867 has been definitely accepted. I have just seen the Prince, who said that that was settled when he wrote his letter. The *Moniteur* of this morning announces the fact officially. The sentiment in France in regard to the punishment suited to the case of Jefferson Davis is in one particular unanimous. I have not spoken with any person of whatever party, and I never have three minutes' talk with a Frenchman, that he does not begin with saying he thought it would be a grave mistake to execute Davis. This opinion is held quite as decidedly by our old friends as by those who, in pleading for Davis, are indirectly *participes criminis,* friends of the rebels. The Ministers and most of the Diplomatic Corps have spoken to me in this sense, as was natural. The democratic deputies are all strongly against an execution. Prince Napoleon said he thought we would do better not to hang him. I usually say, to those who deserve a reply, that we have confidence in our tribunals; that as there was no doubt of Davis' guilt, he would probably be condemned to death as a traitor; that the time to elapse between his arrest and condemnation would enable public opinion in America to find expression; that opinion, whatever it was, would be adopted by Europe, and it would receive from the President, who possesses the pardoning power, the respect to which it was entitled. Whether Davis was hung or pardoned, I was sure the world would be satisfied with the result, when it was reached.

I hope you are restored to your health and strength by this time and that we may soon have better news from Frederick. I don't think at this moment there is any man living in whose restoration to health so universal an interest is felt outside of his own country as in yours.

I send you slips from this morning's *Moniteur.*

Yours very truly

P. S. In presenting Mr. Hunter's letter of thanks M. Drouyn de Lhuys asked if it would not be well to put it in the *Moniteur.* I replied that of course he was the proper judge. I could have no objection. It was welcome.

BIGELOW TO M. LE COMTE AGÉNOR DE GASPARIN

Translation

PARIS, 7th June 1865

Dear Sir:

The Honorable H. J. Raymond, a member of Congress from the State of New York, is preparing a collection of the writings of the late President Lincoln, with a biography. Learning that you have received a letter from him, he has asked me to beg of you a copy, with the privilege of inserting it in his publication. Should you see no objection to this request, I would be much obliged if you would send to my legation either the original or a copy, and I would have pleasure in transmitting one or the other to Mr. Raymond.

I have received a package of books for you from Mr. Andrews, the Governor of Massachusetts, and am expecting more very soon. Will you let me know how I should get them to you, and if the address of the letter which I have now the honor to write you is correct?

Accept, Count, the assurance of my most distinguished and earnest sentiments.

BIGELOW TO REV. DR. McCLINTOCK

PARIS, June 8th, 1865.

My dear Doctor:

I am extremely obliged to you for your noble discourse, which, though it only arrived this evening, I have read through with unmixed pleasure. You have placed Lincoln's greatness not only in its proper light, but where it will bear all the light which time or criticism can ever throw upon it. No American has ever had such an enviable fame in Europe as he now enjoys; none. The Count de Montalembert told me the other night that no death ever produced in the world such a profound and universal sorrow. By the way, the Count has just

published an article in the *Correspondant*, which, coming as it does from an Ultramontanist and from the Quartier St. Germain, deserves, as I said to him in a note the other day, to be added to the long list of obligations which we owe to our deplorable war so called. I shall send you a copy by this mail, and you will, on reading it, understand why I said so. When such a tribute to Republican institutions is extorted already from such a quarter, what may we not expect in Europe when the whole lump is leavened? The old world cannot, it will not long try to resist the inevitable logic, the irresistible eloquence of events, as the great tragedy of Slavery approaches its *dénouement*. If our people now continue, as I am sure they will, to show that same superior wisdom, which is wiser than the wisdom of any one man among them, that has thus far marked their treatment of the Slavery crisis, it will soon be as absurd to oppose popular sovereignty as to refuse vaccination for the small-pox.[1] For this reason I hope our government will be content to let public opinion ferment or ripen, and not attempt to hurry it to a too affirmative foreign policy, a result which requires time—not much, but a little time. There is but one calumny now remaining against us undisposed of. That is that we are restless, turbulent, unreasoning and dangerous as neighbors; that, like snakes, our course is directed by the tail instead of by the brain of the population; that we have, as was to be expected, shown the giant strength of youth, but that we also may now be expected to show youth's recklessness and impetuosity, etc. If it shall appear, as I am sure it will, that as a nation we are superior to vindictiveness; that we realize fully how much more power there is in ideas than in carnal weapons, powerful as they have proved to be, how much more rapidly a national virtue will convert the world than the largest army, our work is done; all nations will come to our school, and in a short time there will be on this side of the Atlantic many aged mothers in petticoats besides Jeff Davis, wishing to go to the well and draw water to wash themselves with.

Six months ago there was not a man in Europe who would have dared to make the concessions made now by Montalem-

[1] I would not have any of my readers infer that I am still a partisan of vaccination; though it seems that when I wrote this letter I may have thought I was, yet I never availed myself of it for my family.

bert, who defends the last *Encyclique*. Now I must go to bed. I thank you again for your speech. I have many things I would like to talk with you about, too many to write about. I need not say to you that an American newspaper, the poorest of them, is much better reading here now than the best when you were the keeper of our consciences. America has recovered her place in the European geographies. If you ever get a spare five minutes, I wish you would coin them into a letter to

Your friend and servant

DROUYN DE LHUYS TO BIGELOW

PARIS, June 8, 1865.

Sir:

I have had the honor to inform you, under date of May 31, that after the communication which you had the kindness to address to me on the 29th, we had no longer any objection to withdrawing the quality of belligerents from the Confederates. We have had to consider since then the bearing of this resolution with regard to their war-ships. I deem it my duty now to inform you of the measures taken by us to insure the efficient and equitable carrying out of that resolution.

M. the Minister of Marine, under date of the 5th instant, announced to the competent authorities in the ports of the empire and of its colonies that the southern States no longer presenting, in our opinion, the character of belligerents, their flag could no more be unfurled or recognized in French waters. Consequently, no vessel bearing that flag can henceforth be permitted to enter them, and it will be necessary to demand the immediate departure of all Confederate war-vessels which may yet be staying in our ports in consequence of our declaration of neutrality, as soon as the instructions of M. the Minister of Marine reach there. It is just, however, that these vessels should not be deprived of the benefit of the regulation in force at the time of their arrival in case a United States ship had been simultaneously admitted into port. Hence, for the last time, an interval of twenty-four hours should elapse

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between the departure of the Confederate and that of the United States ship which should chance to be together in the same French port.

Accept assurances of the high consideration, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, June 12, 1865.

Sir:

Your despatch of May 26, No. 107, has been received. It treats only of familiar questions; but it treats of these with special earnestness. For this reason I reply in this communication to your suggestions, although I have considered the same subject so recently as the 3d of June, when I transmitted to you the views of the President.

You inform me that the proclamation putting a price on Davis's head has produced an unpleasant effect upon the friends of the United States, and that it is particularly condemned by the Latin race. Treason and the raising of civil war, in some European states, are, for obvious reasons, regarded by mankind as venial offences. In the United States they are looked upon with far greater severity, for reasons which it is not necessary that I should now explain. With such severity crimes of the present insurgents in the United States are regarded by the government and by the loyal portion of the people of this country. The time, indeed, is rapidly coming on when these crimes will be lamented with greater sincerity, and condemned with greater earnestness, in the region which civil war has left desolate, than any political crime or casualty which has recently occurred in Europe has been lamented or condemned on that continent. The United States are not in a temper favorable to the making of apologies or explanations to European statesmen and politicians for matters which do not affect foreign nations, and which relate exclusively to our domestic affairs. I have, therefore, to request that you will make no explanations or apology for the action which this government has hitherto pursued, and,

as events shall transpire, may be found to be pursuing, in relation to rebels, who, without cause or necessity or excuse, have not only spread desolation and death throughout a large portion of the United States, but have employed energies of surpassing strength in the effort to invoke the intervention of foreign powers to make that desolation more ruinous, as well as perpetual. I state, however, for your own information, that the executive department has taken, as yet, no definitive action with regard to judicial proceedings against Jefferson Davis. Other subjects of greater urgency have. thus far, engaged its attention.

If it be true, as you have conceived, that France is likely to adopt some measure of hostility towards the United States on the ground of real or expected political complications in Mexico, the United States must wait the shock according to their ability. It is already known to the government of France that the United States are not prepared to recognize a monarchical and European power in Mexico, which is yet engaged in war with a domestic republican government and a portion of the Mexican people; but it must be acknowledged, on the other hand, that the United States have, from the first appearance of the shadow of that foreign domination in Mexico until its present stage of administration, expressed their views to France upon the subject in a perfectly direct, frank, and friendly manner. The sentiments of the people of the United States in regard to affairs in Mexico, which have been so often expressed in the manner to which I have referred, are natural and inextinguishable. It would be a new event in history if one nation can give cause of offence to another nation by declining to become the ally of that nation in a war for the overthrow of a state friendly to the power so refusing to become an ally. We shall not believe, until we have convincing proof, that France is to invade the United States on such a pretext. It is to this government a source of the highest satisfaction that, during the three years that the war has been carried on between France and the republic of Mexico, the United States have maintained a strict line of forbearance and neutrality which their relations to the several belligerent parties dictated. From time to time the French authorities have given notice to the United States of apprehended violations of neutrality by American citizens, and the government of

the United States have promptly interposed and prevented the intrusions menaced. Here the United States must stand. Beyond this they cannot go. They desire peace, and would cheerfully restore their traditional relations with France. It will remain for France to say whether for these relations shall be substituted an alienation whose consequences might involve an arrest of the march of civilization throughout the world.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, June 13, 1865.

Sir:

A statement of the Minister Secretary of State a few days since in the Corps Législatif, and an article in the *Moniteur* of the 10th instant, have compelled me to break the silence I intended to have kept until I heard from you in reference to the grounds upon which the Minister of Foreign Affairs placed his withdrawal of the proclamation of neutrality of June, 1865. I transmit herewith a copy of a note which I addressed this morning to his Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs, which will sufficiently explain itself, and my motives for not permitting the ministerial statements cited in it to pass in silence.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO DROUYN DE LHUYS

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, June 12, 1865.

Sir:

In the official report of a speech made by his Excellency the Minister of State on the 9th instant, I find an erroneous statement, which, to prevent any possible misapprehension between your Excellency and myself, I hasten to bring to your notice.

After speaking of the declarations made at Boston by General Rosecrans in reference to the alleged recruiting of American soldiers for the Mexican army, M. Rouher is reported to have said: "Pendant que ces declarations se faisaient à Washington et à New York, elles recevaient ici leur sanction et leur consécration formelle; le ministre des États-Unis se présentait à notre Ministre des Affaires Étrangères et lui disait: Sans doute nous ne voyons pas d'un œil favorable une monarchie s'établir au Mexico. Sans doute nous préférons les formes républicaines; mais nous respectons la volonté des peuples et des nations; nous comprenons que le Mexique, qui a été longtemps régi par la forme monarchique veuille revenir à cet état de choses; et nous n'irons pas faire la guerre pour une question de forme de gouvernement."

M. Rouher has probably misapprehended your Excellency, for I am persuaded that you never could have so entirely misunderstood my language as to have reported me as saying that the people of the United States understand that Mexico, after having been so long subject to a monarchical form of government, may desire to return to it. What I stated that may have given the impression which has misled the Minister of State was this, in brief: that now that the experiment had been begun, the Americans wished it to be fully tried under circumstances best calculated to determine finally and forever whether European systems of government suited the Mexican people best; if it should appear that they did, and public tranquillity was restored, no nation was more interested in such a result than her immediate neighbors; I added that the success of republican institutions in the Spanish-American States had thus far not been such as to encourage us to attempt the propagation of them there, otherwise than by our example, and that whatever government was acceptable to the Mexican people would be satisfactory to us. I trust to your Excellency's memory to confirm me in the assertion that I never expressed to you any opinion or impression importing that the Mexican people desired a monarchical government. In saying that the success of republican institutions in Spanish America had not been such as to justify us in becoming their armed propagandists, I did not countenance the inference that the Mexicans themselves were dissatisfied with the form of govern-

ment under which they had been living prior to the occupation of their capital by French troops.

I beg your Excellency will take such measures as may seem to you proper to correct the error into which the Minister Secretary of State, in common with his hearers and readers, appears to have been betrayed.

I desire to avail myself of this occasion to correct another misapprehension which has become accredited by publication in the official journal.

The *Moniteur* of the 10th instant, speaking of the neutrality of France between the United States and the late insurgents in the slave states, says:

"La situation étant aujourd'hui changée, et le gouvernement fédéral ayant fait connaître son intention de ne plus exercer a l'égard des neutres les droits qui résultaient pour lui de l'état de guerre, le Gouvernement de l'Empereur n'a pas cru devoir plus longtemps reconnaître des belligerants dans les États-Unis d'Amérique."

I presume reference is here made to the communication which I had the honor to submit to your Excellency on the 29th ultimo, extracts from which were quoted by your Excellency in a subsequent communication to me announcing the withdrawal of belligerent rights from the insurgents. Assuming such to be the authority from which the *Moniteur* makes the statement which I have cited, I feel it my duty to say that thus far the Federal Government of the United States has made no renunciation of any rights which belonged to it as a belligerent. It has ceased to exercise such rights, I presume, but I am not aware that it has renounced them.

The communication to your Excellency of the 29th ultimo was in reply to a previous declaration of your Excellency that a renunciation by us of the belligerent right of visit and capture of neutral ships must be a condition precedent to the withdrawal of belligerent rights from the American insurgents by France.

In arguing the inconveniences of making these measures dependent one upon the other, I stated that "the United States Government, in applying for a repeal of the declaration of June, 1861, abandoned any of the rights of belligerents *which it is presumed to have claimed* and became directly re-

sponsible for anything it might do in the character of a belligerent. If after the withdrawal of the imperial declaration it were to visit and search a neutral vessel, it would at once expose itself to reprisals, the same as for any other violation of international comity.'' That is to say, we abandoned any belligerent rights which upon the theory of your Excellency we only shared in common with the insurgents, and upon that theory would be responsible for anything we might do in our proper character as a belligerent.

These observations were based upon the doctrine of belligerent rights propounded in the communication to which I was replying, without either admitting or denying its correctness. Should my government be of opinion that a nation may be entitled to the privileges of a belligerent in suppressing a rebellion without thereby conferring belligerent rights upon the rebels, it might not be prepared to renounce the practice of visiting and searching neutral vessels so long as that remedy was necessary for the national security. Your Excellency will remember that I made no concealment of the fact that I had no instructions from my Government to offer or accept any conditions to be attached to the withdrawal of the declaration of June, 1861. I merely argued the inconvenience and unreasonableness of the conditions attached to its withdrawal upon premises assumed by your Excellency. The final suppression of the rebellion in the United States, of which intelligence has reached us since the correspondence under consideration took place, deprives the matter to which I have invited your Excellency's attention of much of its practical importance. At the same time it is as well that the communications, both oral and written, which I had the honor to submit on the 29th ultimo should not acquire in their restatement any importance not properly belonging to them.

I beg therefore that nothing that I have written or said to your Excellency may be regarded as an acceptance of the principle that the assertion of belligerent rights by a nation against its rebellious subjects necessarily confers upon the latter belligerent rights.

I beg to renew to your Excellency, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, June 15, 1865.

Sir:

In pursuance of your instructions I availed myself of an opportunity to speak with the Minister of Foreign Affairs in reference to the rejection, by the Minister of Agriculture, Commerce, and Public Works, of the application made by Mr. Zumpstein, on behalf of the American Emigrant Company, for leave to enter into certain engagements with emigrants for their transport from Havre to the United States. His Excellency expressed some surprise that such an application had been denied, and requested me to send him the letter from Mr. Zumpstein, which I communicated to the Minister of Agriculture, Commerce, and Public Works in March last, a copy of which may be found in my despatch No. 60.

. . . . . .

On the 14th instant I received a note from M. Drouyn de Lhuys, of which enclosure No. 2 is a copy, removing all obstacles to the operations of the American Emigrant Company of a serious character.

I propose to communicate a copy of the reply of Monsieur Drouyn de Lhuys to Mr. Zumpstein without delay.

If Mr. Zumpstein were instructed to keep me advised of what he is doing, from time to time, I think it would be advantageous both to the company and to the government.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

DROUYN DE LHUYS TO BIGELOW

Translation

PARIS, June 14, 1865.

Sir:

After the interview at which you had expressed to me the wish that the American Company called the American Emi-

grant Company should be authorized to undertake, in France, operations for the engagement and transportation of emigrants, you did me the honor to communicate to me on the 14th of last month a letter from Mr. Zumpstein, the agent of that company in Havre, requesting you to inform the French government, if necessary, upon the nature of the enterprise, and the guaranties which it presents.

The Ministers of Commerce and of the Interior, to whom I hastened to transmit the request of the American Emigrant Company, recommending it to their particular consideration, and pointing out to them the support which you would give to it, have deemed it susceptible of being favorably received, and it is pleasing to me to be enabled to announce to you, sir, that the Minister of Agriculture, Commerce, and Public Works has, on the 8th of this month, in concert with the Minister of the Interior, issued an order which authorizes Mr. Zumpstein to undertake in Havre operations for the engagement and transportation of emigrants. The amount of the security to be given, agreeably to the decree of March 7, 1861, is fixed at 40,000 francs, and the French government accepts the surety presented by Mr. Zumpstein.

While charging the prefect of the Lower Seine with the execution of the order of the 8th of June, M. Behic has given him instructions in this sense.

Receive, sir, the assurances of the high consideration, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Private

Department of State,
Washington, 17th June, 1865.

My dear Sir:

We have received a complaint from our commander at Brownsville that General Mejia, the officer in command at Matamoras, had received from the previous rebel commander a quantity of cannon and other public property. It is understood that this complaint is to be followed by another that the

French authorities at Matamoras have also received into their service a large detachment of late paroled rebel soldiers with their arms. Circumstances indicate a growing disposition in some quarters of the country to find or make a *casus belli* with a view to the political situation of Mexico. I think it would be well for you in an informal and confidential manner to let the French Government understand the great importance, as we think, of the practice on their part of the most just and friendly disposition towards the United States by the French authorities in Mexico as well as in the shaping of French policy towards that country.

Prompt and punctual attention to this subject will be of essential importance.

Believe me to be, etc.

BIGELOW TO H. J. RAYMOND

Paris, June 17, 1865.

My dear Sir:

In compliance with the request of Mr. Derby I wrote to Count de Gasparin for a copy or the original of a letter supposed to be in his hands from the late President Lincoln. His reply, or rather a copy of his reply, and its enclosure I herewith send you.

I am glad the biography of poor Lincoln is in such good hands. Let me beg of you not to attempt a hasty book for a temporary sale. You have the range of more material than any future biographer can hope to have; why not utilize it and give the whole story at such length as to leave nothing in the way of facts to be added? There is no danger of the subject growing stale, and if you do the work deliberately and thoroughly your book will have a large and continuous sale, not to speak of the fame it will confer upon the biographer.

I had the pleasure of seeing Mrs. Raymond and one of your daughters—an absurd likeness of you, only a thousand times handsomer—yesterday just on their way to Switzerland. All seemed well as usual.

If I can be of any farther service to you, please give me the opportunity.

By the way, Andrew Carrigain was good enough to give me a copy of your volume of the discourses and messages of Lincoln, with the sketch of his life. Not long after, I lent it to an *ouvrier* in the gasworks, who was running over with enthusiasm for Lincoln and Republicanism, and who employs his leisure moments in writing popular biographies of distinguished workingmen. The other day he sent me the first installment of a sketch of your hero. I send it to you that you may see how your labors germinate in foreign lands. I do not know that I ever thanked Carrigain for your book, and to make the thing sure, I wish you would tell of the above recorded indirect expression of my gratitude.

Yours very truly

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Department of State,
Washington, June 17, 1865.

Sir:

I have before me your despatch of May 23, No. 98, and also your despatch of June 1, No. 111.

Each of these communications is accompanied by correspondence which has taken place between yourself and M. Drouyn de Lhuys upon the subject of the denial by the French government of customary naval courtesies to the United States, and upon the claim which was insisted upon by the United States, that the belligerent privileges heretofore accorded by France to the insurgents of this country should be withdrawn. In effect, the first of your communications announces that the imperial government has revoked its instructions in regard to the courtesies due to the fleet of the United States which were complained of. The second of your despatches brings the information that the French government has responded to our representations concerning the late belligerent privileges to the insurgents by withdrawing from them the belligerent character.

I have carefully considered the arguments employed in the correspondence between yourself and M. Drouyn de Lhuys,

which has happily resulted in these important and gratifying declarations of the French government. While I do not concur in the positions which M. Drouyn de Lhuys has assumed in his part of the correspondence, I do not think it necessary to reopen the past discussion. Happily, the frank and explicit manner in which the correspondence between the two governments has been conducted during the four years of the insurrection has left no necessity for either party to restate now the position which it held during that eventful period. Insisting, therefore, by way of extreme caution, that the grounds heretofore assumed by the United States remain, in their judgment, undisturbed by the arguments which have been brought against them, I am content to leave the questions referred to to stand as they have been duly recorded, as questions which, once practical, have now become in a great degree historical. I find no reason to dissent from the opinion which you have expressed to M. Drouyn de Lhuys, to the effect that the right of visitation and search on the part of the United States would cease immediately after a withdrawal of the imperial declaration by which the insurgents were recognized as a belligerent.

These preliminaries being thus disposed of, I am authorized by the President to accept, on behalf of the United States, the declaration of the French government, and to respond with sincerity and frankness to the desire which the imperial government has so generously expressed, that the now restored relations of the two governments may be wisely improved, so as to revive the old sympathies of the two nations, whose interests and traditions constantly invite them to cultivate the most cordial friendship.

I am, sir, etc.

Though the thought of sacrificing slavery for success does not seem to have entered the minds of the diplomatic representatives of the Richmond Government, the logic of events was not so completely lost upon the ruined and suffering people at home. On the 20th of June, 1865, Mr. Duncan F. Kenner of Louisiana called at the United States Legation in Paris to take the oath prescribed by the President in his amnesty proclamation of the 29th of May. I communicated the record of the oath to the Secretary of State, as follows:

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, June 21st, 1865.

Sir:

I enclose the oath prescribed by the President of the United States in his proclamation of the 29th of May last as taken before me by Mr. Duncan F. Kenner of Louisiana, late a member of the Confederate Congress (enclosure No. 1). Mr. Kenner left with me the memorandum of which enclosure No. 2 is a copy, and he wished me to say that while he yielded to the pressure of public opinion about him so far as to cast his fortunes with the enemies of his country in the late rebellion, he is now satisfied that the whole movement was a mistake, and he is anxious to be restored to the privileges of a citizen of the United States. He also hoped for a favorable decision as early as possible, as his family, now in Louisiana, stand in pressing need of his protection.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

[Enclosure No. 1]

Oath of Allegiance prescribed by the President of the United States in his Proclamation dated the 29th of May, 1865

I do solemnly swear, in presence of Almighty God, that I will henceforth faithfully support, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States, and the Union of the States thereunder, and that I will in like manner abide by and faithfully support all laws and proclamations which have been made during the existing rebellion with reference to the emancipation of slaves. So help me God.

DUNCAN F. KENNER.

Sworn to before me at the Legation of the United States, this 20th day of June, 1865.

JOHN BIGELOW,
Envoy Extra. & Min. Plenipo.

The memorandum referred to as enclosure No. 2 ran as follows:

Mr. Kenner is a native of Louisiana, where he has constantly resided. He is fifty-two years of age, passed. He has never held any office or position of any kind under the Federal Government. He took no part in bringing about secession, never was a member of any meeting or convention gotten up for the purpose of inducing the State to secede from the Union. Was educated in the South, and had been led to believe that in the double relation of citizen of the United States and citizen of Louisiana he owed allegiance first to his native State. Acting under this conviction, when the State of Louisiana seceded he followed her destiny, and was subsequently elected a member of the Richmond Congress. The class of exceptions in the President's proclamation under which he comes are Nos. 1 and 13—under No. 1 as a member of Congress, and under No. 13 as having property estimated over $20,000 in value.

In January he succeeded in passing through the military lines and came to Europe, in the hope of being joined by his family, who are still in Louisiana. Hence his being here at the present time.

Paris, June 20, 1865.

Mr. Kenner, in the last paragraph in the foregoing memorandum, assigned one of the reasons correctly for his being in Paris at that time. There were others, which he naturally did not assign, but which have a most interesting relation to the subject under consideration.

Kenner was a member of the Confederate Congress. He had long been satisfied that it was impossible to prosecute the war to a successful issue without a recognition of the Confederacy by at least one of the maritime powers of western Europe, into the ports of which the Southern States might carry their prizes, make repairs, and get supplies. He was also satisfied that they would never secure recognition or any substantial aid so long as the foundations of their projected new empire rested on slavery. He communicated these views to President Davis. The President asked what he had to propose in the premises. He said he wanted the President to authorize a special envoy to offer to the governments of England and France to put an end to slavery in the Confederacy if they

would recognize the South as a sovereign power. The President consented to submit the suggestion to several of the leading members of the Congress, by some of whom it was roughly handled.[1]

They protested that the emancipation of the slaves would ruin them, etc. Mr. Kenner told them that he and his family owned more slaves, probably, than all the other members of the Congress put together, and that he was asking no one to make sacrifices which he was not ready to make himself. The result of the consultations was that Kenner himself was sent abroad by President Davis, either with or without the confirmation of the Senate, with full powers to negotiate for recognition on the basis of emancipation. As soon as he received his commission he took a special train to Wilmington, North Carolina. On his arrival there he found either that the blockade was too strict, or that there was no suitable transportation available from that port, and returned at once to Richmond, determined to go by the way of the Potomac and New York. When he mentioned his purpose to Davis, "Why, Kenner," he exclaimed, "there is not a gambler in the country who won't know you. You will certainly be captured." Kenner had been one of the leading turfmen in the South for a generation. "I am not afraid of that," said Kenner. "There is not a gambler who knows me who would betray me. I am going to New York."

Being a very bald man, Kenner provided himself with a brown wig as his chief if not only disguise, and proceeded on his journey. By hook and by crook he finally reached New York and drove to the Metropolitan Hotel. Discovering that the waiters were colored, and that there were too many chances of some of them knowing him, also that ex-Senator Foote of Mississippi, who had deserted the Confederates, was residing at this hotel, he succeeded in getting a note to Mr.

[1] I was informed that the proposition was debated in the Congress, but have not succeeded in finding any record of such debate. Mr. Ben C. Truman, speaking of Robert Toombs of Georgia, in a communication to the *New York Times* of July 24, 1890, said, "Toombs believed that if the South had made the abolition of slavery a part of its policy it would have had England and France on its side, and that the Confederates would have succeeded." Perhaps! And if the South had made the abolition of slavery a part of its policy there would have been no war, and the Confederate maggot would never have been hatched.

Hildreth, then managing the New York Hotel, and an old and trusty friend, asking that a certain room on the lower floor and north side of the hotel be made ready for him, and named the hour that he might be expected, adding that he could not sign the letter, but was a friend. At the time named he went to the hotel and directly to the room he had ordered. The fireman was preparing a fire. While at his work at the grate the door opened, and in walked Hildreth to see who his "friend" and new lodger might be. Upon recognizing Kenner, he exclaimed, "Good God!" He was checked from continuing by observing Kenner's fingers on his lips. They talked upon indifferent matters until the fireman left, and then Hildreth asked Kenner what could have brought him to New York at such a time. "Do you know," said he, "that it is as much as your life is worth to be found here?" "I am going to sail in the English steamer on Saturday," said Kenner, "and I wish to stay quietly with you until then. You can denounce me to the Government if you choose, but I know you won't." Kenner did not leave his room till he left it in a cab for the steamer. His meals were served in his room by Hildreth's personal attendant.

As soon as Kenner arrived in London he sought an interview with Palmerston, to whom he unfolded his mission. Palmerston said that his proposition could not be entertained without the concurrence of the Emperor of France. "With the Emperor's concurrence would you give us recognition?" asked Kenner. "That," replied Palmerston, "would be a subject for consideration when the case presents itself, and may depend upon circumstances which cannot be foreseen."

Kenner went to Paris and had an interview with the Emperor, who told him he would do whatever England was willing to do in the premises, and would do nothing without her.

Kenner then returned to Palmerston to report the Emperor's answer. During his absence, the news of Sherman's successful march through the South had reached London. Palmerston's answer to him was, "It is too late."

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, June 24, 1865.

Sir:

Enclosed you will find an application to the President of the United States from Captain Henry J. Hartstene of South Carolina, for a pardon under the proclamation of May 29, 1865. His application is accompanied by a certificate as to the condition of his health signed by one of the physicians of the hospital, and also by the prescribed oath of allegiance taken and subscribed before the Second Secretary of this legation.

I think the clemency of the Executive will hardly find among those excluded from his amnesty a more meritorious case for its exercise than this.

I also enclose the Oath of Allegiance of Mrs. and Miss Hartstene, wife and daughter of Captain Hartstene. Mrs. Hartstene has, she tells me, some property in her own right in South Carolina, and if her husband should be deemed worthy of pardon, I presume that Mrs. Hartstene will also be entitled to have the control of her property restored to her if it has been taken from her.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, June 27, 1865.

Sir:

Enclosed I transmit to you a few more testimonials of sympathy received at this legation on the occasion of the assassination of our late President.

They are divided into three categories, similar to those already transmitted by me with despatch No. 109, and numbered in continuation of that series.

I am, sir, etc.

[Enclosures to Despatch No. 132]

FIRST CATEGORY

Letters addressed to Mrs. Lincoln, from:

No. 12. Freemason lodge, St. Auguste de la Bienfaisance, of Boulogne-sur-Seine.
No. 13. Émules de Montyon, of Orléans.
No. 14. Sealed letter.
No. 15. Sealed letter.
No. 16. Sealed letter.

[The above enclosures forwarded to Mrs. Lincoln July 15.]

SECOND CATEGORY

First Subdivision

Addresses from Freemason lodges to the United States Minister at Paris:

No. 19. La Parfaite Union, of Confolens, Charente.
No. 20. Supreme G. C. of Misraim.
No. 21. Amis de la Parfaite Union, of Perpignan.
No. 22. Admirateurs de l'Univers.
No. 23. Scotch Lodge, No. 136, La Ruche Écossaise.
No. 24. La Nouvelle Amitié, of Grasse.

Second Subdivision

To United States lodges:

No. 9. Amis de la Parfaite Union, of Perpignan, with three enclosures.
No. 10. Bienfaiteurs Réunis, of Gentilly.
No. 11. St. Auguste de la Bienfaisance, of Boulogne-sur-Seine.
No. 12. La Nouvelle Amitié, of Grasse.
No. 13. L'Harmonie.

[Those for Grand Lodge, New York, sent to Mr. James Austin, grand secretary.]

THIRD CATEGORY

Miscellaneous letters and addresses to the President and others, from:

No. 29. The Creoles of Guadeloupe (colored).
No. 30. Americans at Nice.
No. 31. Democrats of Lyons.
No. 32. Paul Thouzery.
No. 33. Imbert.
No. 34. A sealed letter.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, June 29, 1865.

Sir:

In the course of an interview to-day with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, his Excellency referred to reclamations made by our government of the arms and equipment of a fort in Texas which had been bought by the Mexican General Mejia from certain Confederate officers after capitulation of the Corps d'Armée to which the garrison of the fort belonged. M. Drouyn de Lhuys desired me to say to you that the information which had reached him led him to believe that General Mejia had committed an error and that he had written in that sense to the French Minister at Mexico.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, June 30, 1865.

Sir:

In a recent conversation with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, his Excellency spoke of two subjects which I had in-

structions to bring to his notice some months since; the case of the Federal steamer *Ark,* seized on the Rio Grande within Mexican jurisdiction by Confederates from Texas, and sold at Brownsville to Mexicans; and the case of certain deserters from the Confederate Army sent back by the Mexican General to the Confederate authorities. His Excellency then read to me a report on the facts of those two cases which had been prepared for him in the bureaus of War and Marine, to which it had been referred, and offered to send me a copy if I wished it. I said my government would, of course, like to know what defense could be made to its reclamations, that it might know whether they deserved to be presented. He said I should have one to-morrow, with the understanding that it should only be taken for what it was, and not as an official communication of a final determination of the government on those subjects. I told him I would receive it, if he pleased, as a memorandum of a conversation. He said I should receive it to-day. If it comes in time for this mail I will enclose it.

I am, sir, etc.

MEMORANDUM OF DROUYN DE LHUYS

Translation

In a conversation of the 9th of March and through two notes, one of the same date and the other of the 15th of March, the Minister of the United States pointed out to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Emperor, as infractions of Mexican neutrality in behalf of the Confederates, two occurrences that had become known on the Rio Grande and at Matamoras. The steamer *Ark,* belonging to a citizen of the United States, having stranded in ascending the Rio Grande above Bagdad, some yards distant from the Mexican shore, was seized, it is said, by the Confederates, taken to Brownsville, condemned as a prize with the cargo, and sold to Mexicans. Then, it is asserted that more recently General Mejia, commanding the allied division, arrested at Matamoras thirty deserters of the South, and caused them to be taken, under escort, to the banks of the Rio Grande to be delivered up to a Confederate corps.

The Minister, without assuming to prejudge the accuracy of the above facts, replied to Mr. Bigelow that, in principle, the Government

of the Emperor would always take into serious consideration any act pointed out as infringing on neutrality. The Minister consequently communicated the above information to his colleagues of the Departments of War and Marine, and requested them to beg the Commandants-in-chief of our expeditionary corps and naval forces in Mexico to see, as far as it should depend upon them, that no act contrary to neutrality should take place on the Mexican frontier bordering Texas. M. le Maréchal Randon and M. le Marquis de Chasseloup-Laubat sent, at once, to Marshal Bazaine and Commandant Cloue instructions in this sense.

Since then the Commandant of our naval subdivision in the Mexican waters transmitted to the Minister of Marine precise information regarding the occurrences which Mr. Bigelow mentioned to the Minister. They show, in the first place, and as we had reason to expect, that the French authorities had no part whatever in it, and, further, that the facts did not occur exactly as was reported at Washington.

Thus, the steamer *Ark* was taken, as stated, by the Confederates; but this seizure was effected before the expedition under the guidance of Marshal Bazaine on the Rio Grande last year, and when the disaffected under Cortinas were masters of Matamoras and Bagdad. When General Mejia afterwards took possession of Matamoras in the name of the Emperor Maximilian, the vessel was sold to one of its inhabitants (a German, as we are assured); but as the vessel was moored before Brownsville, General Mejia did not suspect what had passed in this matter and that he would have to intervene with respect to the sale. The fact, therefore, could neither be laid to the charge of the Mexican nor of the French authorities.

In the case of the delivering up of Southern deserters indicated by the United States Minister, it is impossible, if it really did take place, to render any of the French authorities in the smallest degree responsible for it, considering that, since the temporary occupation of Bagdad by the crews of the ships placed under the orders of the Admiral Rope, there was positively no French military either at Bagdad or Matamoras until the 2d of last May, when the column of the Commandant de Brian was landed. The Confederate leader announced that he was going to send back to the Mexican shore four deserters of the Foreign Legion. The Commandant de Brian could not return them to the Texas shore after they had been brought over to the Mexican shore. He therefore consented to receive them, but without desiring to have an interview on this occasion with the authorities of Brownsville. A misconception of the orders of which they were the bearers having led the Mexican mayor and the French sergeant who were sent to meet these deserters to cross the stream in order to go in search of them, the sergeant suffered a month's imprisonment and the mayor a month's arrest. M. le Commandant de Brian declared at the same

time to General Mejia that neither of them should have any intercourse with the authorities of Brownsville. Moreover, when the Commandant Cloue was informed that they were also about to send back to him two of his sailors who had deserted, he refused to take any steps which should facilitate their delivery.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, June 30, 1865.

Sir:

Señor Arangoaz, late Minister from the Archduke Maximilian at London, whose abrupt retirement from the diplomatic service some time since was the subject of more or less speculation, is now in Paris. A friend of mine who knows him very well tells me that the ex-Minister is thoroughly disgusted with the Archduke's management and thinks his reign will be very short. The principal grievances of which he complains are:

(1) The Archduke's alleged infidelity to the Church. Why not have kept Juarez if we are to accept his policy? I place this grievance first in order because it is believed to have exerted most influence in alienating the peaceful class of Mexicans, to which Señor Arangoaz belongs.

(2) The Archduke's reassertion of his contingent rights to the Austrian Throne, abandoned by the Convention at Miramar. The act itself, and the plea used that he did not know what he signed and was deceived, both give great offense, for the Mexicans naturally do not wish their country to be regarded merely as an Austrian province for the initiation of young Hapsburgs in the elementary arts of a despotism.

(3) Señor Arangoaz complains that the Archduke, without money, without credit, with bankruptcy staring him in the face from every point of the compass, has sent large sums of money to Miramar for the reparation of his palace, thus betraying at once the *animus revertendi* and a double infidelity to the country from which he accepted a crown.

This is the first time I have heard the report that the Archduke was sending home money; but it is a fact which will serve in part to explain the coldness which has been manifested around the Archduke among leading Mexican families both at home and abroad.

You will have remarked the termination of Señor Velasquez de Leon's unsuccessful mission to Rome. It is a coincidence worthy of notice that the Count Sartiges received a three months' congé from this government almost simultaneously. Whether the two events have more than an accidental connection I cannot say. This, however, I have reason to know, that the Church as a body politic is not disposed to diminish any of the embarrassments which the Emperor of the French may encounter in the prosecution of his Mexican projects.

I am, sir, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, July 1, 1865.

My dear Bigelow:

On my return here from a painful visit to Auburn I find your letter of the 6th of June.

Before adverting to its contents let me tell you how deeply I regret that the state of my family was such that I was compelled to forego the pleasure of a visit from Mrs. Bigelow which she tendered me.

My dispatches and notes must have satisfied you that you as well as M. Drouyn de Lhuys got well through the withdrawal of the belligerent rights from the rebels.

Parties are organizing here for ulterior political acts. It is unmistakable that immediate enforcement of negro suffrage upon the states which rebelled, by the conquering loyal states, is to be the platform of one. Decided and minatory action towards France in regard to Mexico, another. This may be taken in explanation of a suggestion I made in my last note to you concerning claims against Mexico.[1]

[1] See Seward to Bigelow, June 17, 1865.

We have as yet not thought it necessary to take up for consideration the penalties to be imposed upon the chiefs of the rebels. Europe is impatient with us, but she must wait our time.

Faithfully yours

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Department of State,
Washington, July 3rd, 1865.

My dear Bigelow:

I acknowledge, although in much haste, your letter of the 9th of June. European politicians will have time to forget their interest in Jefferson Davis before they digest the proceedings of the government against the assassin of Mr. Lincoln. Nothing here has occurred in regard to Davis since I wrote you before on this subject. It is an occasion of regret that friends of Truth, Right and Humanity in Europe suffer themselves to be confounded with the wicked abettors in *the execution* of Davis, as they do by pleading impatiently for his deliverance.

Faithfully yours

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Department of State,
Washington, July 3, 1865.

My dear Mr. Bigelow:

I have your private note of the 16th of June. I have treated of the principal subject mentioned there in a dispatch which goes by this mail.

Europe is at peace, universal peace. North America is at peace, except Mexico. The proceedings going on there will increase in interest every day, and become more and more perplexing. Nothing can be more apparent or more clear than the fact that the people of the U. S. will not view with satis-

faction or complacency such a state as this which France is endeavoring to establish in Mexico. The Emperor is to judge for himself whether his policy in that respect is material to the prosperity, welfare and glory of France. I trust that there is some way in his contemplation for avoiding difficulties which it is the duty of all to foresee and ward off as far as possible. Newspaper organs and imperial orators in France may quiet the public feeling there by attributing to us sentiments and concessions we never make, but they, on the other hand, arouse jealousies and passions here which bode no good to the fraternity of nations.

Faithfully yours

The approach of the anniversary of our national independence, the celebration of which had been intermitted for several years in consequence of our troubled relations with France, was advancing under such propitious and exhilarating conditions that it seemed to be my duty to welcome it in France with more than ordinary ceremony. Therefore I called together a few of my friends resident in Paris and concurred with them in the appointment of a committee to plan and report with all convenient speed a suitable mode of celebrating the revolutions of 1776 and 1861. They reported in favor of a public dinner. To their letter I sent the following reply:

BIGELOW TO JOHN MUNROE & CO.

Legation of the United States,
Paris, June 12, 1865.

Messrs. John Munroe & Co.

Gentlemen:

I understand that the Committee charged with the preparations for the celebration of the approaching anniversary of our National Independence are to meet this afternoon at your office, to perfect the details of a general plan already fixed

upon. As soon as those details are sufficiently developed to leave no doubt as to the character and scale of expense of the proposed entertainment which the gentlemen of the Committee think called for by the somewhat exceptional nature of the coming anniversary, I beg you will say to them for me that I should esteem it a privilege, if I may not claim it as a right, to give the proposed entertainment myself; that I have only refrained from announcing my wishes sooner that I might be more sure of ascertaining what kind of an entertainment would be most acceptable to our country people; that I do not propose to interfere in any way whatever with the execution of the plans upon which the Committee may agree or have agreed—if they will oblige me by continuing their superintendence—farther than to have the invitations issued in the name of the Minister of the United States, and all bills for the expenses incurred sent to him for payment. To prevent any misunderstanding, let me repeat my desire that, except in the particulars mentioned, I beg the gentlemen of the Committee will go on with the preparations and management of the fête precisely as they would have done if this note had not been written, and to spare no expense for a display worthy of the occasion and of those who are to celebrate it.

You are hereby authorized to pay any bills which the Committee above referred to may incur on a/c of the expenses of this fête and charge them to me—if you please, in an a/c apart from my general a/c.

I beg to remain, dear Sirs,

Yours very respectfully

Not without some remonstrance against the provision that I should bear all or even any part of the expense of the projected entertainment, the committee finally assented to my explanation that the times and circumstances were not yet quite propitious for opening the flood-gates of our Fourth of July oratory in Paris. I then proposed, instead of a hotel dinner, to take the Pré Catelan, in the Bois de Boulogne, for a fête champêtre, for I intended to invite every American then in Europe that I knew or had heard of, his wife and all his chil-

dren, including babes in arms, and there was no hotel in Paris large enough to entertain the number I expected to invite, nor could the children be received at the table if there had been room enough. I then sent out to every American, official or unofficial, and to each individual member of his family, if he had any, and including his domestics, the following card:

Monsieur——:

The Minister of the United States at Paris requests the pleasure of your company at a Fête Champêtre at the Pré Catelan, in the Bois de Boulogne, on the Fourth day of July next, at 2 P.M., in commemoration of the 90th Anniversary of American Independence.

Please present this at the Entrance.

R. S. V. P.

The invitations included all the official representatives as well as ministers, etc., of the United States in Europe, though most of them were detained at their posts by corresponding ceremonies at their own legations. The total number of cards issued was: gentlemen, 227; ladies, 193; children, with their nurses, 108; total, 528.

BIGELOW TO CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, June 16, 1865.

My dear Sir:

I propose to give a fête champêtre in the Bois de Boulogne on the 4th of July next, at which a general attendance of the Americans who may be then in Paris, without distinction of age or sex, is expected.

I should be very happy if you and your family and as many as are within the reach of this invitation could make it convenient to be present on this occasion.

The invitations will be confined exclusively to Americans or those with American wives or husbands.

Charles Francis Adams

President Lincoln's and President Johnson's Minister of the United States to England

The peculiar interest which attaches to our great National Anniversary this year seems to invite from us in foreign lands a special demonstration, and I indulge the hope it may suit the convenience of Americans generally now in Europe, and of yourself and family more especially, to give to the proposed fête the distinction of your presence, and to the other American guests who may not have had the opportunity, the honor to make your acquaintance.

I am, dear Sir, Very sincerely yours

Letters similar to the one addressed to Charles Francis Adams, our Minister to England, were addressed to: Cassius M. Clay, U. S. Minister, St. Petersburg, Russia; James O. Putnam, U. S. Consul, Havre, France; Horatio J. Perry, U. S. Chargé d'Affaires, Madrid; Henry S. Sanford, U. S. Minister, Brussels, Belgium; James S. Pike, U. S. Minister, The Hague, Holland; Bradford R. Wood, U. S. Minister, Copenhagen; Jacob S. Haldeman, U. S. Minister, Stockholm; Norman B. Judd, U. S. Minister, Berlin, Prussia; J. Lothrop Motley, U. S. Minister, Vienna, Austria; William W. Murphy, U. S. Consul, Frankfort, Germany; George P. Marsh, U. S. Minister, Florence, Italy; Rufus King, U. S. Minister, Rome (Papal States); Edward Joy Morris, U. S. Minister, Constantinople, Turkey; James E. Harvey, U. S. Minister, Lisbon, Portugal; George G. Fogg, U. S. Minister, Berne, Switzerland; Charles Hale, U. S. Consul, Alexandria, Egypt; the Chargé d'Affaires of San Marino.

C. F. ADAMS TO BIGELOW

Legation of the United States,
London, 19 June, 1865.

My dear Sir:

I am obliged to you for your kind invitation to your proposed celebration of the 4th proximo at Paris. I should like

nothing better than to be with you, if I were in a private situation. But, as it is, I must be here to do something of the sort for any Americans that may be compelled to remain in London. The reception of last year seemed so acceptable that I shall venture to attempt it again.

I am,

Very truly yours

BARON HAUSSMANN, SENATOR-PREFECT OF THE SEINE, TO LA VALETTE, MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR

Translation

CABINET OF THE SENATOR-PREFECT OF THE SEINE,
PARIS, 21 June, 1865.

Mr. Minister:

Your Excellency has informed me, by your letter of the 20th instant, that the Minister of the United States has the intention of organizing a fête at Paris for the celebration of the national anniversary, and that he would desire to give this fête in the Pré Catelan on the Fourth of July next. Your Excellency thinks also that the administration should cordially coöperate with Mr. Bigelow in giving him all desirable facilities for the realization of his purpose. I hasten to inform your Excellency that I accord to Mr. Bigelow the authorization which he desires, and that I have charged the engineer-in-chief, administrator of the walks in Paris, to place himself at the disposal of the Minister of the United States, and to give him all facilities compatible with the good of the service.

Will you accept, Mr. Minister, the homage of my respectful sentiments?

LA VALETTE, MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR, TO BIGELOW

CABINET OF THE MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR,
PARIS, 21 June, 1865.

Mr. Minister:

I have the honor to transmit to you a letter which has been addressed to me by the Prefect of the Seine, in relation to the

fête which you have the intention to give at the Pré Catelan. I am happy to have this occasion to testify to you the value I attach to the opportunity of being agreeable to you.

Accept, Mr. Minister, the assurance of my high consideration.

JAMES S. PIKE TO BIGELOW

Private

The Hague, June 21, 1865.

My dear Mr. Bigelow:

I beg to acknowledge your very polite note requesting me to join in your 4th of July festivities.

It would afford me very great pleasure to accept this invitation, but I am unfortunately engaged on another mission. I have been here now these two months, conscientiously devoted to the discharge of the arduous duties of this post (among which has been a very important correspondence with my colleague at Brussels), and, exhausted with my efforts, I have now to go in search of a Doctor of Medicine.

My wife, whose attenuated frame you must have often painfully observed, feels it necessary to accompany me on a pilgrimage to Edinburgh, to consult some infernal Pict or Scot about the incomprehensible maladies that keep her reduced to such a shadow. The last of June or the 1st of July is the time we have fixed upon for our expedition.

It is thus not unlikely we shall take steamer from Rotterdam for London (drawing too much water to go via Paris) just at the time you will be getting your spread eagle ready to frighten the Bois de Boulogne with its screams.

I hope you will regard this as a sufficient reason for you to excuse me from joining you on that consecrated spot in a celebration which, under existing circumstances, cannot fail to have an immense amount of explosive matter in it, and which will not need any detonating additions from me.

Indeed, I will believe it better as it is, for I have been a very dangerous person to have in an Anti-Republican country ever since Sherman passed Atlanta.

My wife feebly joins her salutations to mine and begs me to say she thinks Paris in July is charming, as well as good for rheumatism.

I remain,

Very truly yours

RUFUS KING TO BIGELOW

Legation of the U. S.,
Rome, June 23, 1865.

My dear Sir:

I am much obliged for your cordial invitation to the fête champêtre which you propose to give in the Bois de Boulogne on the coming 4th of July. Nothing could give Mrs. King and myself more pleasure than to be present on the occasion. We cannot, however, get away from Rome in season to join the proposed festivities; and our summer campaign contemplates a visit to Switzerland, first, and Paris in the fall; when we hope to have the satisfaction of thanking you, in person, for your kind recollection.

My father—ex-President of Columbia College—with several members of the family, embarks for Europe *to-day,* in the French steamer *Lafayette,* from New York for Havre. They expect to reach Paris about the 6th of July, remain for a few days, and then join us in Switzerland. They will, I am sure, highly appreciate your friendly "aid and counsel" in arriving in Paris and arranging their plans for summer travel. They have apartments engaged, I think, at the Hôtel de l'Empire, Rue Neuve S. Augustin.

Should any of *your* friends visit Rome while I am officially "in charge" here, do not hesitate to command my services in their behalf.

Very truly yours

JAMES E. HARVEY TO BIGELOW

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
LISBON, June 24, 1865.

My dear Sir:

I regret exceedingly that urgent duties here will deny me the pleasure of participating in your proposed celebration of our national anniversary, which recent events have doubly endeared and sanctified in the American heart.

It is eminently fitting that we who, in foreign lands, have watched with anxiety and with patriotic hope that mighty struggle, on the fate of which the destiny of free institutions may be said to have depended, should gather together, and as with one voice, inspired by a common emotion, offer up our thanks and our gratitude to God for the great consummation which restores the Union to more than its former grandeur, and gives to oppressed humanity everywhere the assurance of a home and a country.

Let us wreathe the old flag with festive garlands, and consecrate, as it were anew, the anniversary which is to dawn upon the Union of our hearts and hopes, regenerated and disenthralled; not in token of triumph over prostrate faction, or with mere victorious pride, but in honor of our vindicated rights, and the enlarged liberties of a people who deserve to be free.

And while our sympathies thus mingle together far away from the scenes of recent strife, disciplined as they have been by distance and by absence from the heated atmosphere of local influence, let us seek to put aside passionate resentment, to regard with charity and forbearance those who have been coerced by cruel tyranny or misled by false education, and in our words and in our thoughts strive to inculcate peace and good will among men.

The offended majesty of the law vindicated, let mercy plead with justice, so that, as we look with manly pride upon the deeds of noble daring which are to illustrate a grand page in history, we may also claim those civic laurels, radiant with the lustre of that beautiful inscription,

"Peace hath her victories
No less renowned than war."

We have passed through the fiery ordeal of war, purified and strengthened, extorting even the admiration of those who cast their bucklers into the balance to weigh down the aspirations of liberty, assailed by conspiracy and faction.

In our day of trial, misrepresentation, calumny and injustice were the portion of encouragement which the professed friends of liberal government offered us in the old world; while they freely welcomed with sympathy, fortified with aid, and stimulated with zeal, the parricidal arms that struck at the heart of our common country. This conduct did not disturb our sense of duty to foreign nations or divert the American people from the great object of preserving, and transmitting unimpaired to their posterity, the legacy of free institutions.

In our hour of success, when the prophecies, the purposes and the hopes of these unfriendly classes have all been blasted, converts baptized by necessity are concerned lest we should tarnish the fame of the past and fail before the new exigencies of peace. They are unnecessarily prodigal of counsel and of admonition.

The time has come when it should be declared calmly and becomingly that the American people feel themselves equal to the fulfilment of their own destiny; that under Providence they mean to work out that destiny honorably and bravely; that they understand their duties to others and to themselves and intend to discharge them; and that, while they acknowledge a just deference to the opinion of mankind, they are not to be governed by the wishes, as they were not intimidated by the menaces, of those whose first and last aim, however it may have been disguised, was to destroy our Union, and with it the only hope of free government on the American Continent.

With this frank understanding, there will be no pretext for intrusion on the one side, and no cause for complaint on the other. Europe and America will move on independently in their respective spheres, but bound together by the ties, duties and interests which civilization and humanity impose.

Very sincerely

CHARLES HALE, UNITED STATES CONSUL IN EGYPT, TO BIGELOW

Alexandria, Egypt, June 27, 1865.

My dear Sir:

I beg to thank you most cordially for your kind invitation to attend the fête of Americans which you propose to give in the Bois de Boulogne on the approaching fourth of July.

I regret that official duties will not permit at this time my absence from this post, and that I cannot enjoy the very great pleasure of an interchange of sympathy with yourself and others of my fellow-countrymen on this occasion.

You do well to mark the present recurrence of our national anniversary by a special celebration; for, by the mighty struggle now triumphantly ended, our country has vindicated in 1865 the principles enunciated in 1776.

We cannot avail ourselves of the hospitality you so generously offer in the Bois de Boulogne; but the Americans in Egypt will join with you on the banks of the Nile and under the shadow of the Pyramids in rejoicing that our country has renewed its pledge of ninety years ago to carry forward the civilization of the old world without its traditions of oligarchy and oppression.

I am, dear Sir, faithfully yours

HORATIO J. PERRY TO BIGELOW

Madrid, June 28, 1865.

My dear Sir:

I have your very kind invitation for the 4th of July.

It is not among the least of the aggravations of a summer's residence at Madrid to know that a man might enjoy himself elsewhere.

But when your politeness puts this in the exaggerated form of a fête champêtre in the Bois de Boulogne, where you will have shady groves and Yankee faces, breezes and speeches and running water and flow of soul, loyalty and rejoicings and mournings together with one's own kith and kin, not one of

which good things is procurable here at any cost, what impression could you imagine it would make upon a melting patriot condemned to 106 degrees Fahrenheit, and fever if you take the night air?

You know my sentiments. You know how I long to laugh and even to weep with you all in that assemblage. My wife, too, who has wept with us and rejoiced with us, would be glad to go.

But I am alone; the only American acclimated; the only man Uncle Sam (God bless him) thinks it quite prudent to keep to the yoke in Madrid in the months of July and August.

The great war is over. You and I, who have fought it through in Europe, know all that means for us. Southern sympathizers lie in wait to catch a Legation napping no longer. Belligerents' rights have faded into diplomatic wrongs not likely to be righted. I am happy to give you the news that Royal Orders have gone out to deliver up the pirate *Stonewall* to the United States in the Havana harbor.

Even the revolution in Spain is taking a siesta. There is nothing to impede my grasping your hand—nothing except a sense of duty. But, my dear Sir, a sense of duty in a Secretary of Legation doing it accidentally as Chargé d'Affaires is an awful sentiment to trifle with in hot weather. Otherwise, and if I had not the fear of Mr. Seward before my eyes, I should certainly greet you on the 4th of July, and cry with you.

All hail, friends, countrymen! The Republic is saved. America is ours and our children's. Liberty is our birthright and our deathright. Liberty—thank God—is the right of every man who breathes our air or straightens to his manhood's height under our flag.

Liberty belongs even to the piccaninnies who were born free and equal under our great Bill of Rights, but whom States' rights used somehow to whip into servitude as soon as they could tend the chickens at about six years of age.

I join you in drinking the health of our noble President. I drink the Secretary of State's, as tenacious of our interests as he is of life. I drink to our heroes, whose achievements under our republican flag take rank henceforth in that supreme place reserved in history till now for the best campaigns of the destroyers of Republics. I rejoice with you at the immense advancement of humanity which our people reveal, for the first time in the annals of the race, coming out of

a war unparalleled, after achievements rarely equalled, with a citizen President at their head, sitting unguarded in an ordinary box at a theatre, confident in the love of the nation whose characteristics he typified, and in the law he had steadfastly executed and obeyed.

Ah, it is a sad day, though—this first great day whose return Lincoln cannot join us in welcoming! The faces of your guests will be clouded, and the glasses set down untasted which hold the bitter wine of this memory.

But no! Tell them to look up. You do well to hold a fête. For it is a grand thing that even the President could himself disappear by the last Parthian arrow of barbarism we have vanquished, and that the hand which struck him could not touch the Republic. Another citizen is in his place—disbanding with his pen those unmatched armies whose immortal victories have gained them the world's gratitude and leave to return to their homes.

Pardon me. You will hear all that in somebody's speech, and there is no excuse for my writing it to you; though it be a consolation to write these things when a man cannot go where he will hear them better said. I renounce that consolation; only allow me to cherish a hope, not exactly what our minister used to call an abiding hope, but still a very agreeable, smiling little hope, and one you will be glad to hear. I have some reason to suppose this legation may yet be represented at your fête better than by my presence.

Mr. Hale has just written that he would sail from Boston in the *Africa* on the 21st June. He may be with you therefore, and if he is you will have secured the best speech possible coming out of New Hampshire through the filter of the Legation. I wish you joy of it—joy of your fête—joy of our country. Make my hearty greetings known to your guests; and believe me a martyr to duty,—but a confessor—here between ourselves—to unspeakable longings after your forbidden fruit.

Faithfully, etc.

I did not thank you for your very interesting documents sent on 2nd inst.

You will have seen by the newspapers that I succeeded in getting a Royal Decree—June 4th—signed on the same day your papers arrived and putting Spain into the boat with

France and England as to the cessation of their famous neutrality. I suspect all the powers had some understanding between themselves on the point.

Truly,

PERRY.

P. S. Mr. Hale will receive any letters or telegrams you may send him to care of our Consul at Liverpool, where he intended to stay a day or two.

I think, however, your fête might tempt him to hurry straight through to Paris, even if he returned to England afterwards.

He comes accompanied by Mrs. Hale and two daughters (young ladies).

J. D. B. CURTIS TO BIGELOW

No. 4 AVENUE DE L'IMPÉRATRICE,
PARIS, 29 June, 1865.

My dear Sir:

Arriving home last night from Oxford (whither we have been for "Commemoration"), I found the kind invitations which your Excellency had sent to invite my daughter and self to the proposed 4th of July fête. We hasten to accept, both from a sense of duty and pleasure.

At Oxford we heard cheers given for Jeff. Davis, yet hisses were also mingled with the applause, which may be called a set-off. As were the cheers for John Brown a kind of counterpoise for the groans for President Johnson.

BRADFORD R. WOOD TO BIGELOW

COPENHAGEN, June 30, 1865.

My dear Sir:

I deferred answering your note of invitation to keep *hoidaye,* high day, with you and our countrymen on the coming

national anniversary because I had hoped at one time to have taken Paris *en route* for the United States, and so to have been with you on that occasion. I now know I cannot. You and I will never live to see such another anniversary should we live to the age of Methuselah. May we hope that from henceforth and forever the Declaration of Independence will not merely be read on the 4th of July but practiced throughout the whole length and breadth of our land every day in the year and every hour of the day. I hope our infidelity to this confession of faith is measurably scared out of us and that hereafter all will find in their Bibles something bearing on political rights beside Abraham's household relations, and that the New Testament will be something more than a corollary of the Old. I hope the time is not far distant when manhood shall everywhere be recognized, and fitness for the suffrage will not depend on the color of a man's skin any more than on the color of his eyes. The suffrage is the negro's best defence against the white man's injustice, and it is everywhere the poor man's protection against oppression. And yet I am inclined to the belief that both quondam master and slave must pass away, and a new generation and new blood take their place in the southern States before things will work smoothly. That on the one side and distrust on the other cannot be conjured down by a proclamation. I hope for the best, and have faith in a President who should know both sides and who can have no sympathy with prejudice and oppression. Had our work proved our professed belief in the truths of the Declaration of Independence, we should have escaped the terrible ordeal through which we have passed, and insisting on this point now is the best guarantee for the future. Were I with you on the 4th I should give "The Declaration of Independence the only orthodox political creed for all peoples and for all time."

I remain,

Very truly yours

CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES OF SAN MARINO TO BIGELOW

20 Cours la Reine, 2 juillet.

Le chargé d'affaires de la plus antique république de monde [San Marino] sera très heureux de se rendre à la gracieuse invitation du Ministre des États-Unis pour fêter le 90 anniversaire de L'Indépendance de la grande république.

CHEVALIER NIGRA, AMBASSADOR OF ITALY, TO BIGELOW

Legation of Italy, Paris,
3 July, 1865.

Mr. Minister and dear Colleague:

I accept with pleasure your invitation to the fête champêtre to-morrow at the Pré Catelan, and I rejoice at the privilege of being able to thus celebrate with you the 90th anniversary of the independence of your country.

Will you accept in the meantime, Mr. Minister and dear Colleague, the expression of my high consideration?

The following account of the fête appeared the morning after in *Galignani's Messenger,* prepared, I presume, by or with the assistance of some member of the committee:

AMERICA AND PARIS: MR. BIGELOW'S FÊTE CHAMPÊTRE

A fête champêtre given by the United States Minister, Mr. Bigelow, in commemoration of the Declaration of Independence of the 4th of July, 1776, took place on Tuesday in the spacious grounds of the Pré Catelan, and will be remembered with gratification by every one present. With the exception of the French ministers and the diplomatic body, the company present consisted solely of Americans, or

foreigners connected with America by marriage. In all between six and seven hundred persons were present, including about a hundred children, who formed a most interesting feature in the day's proceedings. The visitors, in fact, formed the largest body of Americans that had ever been congregated on the continent of Europe at one time and place.

An immense tent capable of holding a thousand persons was erected in face of the principal entrance to the grounds and was most tastefully dressed out with flags and drapery and laid with carpeting for dancing. At one end was spread out a spacious buffet capable of accommodating two hundred persons at once and well supplied with substantial refreshments by Chevet, while the guests found an abundance of ices, sherbets, light wines and other summer drinks in a pavilion in the grounds. The company began to assemble at two o'clock, and among the arrivals were the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Mme. Drouyn de Lhuys; the Minister for the Colonies and Marine and the Marquise de Chasseloup-Laubat; the Marquis de La Valette; Baron André, First Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Lord Cowley and Baron de Budberg, the English and Russian ambassadors, besides the representatives of Italy, Turkey, Bavaria, Holland, Switzerland, Greece, Baden, Chili, Honduras and San Salvador, Paraguay, the Argentine Republic, San Marino, etc.

At three o'clock, the guests being for the most part assembled, Mr. Bigelow welcomed them with the following address:

Address of Mr. Bigelow

My Friends:

When the Children of Israel stood beside the waters of idolatrous Babylon and thought of their distant country ravaged by enemies and wasted by war, they hung their harps upon the willows and wept. "How," they cried, "can we sing the song of the Lord in a strange land?"

For three long years the Americans in Europe, anguished by kindred calamities, have tried in vain to unite in celebrating their great national jubilee, for how could we sing the glories of our political birthright, surrounded by the great world of little faith, to whose darkened apprehensions the ark of our national covenant seemed struggling and laboring like some great Indiaman about to strand upon an inhospitable coast?

At last, thanks be to God, the storm has passed; the sky is clear; "Grim-visaged war has smoothed his wrinkled front"; the tramp of hostile arms is no longer heard on our soil; the great sin of our people has been expiated; our manhood has been vindicated; the American

Union is safe; democratic-republican government is no longer an experiment; "God's hand was not shortened that He could not save, nor His ear heavy that He could not hear." [Loud applause.]

My friends, may I not assume that the memorable event of which this day is the eighty-ninth anniversary has now acquired an importance in the eyes of mankind which it never possessed before; that we never before knew the value of our great inheritance; that we never properly appreciated the prodigious vitality of our political institutions; their singular capacity for remedying the abuses to which, in common with all other human contrivances, they were more or less subject; nor the devoted patriotism which they were capable of inspiring. [Renewed applause.]

It is under a more than usually profound sense of our obligations, first to Almighty God, whose clouds by day and pillars of fire by night have conducted us so safely and gloriously through inconceivable perils; next to those great men who in council and in the field have been His faithful instruments; and finally to our fathers who planted the tree which Americans throughout the world have assembled somewhere to-day to water, that I have invited you to this commemorative entertainment, to which I now have the honor to bid you all a cordial welcome. [Loud and long-continued applause.]

The Evening

This formality over, a portion of the company adjourned to the tent for dancing, while others spread over the grounds, where in separate buildings might be witnessed the performance of a wizard, or the exhibition of humming-birds, which latter entertainment appeared to delight immensely the juvenile portion of the visitors. In the tent the national hymn, "The Star-Spangled Banner," was sung with great effect by the ladies, the men's voices bearing part in the chorus. About six o'clock Mr. Bigelow led the Marquise de Chasseloup-Laubat to partake of a repast at the buffet, which example was followed by the remainder of the company. The evening furnished perhaps the most pleasant part of the day's entertainment. The guests had assembled on the lawn to enjoy the cool and quiet of a magnificent sunset, and then breaking up into groups, each party amused themselves according to the fancy of the moment. The children might be seen gambolling on the greensward, while the elder portion were collected in knots, listening to speeches, or joining in patriotic songs and choruses. Among the speakers were Mr. Putnam, the American Consul at Havre; Mr. Cowden, merchant of New York; and Mr. Tuck of Boston. At the foot of a tall flagstaff erected in the centre of the grounds and at the summit of which the American flag was displayed, a number of

persons had assembled around Mr. Home, the spiritualist, who is well known for his talent as an orator, and were listening to his recital of a poem describing the naval battle of Mobile Bay. The feelings of his hearers were wrought to such a state of intensity by his eloquence that the ladies only found relief in tears, while the male audience threw their hats into the air in their enthusiasm. After dark a splendid display of fireworks took place, the set piece consisting of an immense American eagle with the motto from Webster's celebrated speech in defence of the Union in reply to Mr. Hayne of South Carolina: "The Union now and forever, one and inseparable." At the appearance of this sentence great enthusiasm was evinced, loud cheers arising from all sides.

The guests then returned to the tent, where dancing was kept up until between ten and eleven, when the company began to separate, delighted with their day's entertainment and unanimous in praising the excellence of the whole arrangements, the social feeling which prevailed among the guests in general, the beauty and graceful toilets of the ladies, and the genial welcome received by all from Mr. Bigelow, the host and organizer of the fête.[1]

I may be excused for giving here two odes which were sent me by authors unknown to me, less for their poetical merit, which I am far from disparaging, than for the revelation of the dominating spirit of the occasion which animates them. There was one feature of both which commended them to me as reflecting their republican origin: the repeated recognition of the hand of the Master in the achievement of the results we were celebrating. That was the more noticeable to me from

[1] The following is John Munroe & Co.'s account current of the expenses of this fête, made up from the certified vouchers of James W. Tucker, then also a banker in Paris:

Monsieur JOHN BIGELOW, compte courant chez JOHN MUNROE & Co.
Compte à part.

1865						
Juill.	8	À fact.	Godillot	F.	1,650	
"	10	" "	Chevet		6,540	
"	12	" "	Honoré frères		320	
"	15	" Note	Orchestre		440	
"	18	" "	Tucker		63	30
"	"	" fact.	Banes		35	
"	29	" Note	Directeur du Pré Catelan		392	
Sept.	5	" Int. à 5%			73	70
				F.	9,514	
Sept.	5	Solde à nouveau		F.	9,514	

the fact that, long as I had lived in France, I did not remember to have read or heard from the pen or lips of any public man an award of praise to or a recognition of the Creator as having anything to do with the achievements of any of their heroes. *La gloire* was the highest incentive which the Empire ever had to offer to young ambition.

Great God, to Thee our hymn of praise
With grateful hearts this day we raise;
Through all our land, by Thee restored,
Be Thy great power and love adored.

Almighty God, whom nations own,
Humbly we bow before Thy throne;
Through Thee triumphant o'er the foe,
To Thee alone new life we owe.

Almighty Father, by Thy hand
This day more strong, more free we stand;
No chains, no bonds, from sea to sea
Our name to all, "Home of the Free."

Spirit of Grace, on us descend,
All hearts in tranquil peace to blend;
All tears be dried, all foes defied,
Our land redeemed be freedom's pride.

Proclaimed live on our banner bright
Thine honor and our country's right;
Of Thee twice blessed, twice hallowed be
That flag of twice-won liberty.

AN ODE FOR THE FOURTH

At home there 's naught but joy to-day, all hearts are satisfied;
For over every field our flag is floating now in pride.
The huge, coarse-throated guns are stilled. The war-ships in the bay
With striped and starry streamers decked appear like things of play.

The silvery gleam of bayonets that glittered in the light,—
The thundering guns that taught a foe our nation's wrath and might,—
The tread of armèd hosts that rose and through the country ranged,
With all their "stern alarums" are now to merry marches changed.

Across our prairies broad, our mountains high and mighty lakes,
Where through her wood-lined banks the Mississippi wildly breaks,
Throughout the virgin forest, lonely vale or cheerful grove,
One voice of thankful prayer arises to the God above.

The sprig France aided us to plant has grown into a tree
Whose branches shed transcendent fruits on every land and sea.
In thanking now our fathers who repulsed our haughty foe
We also bow in thanks to Lafayette and Rochambeau.

Our fathers saw the dangers dire that threatened us from far,
They bade us look nor right nor left, but steer by freedom's star,
To stand for Union ever true, to follow no false light,
To teach the weak to seek our aid, the strong to fear our might.

They gave us Yorktown, Stony Point, Trenton and Bunker Hill;
We add our Murfreesboro, Rappahannock, Gettysville.
For Warren, Prescott, Putnam, Reid, that gave us '76,
We offer Sherman, Sheridan, Grant, Baker, Ellsworth, Dix.

A thousand noble deeds have made our history sublime;
A host of glorious names have risen to shine throughout all time—
Names that will e'er revolve like constellations round a sun,
Around our two great citizens, Lincoln and Washington.

And as beneath our honored flag, dear France, we meet to-day,
To send our heartfelt greetings to our brothers far away,
We pray that thou may'st prosper e'er, in freedom still advance,
And by thy greatness show the world that Dieu protège la France.

JOHN J. COVERT,
125 Av. de Neuilly.

BIGELOW TO THE REV. DR. McCLINTOCK

PARIS, July 6th, 1865.

My dear Doctor:

I send you *Galignani's* account of a fête I gave here on the 4th, as a pretext for securing with you the credit of a good intention, which I will state. I intended that my little welcome should be followed by the 8th Chapter of Deuteronomy, to be read by Mr. Lampson, and that was to have been followed by a

prayer from Dr. Sunderland and the last inaugural of President Lincoln read by Brooks. Neither of the Reverends arrived in time, and consequently I had to do all the religious as well as the political myself; even the inaugural seemed *de trop* without something else. These services were not missed, as only a few knew they were expected, though I was a little disappointed. I mention my intention about the 8th Deuteronomy to show that your teachings and suggestions we still know how to value, though we have not you here to help us to put them into operation.

I was happy to receive your letter and congratulate you with all my heart upon your return, like Antæus (was n't that his name?), to strength-giving Mother Earth. I die daily, like St. Paul, for my dear "Squirrels" at West Point, and regret extremely that you are not there rather than a stranger.[1] Flattering as my position is, it breeds no pleasures like those which swarm on my little place. So true it is, and wisely so doubtless, that "man never is, but always to be blessed," unless you are now the exception. Even you, I fear, when you get healthy and reckless, will begin to yearn again for intellectual debauchery and for the vanities of professional usefulness. Farewell. Let me hear from you when you can, and don't be tempted of the devil to leave your turnips and that "cheap" horse, which may yet prove a great comfort to you, for any imaginary hope of setting the rest of the world right. I find things go on so much better when none of us have our own way that I am beginning to think that it is a great folly to worry over anything but our own weaknesses, convinced that the most competent pilot is always at the helm of the *Ark* to which the fortunes of our race are entrusted.

Truly yours

GEORGE P. MARSH TO BIGELOW

Bonn, July 5, 1865.

Dear Sir:

Your kind letter of June 17, having arrived while I was absent, did not reach me until it was too late to reply before

[1] This summer my country home was leased.

the 4th of July. It would have given Mrs. Marsh and myself great pleasure to have been with you and our American friends at Paris on so interesting an occasion, but it was quite out of my power to be away from Italy at that moment, as I was confined at Florence until the 3rd of July by business duties. We have very few Americans in Italy at this time, and very many of those few are disloyal, so that there did not seem to be good reason for getting up a formal celebration here.

At Paris no doubt you have *true* citizens enough to make a move without including secessionists or partisans. I am going to make a short excursion into the mountains, but shall return to Florence in a very few days.

Yours very truly

E. JOY MORRIS TO BIGELOW

U. S. Legation, Constantinople,
July 10, 1865.

My dear Sir:

Many thanks for your kind invitation to the fête champêtre which you gave to the American community of Paris on the 4th of July. On the same day our little American colony here celebrated the anniversary on the shores of the Bosphorus, in the groves of Hunhiar Iskelepi. It was a reunion of American families, each one contributing a quota to the general stock of viands that make up a picnic. As most of our community are missionaries, we did not, of course, want for patriotic speeches, while the ladies sang some of the songs of the war.

I have no doubt your own generous banquet must have been a most acceptable one to our countrymen at Paris and must have had the success it deserved.

The cholera has thus far not extended here, and but one death has occurred, and that one a sailor of the Egyptian vessel that brought the disease here. As the scourge seems to be on its periodical tour around the world, we cannot, however, long hope to escape its visitation.

The Sultan has just recovered from a prostrating and

severe illness. It is generally understood that his health (and some say his mind also) is so much impaired that his reign is very near its end. After him the line of succession presents nothing but an unbroken series of imbeciles and debauchees.

Your kind letter of invitation reached me two weeks behind date, having come by the Marseilles route and failed one steamer. The speediest communication between Paris and Constantinople is via Germany, through which route we get news in five days from Paris and twice a week.

Very truly yours

BIGELOW TO W. HUNTER

Paris, July 7, 1865.

My dear Sir:

I thank you for your note announcing poor Mr. Seward's new affliction.[1] His furnace seems to have been seven times heated. I beg you will present to him my most sincere condolence. I have not the heart to write to him upon such a subject, for I am sure the sympathy of others must have become almost a burthen to him. How he can do any work or think of public affairs under all his trials is to me incomprehensible. M. Drouyn de Lhuys spoke to me of him yesterday and said that Mr. Seward must be a very extraordinary man to recover so soon sufficiently from all his shocks to resume the cares of his office and write long despatches—he evidently had in his mind the recent letter to Bruce—and asked Mr. Seward's age. In his conversation he loses no opportunity nowadays of saying pleasant things of him and of testifying great solicitude for his health and continuance in office. "After him the deluge" is the general apprehension here. He was, as you may suppose, well pleased (though very cautious in betraying the fact) with the contrasted tone of the Secretary's letters announcing the withdrawal of belligerent rights from the Confederates by France and England.

[1] The death of Mrs. Seward.

BIGELOW TO DROUYN DE LHUYS

PARIS, July 11, 1865.

Sir:

I have the honor to inform your Excellency that Colonel John Hay, Assistant Adjutant-General in the United States Army, has been duly appointed Secretary of this Legation, and that he entered upon his official duties on the 10th instant.

I avail myself, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, July 14, 1865.

My dear Bigelow:

I have your letter of the 29th of June, and I am pleased that my suggestion was received so favorably by M. Drouyn de Lhuys.

I need hardly point out the movements made here indicative of a defiant feeling about affairs. I may, however, properly tell you that they find much favor in the Army, and you are well aware how popular the Army deservedly is at this moment. Congress will soon be in session, and then we may expect debates and party organizations. Fully informed, you will act wisely and discreetly.

Faithfully yours

BIGELOW TO BECKWITH

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, July 14, 1865.

My dear Sir:

I feel that I ought no longer to deny myself the satisfaction of expressing to you and the gentlemen associated with you

my profound sense of the obligations under which you placed my guests as well as myself at our fête on the 4th. Without your aid the fête would have been impossible; with it I was enabled to give a very large number of our country people what they have pretty unanimously been pleased to pronounce an unusually agreeable entertainment as well as an opportunity of celebrating our national anniversary in a peculiarly satisfactory manner. I assure you I have never received a compliment for its admirable arrangements that I have not in my heart promptly shared its credit with them, and I beg you to assure them all in my name that I shall ever retain a grateful sense of their kindness.

I remain, my dear Sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, July 12, 1865.

Sir:

In compliance with the instruction contained in your despatch No. 165, I transmit a series of documents numbered 1 to 9 inclusive, relating to the omnibus and carriage service of Paris, for which I am indebted to the courtesy of the Chief of Police.

I trust they will furnish all the information which the Committee for whose use they were asked may desire. In the absence of any specific questions or precise indication of the information needed, I did not deem it worth while to go into a more extended investigation of the subject.

I would suggest that a popular account of the carriage and omnibus system of Paris is contained in a work of Sir Francis Head on Paris and France, published a few years since, which can doubtless be found in the Library of Congress.

I have the honor to be, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, July 14, 1865.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose a copy of the note by which His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs acknowledged the receipt of the President's Proclamation of the 23rd of June last, terminating the blockade.

I am, sir, etc.

[Enclosure to Despatch 145]

Translation from the Moniteur

We now know the impression produced in the United States by the decision of the Emperor's Government to revoke the measures which had been adopted in our ports at the beginning of the insurrection of the South, in conformity with the ordinary rules of neutrality. The Washington Cabinet does full justice to the sentiments of which France has given proof in removing the restrictions upon the Federal navy which resulted from those rules, and in ceasing to recognize in the Confederate ships the character of belligerents. It has been pleased to see that the Imperial Government has been guided by a sincere desire to revive the ancient sympathies of the two peoples, whose reciprocal interests as well as their traditions invite them to cultivate the most cordial relations.

France in her turn finds nothing but what is praiseworthy in the attitude of the United States. The Federal Government has not hesitated to take the necessary measures to prevent the manœuvres of the agents of Juarez.

President Johnson shows himself resolved to enforce the loyal observance of the law relative to enrolments, and the instructions given on this subject to the judicial authorities are being executed.

So, as we said about two months ago, the Washington Cabinet a little before the death of Mr. Lincoln had declared that it sought in no manner to create difficulties in the way of France, in embarrassing the establishment of a regular government in Mexico.

Under the new President the American Cabinet has remained faithful to these assurances, and its conduct, like its language, testifies more and more strongly to its intention not to depart from them.

S. P. CHASE TO BIGELOW

NARRAGANSETT BEACH, NEAR WAKEFIELD, R. I.,
July 14, 1865.

My dear Sir:

I came here a few days ago, on my return from a somewhat extended journey through the states recently in rebellion, and found your very kind letter of the 26th of May. My sincerest thanks are all I can return for your attention to my requests, of making which I am almost ashamed; and yet I am sure I should take great pleasure in similar services to yourself had I the opportunity.

Those of us who take an interest in public affairs, but are outside the administration, are looking with much interest to the solution of two questions: 1st. Will England pay for the injuries inflicted by the *Alabama* on American Commerce? 2nd. Will France persist in Mexican intervention? The first seems to me the least troublesome of the two. I presume England will make no difficulty now in resorting to arbitration; though some aversion was formerly shown. And the disposition of the actual case is less important to us and to the world than a settled rule of international law on the subject of aid by neutrals to belligerents through commercial transactions.

The other question will be apt to solve itself. France will hardly wish to continue an investment which is producing neither gain nor glory, and can only yield loss and shame in the final adjustment. It has always seemed to me highly probable that the Franco-Mexican expedition had reference to possible contingencies connected with the rebellion; and I have thought that the certainty that there is to be no dismemberment of the American Union will be an important element in all future determinations in regard to it. When I was at Mobile, and New Orleans, and on the Mississippi a great movement of troops towards the western frontier of Texas was in progress, and the force now concentrated there must be very large indeed.

The work of reorganization has begun. As a personal rule I found the colored people willing to work and anxious to improve their condition—far more so than the poor whites. A

very great work of education is going on among them. A large part of the expense and labor is furnished by Northern people as yet, but an increasing proportion is coming from the colored citizens themselves. It seems to me a serious mistake not to recognize them as a part of the people to whom, in their original capacity as members of a community, the work of reorganization is to be committed. No graver objection seems to me to exist against universal colored than universal white suffrage; and all my observation and reflection leads me to the conclusion that intelligence and information will be more surely attained as fruits than as conditions of suffrage. There will be larger productions and larger surpluses of production with it than without it.

My views as to the immediate restoration of the Southern States to the productiveness of the year before the war are not very sanguine. That it will take place after a few years, I have no doubt. But more women and children will be withdrawn, in great measure, from field work for domestic occupation and attendance at school; and it will take time to substitute machines or make the loss good by immigration. Cotton must rule high for some years—for two or three at least. The quantity on hand is variously estimated. It probably does not much if at all exceed one million of bales. The production of the current year will hardly exceed half that quantity. With these data you can form as good a judgment as any one. Next year the production may reach three millions—will almost certainly reach two.

But I must close, renewing my thanks for your kindness and assuring you of the sincerest respect and esteem with which I am,

Very truly yours

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, July 18, 1865.

Sir:

Referring to my despatch of the 17th instant, No. 202, in regard to the replies to be made to the expressions of condolence

and sympathy on the part of associations and individuals in France with the government and people of the United States, which have been called forth by the assassination of our late President, I will thank you to convey to the proper party, in each case in which the communication has been addressed to or intended for the President, this government, this department, or the people at large, the grateful acknowledgments of the government and people of the United States for the neighborly and fraternal spirit thus evinced, in such terms as your judgment may suggest. It is, however, considered that, out of proper deference to the government of France, you should submit a copy of your proposed reply to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and obtain his sanction to the proceeding before sending it out.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO COMMANDER R. DAVIS HOWELL

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, July 20, 1865.

Sir:

I have received your telegraphic despatch of the 19th instant, announcing your safe arrival in the United States corvette *Kearsarge* at Brest, and your readiness to receive instructions or news from this Legation.

I am happy to inform you that there is nothing in the diplomatic relations of France and the United States at present which should in any respect influence the movement of our fleets. A somewhat remarkable interchange of international courtesies is to be made by the fleets of France and England in the harbors of Brest and Cherbourg on the occasion of the Emperor's fête, which occurs on the 15th August. I mention the fact for your information in case your flag should then be flying at either of those ports, though I have no suggestions to offer which deserve to modify your own professional judgment of what it will be proper for you to do or not to do under the circumstances which may present themselves on the occasion in question.

I am, Sir, with great respect, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, 25th July, 1865.

My dear Sir:

I have received through Mr. Hoe your letter recommending that Congress grant a tract of land to the widows of Messrs. Cobden and Lucas as a national acknowledgment of the services which their late husbands have rendered to this country in its hour of trial, and, in reply, have to inform you that I have commended it to the attention of Mr. Fessenden of Maine and of Mr. Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, who, I trust, will bring it before Congress in a manner that will allow us to hope for its success.[1]

I am, my dear Sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO DROUYN DE LHUYS

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, July 26, 1865.

Sir:

Referring to a conversation which I had the honor to hold with your Excellency on the 6th inst., in reference to the delivery of cannon and other munitions of war by some of the rebel commanders in Texas to the Mexican general commanding at Matamoras, and referring also to the very satisfactory communication which I had the honor subsequently to receive

[1] On the 10th of March, 1909, in referring to an inquiry addressed to the authorities at Washington as to the fate of Mr. Seward's reference to Fessenden and Stevens of my proposal of an honorary land grant to the widows of Messrs. Cobden and Lucas, I received an answer from the Assistant Attorney-General, George W. Woodruff:

"I have had the *Congressional Record* for sessions succeeding the date of Mr. Seward's letter to you searched with care and have made careful inquiry in the General Land Office and this Department [Department of the Interior], but find no intimation that any effort was ever made to grant the land. It is very certain that no such grant was ever made."

from the Emperor's Government upon the subject, it becomes my duty to invite your Excellency's attention to the following supplementary representations.

Authentic information has reached my Government that most of the rebel leaders of military rank in Texas, including Generals Smith, Magruder, Shelby, Slaughter and Walker, together with numerous large and small bands of rebel soldiers and citizens, amounting to 2000 in number, crossed the Rio Grande and found asylum in Mexico after the capitulation of the insurgent commander.

That everything on wheels, artillery, horses, mules, in fact all the public property that could be moved, were also carried over the border after the capitulation, but before the United States forces could occupy the country.

That, among other things thus carried away, of which information has reached me since I had the honor of bringing these border difficulties to your Excellency's attention, was the steamer *Lucy Gwin,* which was surrendered at Matagorda and is now anchored at Bagdad on the Rio Grande; and some 850 bales of cotton which were included in the capitulation and stored at Rio Grande City.

I regret to add that it is the impression of the Federal general commanding that division of our army that persons calling themselves the representatives of the Imperial Government of Mexico have encouraged this extensive plunder of property belonging to the United States Government; and also that the French officers in that vicinity have incurred the reproach of being very unfriendly and offensive in their bearing toward the citizens of the United States at Brownsville.

I hasten to bring these facts to your Excellency's attention, in order, first, that the directions given by his Excellency the Minister of War, referred to in his communication to your Excellency bearing date July 1st, may be extended, if not sufficiently comprehensive already, so as to insure the prompt restoration of the steamer *Lucy Gwin,* the 850 bales of cotton taken from Rio Grande City, as well as the artillery, carriages, horses, mules, etc., previously taken away by the rebels and their abettors; and, secondly, that all persons under the control of the Emperor's Government may be instructed to avoid as much as possible a language or demeanor calculated to aggravate the difficulties of preserving peace on a frontier at

the confluence of so many irritating influences. Animated by the spirit with which it is hoped this request will be received, my Government has issued renewed instructions to the general commanding the United States military forces in Texas "to permit no aggressive movements of troops under his command within Mexican territory unless under special instructions to that effect from the War Department, which shall be rendered necessary by a condition of affairs not now anticipated."

I pray your Excellency to accept assurances, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, July 24, 1865.

My dear Bigelow:

I have your letter of the 7th of July, and I congratulate you upon your fête. It was a great demonstration.

You can go to Switzerland if you think best, but I pray you to forego the purpose—there are unmistakable signs that the Mexican Embroglio is to be made a subject of excitement and party contention. Nothing will satisfy the movers but vehemence on the part of this government. The complications grow more formidable every day. You are already assailed (through me) about the speech of Rouher. It is no time for you to be away from your post. No one can see what Congress and political conventions may not resolve, if things remain as they are in Mexico. . . .

XI

GWIN'S PROJECTED COLONY IN MEXICO

BIGELOW TO DROUYN DE LHUYS

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, August 1st, 1865.

THE undersigned, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at Paris, has the honor to transmit to his Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs copies of four letters which have been recently submitted to the State Department at Washington.

The first, dated Mexico, May 16, 1865, is signed by Wm. M. Gwin, the son of Dr. and Mrs. Wm. M. Gwin, followed by the second from Dr. Gwin himself on the same sheet without date, addressed to his wife and daughters in Paris. The third, in the well-known handwriting of the Doctor, dated Mexico, May 18, 1865, is addressed to "my dear Colonel," and was contained in an envelope addressed to "Colonel John Winthrop." The fourth, signed "Massey," and dated Mexico, 18th May, 1865, was addressed to the "Hon. B. Wood" (now a prisoner of state for alleged treasonable practices), enclosing a communication to the Editor of the *New York Daily News*, dated at the City of Mexico, 19th May, 1865, upon the subject of Mexican affairs.

By these letters it appears:

First, that Dr. Wm. M. Gwin and family, though citizens of the United States, are disloyal to its Government.

Second, that they are engaged in obtaining from Maxi-

milian, titular Emperor of Mexico, grants of mineral lands in the states of that republic adjoining the United States, and that Dr. Gwin is to be the chief directing agent in working those mines.

Third, that a large accession of capitalists and emigrants into those states from parties in rebellion against the United States is expected.

Fourth, that they assure the said Maximilian and the Emperor of France that their contemplated proceedings will tend at once to promote the projects of Maximilian in Mexico and inure to the injury of the United States.

Fifth, that they claim to have the patronage of the Emperor of the French, with assurances of military aid.

In submitting to his Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs copies of this correspondence, the undersigned is instructed frankly to state that the sympathies of the American people for the Republicans of Mexico are very lively, and that they are disposed to regard with impatience the continued intervention of France in that country; that any favor shown to the speculations of Dr. Gwin by the titular Emperor of Mexico or by the Imperial Government of France will tend greatly to increase the popular impatience, because it will be regarded, perhaps justly, as importing danger, or at least a menace to the United States.

Could the Government of the undersigned be brought to believe that the statements of these speculators were worthy of entire confidence, the President of the United States would be forced to the conclusion that His Majesty the Emperor of France was pursuing toward Mexico a policy materially at variance with that of neutrality in regard to the political institutions of the country, which he avowed at the commencement of his war with that republic.

The President, on the contrary, confidently and sincerely expects, in some form, an assurance that all the pretences of Dr. Gwin and of his associates are destitute of any sanction from the Emperor of France.

It is unnecessary for the undersigned to say that, after having expelled insurgents from our own borders, the United States could not look with satisfaction upon their reorganization as martial or political enemies on the opposite banks of the Rio Grande.

The undersigned avails himself of this occasion to renew to his Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs assurances of the distinguished consideration with which he has the honor to be

His Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

JOHN BIGELOW.

[Enclosure No. 1]

MEXICO, May 16, 1865.

My dear Mother:

Nothing has occurred since I last wrote; in fact, there is nothing to occur—all business has come to a standstill because of the Emperor's absence. When His August Majesty has sufficiently amused himself with rural sports, he may take a notion to return to his sleeping capital, and wake us up from our present unpleasant state of lethargy. I am learning to exercise the admirable quality of patience, which means, I begin to fall into the philosophical way of taking things coolly, the best thing a man can do in Mexico, where the object of the community is to approach as nearly as possible to a state of vegetation, and to imitate in all its lively peculiarities that interesting excrescence —a knot on a tree. Col. Talcott arrived a day or two ago. He has been unwell in consequence of too great exertion, and can scarcely walk from having sprained his ankle. We breakfasted with the family on Saturday. The old man read them that part of your letter about Spiller. I think they are a little uneasy on account of his prolonged absence. The marriage, you know, was to have taken place last month —now no one can say when it will come off. The old man is firmly of the conviction that Spiller is going to act the *Dog*. Your letters were an immense satisfaction. It was very consoling to hear that you were in good spirits, although I know you must still cherish in some small degree that pleasing reflection that some day or other we 'll find ourselves a-starving. I am altogether opposed to ever being reduced to such an extremity, and have determined, at the hazard of proving you a bad prophet, to make a fortune. That 's a fixed fact, upon the principle, "be there a will, then wisdom finds the way." I 've got the will and trust to luck for wisdom. And when that fortune is made, should you be hungry and a wanderer, I 'll give you food and shelter.

May 18. The old man saw the Marshal the other day, but nothing resulted from the interview. He renewed his protestations of friendship, and declared he would urge the old man's claims to the utmost.

We must content ourselves with an existence of idleness a while longer, for no steps can be taken without the Emperor. The old man saw Almonte to-day. He thinks there 'll be no trouble, and so far as he himself is concerned, we may look for strong support. The Minister of Foreign Affairs has gone to Europe, and every one says Almonte is to come in. He will then be all-powerful—and with his favorable disposition towards our plans we are pretty certain to carry the day. Things are progressing as smoothly as possible; only it provokes one to be detained when there is no sufficient cause. To think of our being kept here holding our hands, when those prodigious mines are inviting us to fortune, and all because the Emperor will stuff birds. I feel very easy about Mexican affairs, but I 'm dreadfully blue about the South. Andy Johnson's speeches breathe such a heinous spirit that I can see nothing ahead but extermination. I should n't be surprised if there were re-enacted on the American continent the massacres and havoc of the French Revolution. It is horrible to contemplate the situation of the country. I am afraid they will commit excesses to which all the horrors that have gone before will be as nothing. It 's dreadful to fall in battle—but it 's ten times more dreadful to die upon the scaffold. Johnson says, Treason can have no extenuation—it 's a crime that merits the direst punishment. That is to say, all traitors should be hung, and as we are all traitors, there 's nothing left for us but hanging. It really makes me sick when I think of the bloody agony that awaits the Southern people. But we must learn to suppress our feelings; it may be, after all, that our only home will be among these people. If the old man should n't succeed we shall have to live in California, and indeed we are fortunate to have even such a refuge. I am very glad Aunt Sue is going to Europe. She 'll be a great comfort to you. The old man wrote the Judge from Havana, and said when the time came and he got fairly started, he would let him know. He told the Judge that Uncle Alick must come with him to furnish the necessary means which should be paid on his arrival. Tell Carrie her letter was delightful, and to write me every mail. I promise to answer every one. Tell Sister Lucy to write me and not to get married. Love to all.

Your affectionate son,

Wm. M. Gwin.

[Enclosure No. 2]

My dearly beloved Wife and Daughters:

The startling news from the U. S. has made the blood of every Southern sympathizer run cold with horror. No one will be safe in

our native country. How I thank Providence that I have cast my lot elsewhere, and that very soon I will have a home for my wife and my children where they will be safe from oppression, and where we have every prospect of immediate and permanent prosperity. My policy is on every man's lips as the only one that will save this empire. The Emperor lingers most unaccountably away from the capital; but his Minister having charge of this matter considers it so pressing that he has gone to him with it, more than a week ago. No one doubts that there will be an entire change of ministry, with one or two exceptions, when the Emperor returns, and that his entire ministry will be in favor of my policy. It seems that he is effecting this change in his absence, and that he remains away to accomplish it. If I dared write I could give you names of persons who have approached me with this news, but would leave no doubt on your minds that all of these things will happen and that very soon. The delay is unpleasant, but the certainty of success that will follow this delay is a great consolation, especially when everything is so dark for us everywhere else. Never have a doubt of my success—I have less now than ever. Willie is getting into heavy business. They are proposing to him to give him the entire control of the richest gold mine in the world, in Sinaloa, and he is one of the three who have asked for the concession of all the railroads in Sonora. He will succeed in both—and either of them will make a dozen fortunes. Brest and his whole army will soon be in Mexico. I will write more at large by British steamer.

As ever, yours devotedly,

Wm. M. Gwin.

[Enclosure No. 3]

Mexico, May 18, 1865.

My dear Colonel:

The news from the U. S. appals every one here and paralyses all business. What will happen next? is the constant inquiry. The Emperor's absence must seem to persons at a distance extraordinary; but it is now developing itself, that he is bringing about a radical change in his counsels, and that there will be an entire change of policy on his return. Three of the ruling men in his counsels have been displaced since he left, and two, and they the most obnoxious to my ideas of government, and most opposed to my project, have been sent abroad, if not in banishment, equivalent to it. No one here doubts but Almonte will come into power, and from the first he has

declared that my plan of colonization is the only salvation for the empire. The same sentiment is uttered by every one in favor of the empire. In fact, if anything in the future can be certain in this country, at an early day you will see a decree opening North Mexico to the enterprise of the world. What a people we can assemble here if this policy is adopted! What a country it will be in a very few years! The recent startling events and the policy I have indicated cause delay that is unpleasant, but no doubt of ultimate success. I have never been so confident as at present. Say to my good and highly valued friend Mrs. W. that we will very soon meet again in the most delightful spot on the Globe, and there there will not be a cloud to obscure the future. She will eat her Christmas dinner in the palace to a certainty, and what a time we will have! The day I leave here, I will send an order to France for a large supply of the best wines in Europe, and they will be mellow to the taste by Christmas. The stern reality that confronts every one of my sentiments banishes all romance. I must have realities. The crusades will be surpassed in the emigration to the country of my future home, and such a people never moved from one country to another. You and your wife are among the *very* few that gave me a cheer of success—and that success will be marred if you do not participate in it. But like me you must be patient for a time. It may be for a very short time. I confess that I chafe at every hour's delay; but I do not permit this to depress me or damp my energies. I have to deal in generalities for fear of accidents, but you may count on having a home where you will not only be prosperous and happy, but honored as one who from the first had faith. I may introduce your name in some important concessions that may be necessary to secure the success of my policy, but you may rely on it, if I do, benefits of a no equivocal character will result to you. Every one with a particle of enterprise in his composition have their [*sic*] eyes turned toward the North, but I will be first on the ground. I shall open new books, and capitalists near you had better wait coming events before they venture their money. When I write you to come, bring as many millions as you please, and they will soon turn into tens of millions. Even the most skeptical here now acknowledge that no such country exists on the earth unoccupied. But I have to write so obscurely for fear of accidents that you may not comprehend me, but have faith that I know what I am about.

With my best love to Mrs. W.,

I remain very truly yours

[Enclosure No. 4]

Private

MEXICO, 18th May, '65.

HON. B. WOOD,[1]

Dear Sir:

Just on closing the within very hastily written com. I hear of a person to leave in A.M. for N. Y. I avail myself of the opportunity to send by him. You see I have been cautious but positive about Dr. Gwin. He, my family, Gen. Stone and two others mess together. They are all in my rooms several times a day, or I or we in theirs. I see Mr. Soulé daily—all in the same scheme: Sonora, Sinaloa, Chihuahua, and Durango. They have *all they want* from the French Emperor—the approval of Maximilian is desired. Marshal Bazaine has certain orders anyhow. The thing will be carried out and Gwin will go out as "Directeur-Général, etc." Stone's project was as distinct as I have stated and accidental. They harmonize, however, admirably. I am distinctly *pledged* in presence of witnesses to have any scheme of mine carried out. I shall have them. There are fortunes in it—and a very peculiar kind of colonization alone permitted. I am too much hurried to say more. I must say, however, that *our* affair is the largest and best and most rapid ever conceived or granted in any country. I dropt a line to the Empress the other day, and in two hours had an answer entirely satisfactory. Nothing will be furnished till the Emperor returns—said now, not till 3rd or 4th next month, and when he does return he has weighty state matters awaiting him—so that I fear a still longer delay. I cannot get through in time for the next (British) steamer of 1st. Nothing is being finished in his absence. I do trust that, in the midst of the turbulent times about you, you have sequestered ample means for our project. If I knew otherwise I would be off on another thing. But *with* ours, other "big things" follow. I am sorry you have not written to me. I know not your hopes or wishes. You *ought* to have sent me some money. It is hard to financier on nothing, indefinitely, and I have concentrated my whole strength on our scheme. I enclose a letter for my daughter—please mail it to her. And also, as I am delayed about making money, I want and *particularly request* you to send to her address a draft for *$200 in gold.* She needs it. Her term is out, and I have written that you will send it to her. Don't neglect it. That is, if you and I are ever to have anything in common! And your fortune is secure if you will attend to me a

[1] Editor of the *Daily News* in New York and a fervent partisan of the Confederates.

little. God knows what I will do about money if I don't get our scheme through quick. Have never seen a copy of the *News.*

Yr. friend,

MASSEY.

CITY OF MEXICO, May 19, 1865.

Ed. N. Y. Daily News:

"The Government" is still on its travels. That is, the Emperor continues his recreations about Orizaba; consequently civil events make no progress, everything apparently waiting for the Emperor's return. His absence has been and is exceedingly unpopular—he suffers nothing to be finished without him, and documents and messages sent to him are seemingly shelved. In consequence of important news from France by the late French steamer, great changes are being effected. The loan of $50,000,000 is sufficient with the income of the country to "run" the government for two years, within which time it is at leisure to "consolidate" itself. The vote in the French Chambers to continue French troops in Mexico was unexpectedly large in its favor, and guarantees French protection of Governmental stability here. That an improvement in the administration of affairs is foreshadowed is indicated in the very sudden removal of Elvin (called chief of cabinet, really chief clerk of cabinet), who is reputed to have exerted an overshadowing influence over the Emperor and Empress, and has been exceedingly unpopular with both natives and foreigners. Elvin was with the Emperor on his trip, and some instructions received from France were evidently impressive, for he left on the steamer at once, without so much as returning to the capital for a change of clothes. He is said to have been sent on a special mission to Belgium and France. So also Ramirez, the Secretary of State, has been sent on a *mission,* it is said, to London and Brussels. The Emperor has a convenient way of substituting honors! The Secretary of Interior also has been permitted to resign. It is not stated why he too was not provided with a foreign mission, although it is known that specific acts rendered his "loyalty" questionable. All these cabinet vacancies are as yet unsupplied and will remain so until the Emperor returns. It would be useless to give rumors as to who will fill them. Of course letter-writers from Havana and Mexico will have heralded the return of Dr. Gwin from Paris to the City of Mexico. All manner of things will doubtless be written. Those who know the gallant and noble ex-Senator[1] know that he knows how to keep his own counsels.

[1] Gwin had been a United States Senator and a Confederate.

My next letter may tell your readers as many particulars as they are interested in. For the present I may only say that the Dr. is not a man to fail. He comes back in the very best of health and spirits. All misunderstandings have been cleared up. All talk of the Dr. having been made Duke Viceroy or anything of the kind is all stuff: it never entered the brain of anybody but scribblers. The Dr. has a higher, nobler ambition than that kind of nonsense smacks of. That he is in the process of full success there can be no shadow of doubt. Soon a domain as large as France and composed of four of Mexico's richest states will be open to the most beautiful species of immigration ever known, all to become and remain a part of the Empire of Mexico. Soon after the Emperor's return, I will be in a position to tell your readers more. Those who are tired of revolutions and of mobocracies and political corruptions may look forward with hope.

By an accidental coincidence Genl. Chas. P. Stone got upon the same steamer at Havana upon which Dr. Gwin had taken passage for Mexico; I would scarcely allude to it, were it not that letter-writers will probably indulge in a variety of speculations. General Stone was engaged in the survey of Sonora in 1859, under the celebrated Jecker contract. Some of Jecker's claims have lately been audited by the Imperial Government. General Stone came on to see about his own interests. He came with a practical experience, too, of infinite importance in the near development of Sonora. His purposes and plans in relation thereto were totally independent of and disconnected with the larger enterprise of Dr. Gwin—yet each will materially assist the other. Within a very few weeks I am sanguine that all will be in process of successful accomplishment. Till I write again your readers must wait, and take anything said in the journals with a very large "grain of salt."

Military matters are not very exciting. Of course you have heard of the entry and temporary occupation of Saltillo and Monterey by the troops of Negrete. Upon getting over to Matamoras, they met with Mejia reinforced by 500 fresh troops; the Juarists precipitately retired. It is expected that they will be surrounded and taken prisoners. This is the only band of any size known to be in an organized condition in Mexico. Of course, as I have repeatedly said, it will, in all probability, require many years to get rid of this guerrilla business. Mexico has been used to it for these many years under all forms and shapes of government, and such an inveterate habit of a people cannot easily be broken up. The state of Michoacan is greatly disturbed. There is nothing like repose in it. It is a large state and mountainous. Small parties can make very destructive irruptions, and French and Belgian troops have both suffered severely by surprises. Reinforcements are almost constantly arriving at Vera Cruz. The vomit[1] has

[1] The yellow fever.

been playing sad havoc already in the unfortunate city just mentioned. It is extremely dangerous for any one unacclimated to pass a single night there. . . .

It will be a great blessing to Mexico and the world.[1] Fortunately it is going on with all possible vigor. The company constructing it have subleased eleven leagues of the most labor to a French and Belgian company—the part which includes the mountains to be done in two years. One single bridge will cost $2,000,000 and will be made in England—the other part of the route goes on. The iron will be hauled over the mountains. It is in contemplation to finish this end from the City of Mexico to Puebla within two years.

The tragic events in the United States are of course the almost universal subject of conversation. It might possibly come under the head of "news" to tell you some of the comments in the highest circles. But you must pardon my refraining, because they would be denounced as "copperhead" representations. And the events have been too thick and fast for a proper reference to them in a brief letter. From the stand taken by Andy Johnson and his Attorney-General and Secretary of War, it is evident that they must have their hands too full for years to come, to permit his talk about the "Monroe Doctrine" to be any more than talk. Such vindictiveness in conquerors was never before seen in the world's history, and that it will bring the destruction of its authors is written in the book of destiny. Either to "restore" or to "subjugate" is the dream of an inebriate under the policy shadowed forth. The carriage of the remains of Lincoln through the cities of the country—the uses made of that display in exasperating the lowest passions of humanity, has afforded scandal of the American name all over the world too glaring for remark.

Yours truly,

JOURNALIST.

The Dr. Gwin referred to in the foregoing dispatch had been one of the United States Senators from Texas, who withdrew, with most of the other delegates in Congress from the slave-holding States in 1861, to take his chances with the insurgent Confederation. At the close of the war he managed to persuade the Emperor of France to give him a letter to General Bazaine in Mexico to aid him (Gwin) in establishing a colony of Confederate refugees in that country. Bazaine was wise

[1] A railroad.

enough to pay no attention to Gwin, and Maximilian at that time was too busy "picking slivers out of his own shins" to take any thought of his Confederate coadjutor.

JOHN HAY, FIRST SECRETARY OF LEGATION, TO BIGELOW

PARIS, August 1, 1865.

My dear Sir:

Your dispatch was received this morning, copies made as directed, and the papers delivered at the Foreign Office by me at 2.30 this afternoon.

Your letter was full of comfort in its reference to work to be done at the Legation "after Mr. P.[1] returns." It is good to know that the Deluge which is "after *us*" is so far behind.

You directed me to write if there was anything of interest. You neglected to inform me whether an uninteresting note would be acceptable. I transgress instructions so far as to say that there is nothing new. I occupied your pew on Sunday and borrowed money of Brooks to drop in the plate. (I will take my pay in silver mines,[2] after the Deluge before mentioned.) Dr. Sunderland[3] preached a sermon on Parasites. He said the greatest *Pair of Sights* now going were the Falls of Niagara and Mills' Jackson. Speaking of Jackson, Mr. Mills, whose reputation has been smoked a little by letters found in Sherman's route, went to Stanton the other day to get Booth's head for the purposes of Plastic Art. Stanton snarled over his shoulder, "You will have as much as you can conveniently do to take care of your own head."

Mills told it. I thought it a good joke. Mills thought it shabby.

Misses Hales called to see you yesterday. The party rattled into the office like a Hale-storm.

A man came for a passport and had no money. I sent him

[1] Mr. Pomeroy, Second Secretary of Legation, on a spontaneous and long-enduring leave of absence.

[2] Failing to receive the appointment of Consul at Paris which I sought for him, Mr. Brooks had wisely taken a commission to inspect some mines in Arizona.

[3] Pastor of the American Chapel in Paris.

away with alacrity. If he comes to Dieppe let the Bigelow heirs duck him.

I am really getting intimate with "our Mutual Friend" La Fontaine. He struggles admirably with the difficulties of a jejune and poverty-stricken language.

So do I.

. . . . . .

I send you a late article from the *Times* on the Gwin subject, as you have not seen it.

Your obedient servant

DROUYN DE LHUYS TO BIGELOW

Translation

Paris, August 1, 1865.

Sir:

I have received the note which you did me the honor to address to me on the 26th ultimo, concerning certain facts said to have occurred on the frontiers of Texas and Mexico, and to be of a nature to attract the attention of the Government of the Emperor. You recall, on this occasion, the communications which passed between us in reference to a similar incident, namely, the delivery of the artillery of Brownsville to the authorities of Matamoras. Information recently received in France, and which was reproduced in the newspapers, has made known to us the satisfactory solution given to that affair. Before our instructions recommending the restoration of this property to the Federal authorities had time to reach Mexico, General Mejia had, of his own accord, ordered its surrender to the commander at Brownsville. This voluntary decision shows dispositions which, I doubt not, will be appreciated by the Cabinet at Washington. The same information states, moreover, that the most friendly relations had been established between the military commanders of the United States and of Mexico in that part of the frontiers of the two countries.

You do me the honor to mention to me in your communication of July 26th the passing over into the Mexican territory of a certain number of Confederate generals who, with some two thousand persons, soldiers and others, are said to have, after the capitulation, crossed the Rio Grande, taking with them their artillery, horses, mules, etc., all of which were the property of the Federal Government. I am not yet in a position to offer you any explanations on this point, but from what we know of the views of the Mexican Government, these proceedings would be entirely contrary to its intentions.

As for the steamer *Lucy Given* or *Gwin* and the eight hundred and fifty bales of cotton, included in the capitulation, which are said to have been transferred to Mexican territory, I am also obliged to wait, before answering your demand, for the information which I have asked both from the French military authorities and from the Government of Mexico.

Accept assurances of the high consideration with which I have the honor to be, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, August 2nd, 1865.

Sir:

At a recent interview with M. Le Play, the Commissioner-General of the Universal Exposition of 1867, he informed me that the Imperial Commissioners had finally fixed upon the Champ-de-Mars for the site of the Exposition and had proposed to reserve for the United States 3346 square metres of space within the edifice, with the privilege, if we required it, of some 1600 metres lying adjacent and not yet appropriated. The map which accompanies this despatch and marked enclosure No. 1 will show the manner in which this space is distributed and the proportion which the aggregate bears to the allotments made to the other Powers.

M. Le Play wished to know what assurance I could give that we would occupy so much space. I replied that unfortunately this subject was not brought to the attention of my Govern-

ment until after the adjournment of Congress, which does not meet again until December next; that the amount of space we should require would depend very much upon the liberality of its appropriations, the executive government having no funds or credits available for such a purpose. I also read to him, from your despatch in which I was designated as "Special Agent," the expressions of the interest which our government took in the Exposition; directed his attention to the important changes in our domestic affairs since that despatch was written, all calculated to favor our participation in the Exposition, and I concluded by expressing my personal conviction that the United States would make good use of all the space that had been allotted to it and that no effort would be wanting on my part to secure such a representation as would be creditable to my country.

Farther than this I told him I could not go, for though I believed that any recommendation which the President might make upon this subject to Congress would receive its approval, I could give him no stronger assurance of it than my personal conviction. I urged the Commissioner-General at the same time to let me have the detailed plans of the Imperial Commissioners at as early a moment as possible, to submit to my government, that no time should be lost, on the one hand, in preparing a programme for the action of Congress, and, on the other, in taking steps to ascertain the disposition and requirements of exhibitors.

About two weeks after this interview I received from Le Play two communications. Of the first, enclosure No. 2 is a copy and enclosure No. 3 is a translation, and of the second, enclosure No. 5 is a translation.

By enclosures Nos. 2 and 3 it will be observed that the Imperial Commission has felt constrained, in consequence of my inability to give the Commissioner-General more definite assurances, to reduce our allowance of space from 3346 to 2788 square metres.

I have as yet made no reply to this communication, for I have none to make. Though the Commissioner has left us about nine times the space that we occupied in 1855, still I regret the reduction, so firmly persuaded am I, should the opportunity be fairly presented to our people, that the proportions which this Exposition is destined to take in the eyes of the

world within the next twelve months will render it much more difficult to limit our contributions to the larger space than to fill it creditably.

Enclosures Nos. 4 and 5 embrace the General Regulations and the System of Classification adopted by the Commission. For the translation of the Classification I am indebted to Mr. Beckwith, who has consented to act for me in the capacity of a Special Commissioner under a power derived through me as the special agent of the United States. In a note which accompanied this translation Mr. Beckwith says:

"If the Government would publish the classifications in the newspapers they would thus probably reach every individual in the United States interested in the subject. The classifications, like a carefully written chapter of contents, comprise more information as to the scope, limits, character and objects of the Exposition than could be given in any other form in equal space. They suggest of themselves much of the information most useful and most desired by the public at this stage of the enterprise, which renders it important that they should be published and distributed without delay."

I concur entirely in this recommendation, for reasons to which I shall refer more at length presently. If our people are to participate in this Exposition, no time should be lost in supplying them with the means of knowing how they may do so to the best advantage, and for that purpose they must study the Regulations and System of Classification patiently and thoroughly. They may do that profitably whether they finally exhibit or not, for they will there find probably the most complete classification of the products of human industry and art anywhere to be found in print.

There are some features of the Regulations to which it is proper that I should invite your attention at once; I may have occasion to trouble you about some of the others at a later day.

The Exposition is to open on the 1st of April, 1867, and to close on the 31st of October of the same year. The Foreign Commissioners are to be notified of the space allotted to their respective nationalities before the 15th of August instant, after which I am given to understand that it will be impossible to make any material changes in that regard.

All applications for admission, with a description of the articles to be exhibited, must be presented before the 31st of

October, 1865, prior to which time also a plan or chart of the uses to which the space will be put by each nationality respectively must be made by the Foreign Commissioners on a scale of 0.002 per metre and sent to the Imperial Commissioners.

Detailed plans of articles and their distribution in the space assigned them must be furnished on the same scale by the Foreign Commissioners, as well as materials for the official catalogue, before the 31st of January, 1866.

It thus appears that within the next six months, and before any action is likely to be taken by Congress, the Imperial Commission must know not only precisely what articles will be offered for exhibition, but they must have an accurate plan of their distribution. How far these regulations may be relaxed and the time extended will depend upon circumstances, but from the nature of the case it is impossible that they should be relaxed so as materially to relieve American exhibitors, for the reason that the plan of the Exhibition requires a peculiar disposition of the articles from which any serious departure is impracticable. This plan is explained in a communication from Mr. Beckwith, of which enclosure No. 6 is a copy and to all of which I invite your attention.

It may therefore be assumed that to wait for the action of Congress before organizing the American Department of the Exposition of 1867 is equivalent to an abandonment of all profitable participation in it. All the plans must be laid and the chief expenses incurred, if not made, before Congress can be heard from.

Should our country people, however, attach to the privilege of sharing in this Exposition anything like the value which is attached to it by the people of Europe, it ought not to be difficult to find capitalists willing to anticipate the action of Congress by requisite advance of means whenever the Government shall submit to them a plan or line of policy which it is prepared cordially to recommend to Congress and the public.

I trust that in the documents which I have already transmitted, with those which accompany this communication, the Government will find all the information it will require to fix without delay upon the policy it ought to pursue.

Before closing this communication there are one or two other features of the Regulations to which it is my duty to invite your attention.

By article 5th it is provided that all communication between Foreign Exhibitors and the Imperial Commission shall take place through the Commissioners of the respective countries, and in no case will they hold direct communication with the exhibitors. For this purpose Foreign Commissioners, if there are many, are invited by Art. 6 to appoint a delegate as soon as possible to represent them near the Imperial Commission.

These provisions are designed to meet the inconveniences which have heretofore resulted from a multiplicity of Commissioners who were often exhibitors, and to concentrate the practical cares of managing the Exhibition in the hands of persons specially selected for the duty and who, by a careful study of its plan and familiarity with every stage of its growth, are best qualified to promote its success. These regulations also tend greatly to simplify the organization through which our government will have to operate. With an appropriation sufficient to pay such portion of the expenses of transportation as it may conclude to assume and other allied expenses (I would recommend that it assume the charge of all articles at tide-water in the United States until they are returned, those sold during the trip to pay their own charges), and with two Commissioners, one to reside in Paris and the other in New York, properly qualified for their duties, the official or governmental organization would be for the present and for the next eighteen months at least complete. This subject is more fully developed by Mr. Beckwith in enclosure No. 6, to which for the present I content myself with inviting your attention, as presenting what seems to me the simplest, the most economical, the most harmonious plan of operation that I can imagine and one open to fewest objections and most certain to work successfully. I think it would be wise to take measures to avoid as far as possible any representation by States at this Exposition, for the Imperial Commission never know what relative value to attach to such Commissioners, and the result of such a representation here would be, as it has always been before, that the whole National character of one part of the Exposition would be sacrificed to the interests of a few sharp-witted speculators who might chance to know best how to turn the inevitable confusion and disorder that would result, to their own account.

When the Exposition is ready to open it will be proper for

the United States to be represented by a very different and more numerous body of men who by their knowledge and accomplishments are qualified to describe in popular language the novelties with which the Exposition may abound. It is from the labors of such men as these that the country ought to derive its chief advantages from such an Exposition, but such men are not apt to be qualified nor to have the leisure or taste for any of the labor which precedes the opening or which follows the closing of the Exhibition.

In France it is provided that the Imperial Commission shall organize in each department what it terms Departmental Committees, whose duties, among others, it will be to create a Commission of Artists, Agriculturists, Manufacturers, Master Workmen, and other specialists who should make a special study of the Exposition and prepare and publish a report on the various applications which may be made in their department, of the information they may gather. To meet at least a portion of the expense of this work, private subscriptions are authorized to be opened in the several departments.

Something similar should be done by our people and government in the selection of candidates for such work; no pains should be spared to select the most capable from among the class of men who know enough of our own skill and resources to determine what is new and worthy of representing the United States. This work will be done for the nations of Europe by their ablest men, for thus only are the important lessons of the Exposition to be perpetuated and diffused.

I hope we shall not disregard their example. In making choice of men for this labor, our academies of art and design, our agricultural societies, our mechanics' institutes and other literary and scientific societies might possibly be consulted to advantage.

With no other apology for these somewhat perfunctory suggestions than my desire that our country may not only appear to advantage at the Exposition of '67 but that its artists and artisans may profit by the unexampled opportunities for instruction which it will present,

I remain, sir, etc.

STANTON, SECRETARY OF WAR, TO SEWARD

War Department,
Washington City,
August 2nd, 1865.

Sir:

This department has granted leave of absence to Major-General J. M. Schofield of the United States Army, with the privilege of visiting foreign countries. In view of the professional attainments and distinguished services of General Schofield as Commander of the Department of Missouri, General Commanding the Army of the Ohio, and more recently as Commander of the Military Department of North Carolina, I would respectfully request that application be made to the proper authorities in the countries he may visit for permission to inspect the military establishments, and for such facilities and courtesies as are extended to military officers of rank and merit in other Governments who may visit the United States.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, August 5, 1865.

Sir:

The letters from the Hon. Garnier-Pagès, of which I have the honor to enclose copies and translations, explain themselves. Though simply an individual expression of opinion, the position which the venerable writer has occupied as one of the five executive officers under the provisional government of France in 1848, and the position which he now occupies as one of the liberal members of the Chamber of Deputies of the city of Paris, not to speak of his personal virtues and his cordial sympathy for our country and government during its recent struggles, seem to justify me in complying with his request to have his letter laid before you, which I do with his own explanation of motives addressed to myself.

I shall find an opportunity to explain to M. Pagès that our

government has not yet returned to the elementary condition in which the French republic of 1848 found itself when it abolished capital punishment; and that the United States has no more power to abolish the death penalty than it has to abolish the constitution. The fact that such an appeal should be addressed to the President of the United States by a person so intelligent and generally well informed as M. Pagès shows how imperfectly the mass even of educated Europeans comprehend what we have done and what we have not done during and since our great rebellion. The liberal press of Paris, without exception, I believe, shares M. Pagès's wishes and ignorance on this subject.

I am, sir, etc.

GARNIER-PAGÈS TO BIGELOW

Translation

Dear Mr. Bigelow:

It may seem indiscreet for any foreigner to intervene in the political acts of a nation. But I obey, without being able to define it, a sentiment which leads me to consider myself in some sort a member of the great American republic, and to associate myself with its destinies. I yield, doubtless, to that fraternal principle of common sympathy which unites all men and all peoples who have the same ideas and desire to attain the same end. I do not hesitate, therefore, to submit to you a letter dictated by my ardent desire to see the government of the United States succeed in a difficult position, and avoid the embarrassments of the legal repression which frequently transforms criminals into martyrs, and thus gives results contrary to those which are sought to be obtained.

If this letter accords with the intuitions of your government, and you think its publication would be useful, please have it presented through the Hon. Mr. Seward to your President. But as I do not desire in any manner to increase the weight of the responsibility which now rests upon the eminent man at the head of your republic, I beg that you will pass this letter by in silence if it can only clash with their policy.

Have the kindness, in any case, to present to Mr. Seward my most affectionate compliments, and tell him how happy I have been at his recovery and at your successes.

Yours very devotedly

GARNIER-PAGÈS TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Translation

Mr. President:

When the French people resumed possession of their sovereignty, the 24th of February, 1848, when they proclaimed the republic, the minister of the United States was the first representative of a friendly nation who hastened to the Hôtel de Ville of Paris to convey the expression of his fraternal sympathies. The minister, Mr. Rush, and the venerable president of the provisional government, M. Dupont (de l'Eure), in a holy embrace, tightened the bonds of alliance of the two great republics.

That very day the French people, through the medium of their improvised representatives, proclaimed the abolition of the death penalty in political matters. This act of regeneration, which consecrated an era in the progress of humanity, excited universal transports.

From that solemn day the words "revolution and republic," effacing the stain of bloodshed, signified "clemency and fraternity." The revolution and the republic had broken in pieces the political scaffold.

The poignant regrets of defeat, the anguish of a troubled spirit, the corroding memory of faults committed, and, if the necessities of legal repression require it, banishment to a foreign land and the sufferings of exile, seemed a sufficient punishment, an expiation sufficiently severe.

You will, therefore, consider it as simply natural, Mr. President, and you will kindly permit us who bear in our hearts the great democratic traditions; who have never ceased to offer our ardent prayers for the triumph of the American Union, and who have so admired it since it has proclaimed the abolition of slavery; who have felt a thrill of joy in learning the end of the civil war, and of sorrow in hearing of the cruel death of President Lincoln, to come in sympathy to tell you with what lively satisfaction we should learn that the cry of human conscience which issued from the Hôtel de Ville of Paris in 1848 has found its echo at the White House of Washington in 1865.

Be pleased, Mr. President, to accept, with the expression of our fraternal regard for the great American people, the assurance of our distinguished regard for yourself.

Yours devotedly,

GARNIER-PAGÈS.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Private and Confidential

WASHINGTON, August 7, 1865.

My dear Bigelow:

Just returned with my sick family from a sojourn of ten days at Cape May. I find your letter which is without date, but which arrived here on the 1st inst.

I am very glad to know that Lord Palmerston is not responsible for the malevolence of the *Post*. Its articles have always been assumed by us to be permitted by him to propitiate our enemies. I have regretted what I supposed was his neglect, to tolerate the malevolence of the journal which is supposed to be his special organ. M. Eloin has not been here, and of course he will not come. We cannot follow the questionable practice of European statesmen in holding friendly official interests with one government of a country, and cultivating at the same time its domestic enemies.

The United States are entirely confident that the Republican question on this Continent will work out its solution successfully, for no foreign contentions could shake this confidence for a minute. They might perhaps quicken the expectation into impatience, incompatible with peace. I hope you clearly perceive what is certain to be the temper of Congress and of political conventions in this country in regard to Mexico, and that you do not in any way withhold the information from M. Drouyn de Lhuys.

Very truly yours

BIGELOW TO R. H. DANA

DIEPPE, August 8, 1865.

My dear Sir:

Send me a dozen copies of your tribute to Everett, and I will send them under the seal of the Legation to the gentlemen most likely to receive them gratefully. In fact, it just occurs to me that, as Mr. Everett was a member of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, it might be well to send a copy to each. Send me 50 as from yourself, and I will distribute them under the seal of the Legation among the Members of the Institute.

I read your speech at Faneuil Hall, as I read all your speeches, with satisfaction. The question it discusses is one of the most embarrassing ever presented to an American statesman; not the abstract right of the negro to share equality with the white in the rights, responsibilities and privileges of citizenship, but how far the Federal Government may go in securing to the negroes these rights, responsibilities and privileges. I see but one difficulty in your argument. As a war measure, the Federal Government no doubt has a right to require such conditions from the conquered party as it finds necessary for the public safety; but when the war power ceases, when the sword is sheathed, will not the conquered States have a right to be placed upon a footing of equality with the other States, and if so, may they not repeal any restrictions upon their absolute control over the right of suffrage, not equally applicable to other States? It is impossible that we should live together in peace upon any other conditions. The franchise is not worth so much to the freedmen even, not to speak of the rest of the population, as the equality of rights of the States.

I believe in an enlargement of the basis of suffrage and a limitation of its use to the choice of representative and executive officers and in such modifications of fundamental law as may become necessary from time to time. It should in no case be invoked in the choice of purely administrative officers. I would, with this restriction, let every negro of age and sound mind vote, where I had the power, but the power is not worth

gaining by usurpation. I hope the South will come forward sooner or later with some solution of this difficulty, and therefore I hope the discussion may go on some time without any attempt in executive quarters to arrest it. The discussion is very profitable.

I always said in regard to our war that it would terminate as soon as the cause of it ceased, that is, as soon as the decided majority of the nation were opposed to slavery; and that would be soon enough. So this embarrassment will disappear as soon as a decided majority of the nation is prepared to recognize the fraternity of the African. That will be soon enough also for the agitation to cease. Till then any solution that would arrest discussion and agitation would be a calamity.

I hope you will do what you can to prevent the country getting into a false position about Mexico and converting a sentiment into a policy. They must be taught definitely to accept the principle that Democracies propagate themselves by example and not by arms.

I am always glad to hear from you, and whenever you have anything of possible interest here to circulate, you will henceforth know how to do it. If you see Sumner, please ask him what has become of Sir Henry Bulwer's book.

Yours very sincerely

DROUYN DE LHUYS TO BIGELOW

Translation

Paris, August 7, 1865.

Sir:

I have received the letter which you have done me the honor to address to me, dated August 1st. In it you mention to me some plans for the colonization of Mexico, deemed to have been conceived with intentions hostile to the Government of the United States, and you desire to know if it is true the Emperor Maximilian and France lend their support to these undertakings.

We shall always be ready, Sir, to respond frankly to de-

mands for explanations coming to us from an allied nation, when they are inspired by a conciliatory spirit, presented in an amicable tone, and based upon authentic documents or positive facts. But I must add that the Emperor is resolved to reject all interpellations which may be made to us in a comminatory tone, about vague allegations, and based upon documents of a dubious character.

You will understand, Sir, that it is not for me to enlighten you concerning the speculations of such or such person who has emigrated to Mexico. But what I know of the intentions of the Mexican Government enables me to say to you that it purposes to let the emigrants from the Southern States enter upon its territory only individually and without arms. They will receive such help as humanity requires, but will be immediately dispersed through the provinces of the Empire and bound to abstain in their conduct from everything which might awaken the just susceptibility of neighboring nations. I have, moreover, reason to believe that these dispositions of Emperor Maximilian are by this time as well known to the Cabinet at Washington as they are to us.

As for France, she has on several occasions, Sir, and with entire frankness stated her resolution to observe, in all the internal questions which may agitate or divide the Union, an impartial and scrupulous neutrality. We have nothing to offer, as a pledge of our intentions, but our word; but we deem the word of France a guaranty which will satisfy any friendly power, as we ourselves are satisfied with the word pledged to us by the Federal Government to remain strictly neutral with regard to affairs in Mexico. I take pleasure in recalling here, Sir, the assurances which I had the satisfaction to receive from you on that subject, especially in your letter of the 12th of June last, and which I have stated in my answer dated the 17th.

The Emperor trusts with confidence to the sentiments of which you were the interpreter, and, although certain recent manifestations may seem difficult to reconcile with these declarations, His Majesty does not hesitate to rely always upon the honorableness of the American People.

Accept assurances of the high consideration with which I have the honor to be, Sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS. August 10, 1865.

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit herewith copies of a letter addressed by me to His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the 1st inst., and of his reply, in reference to the schemes of Dr. Gwin and his associates in Mexico, referred to in your despatch No. 195.

The sensitiveness betrayed by his Excellency upon this subject has determined me to defer any rejoinder until I have had time to hear from you. For that period at least, silence will be the most effective rejoinder.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

BIGELOW TO JOHN C. FORNEY

PARIS, August 14, 1865.

My dear Sir:

In the *Sunday Chronicle* of the 16th ult. a very deserved tribute is paid to the young American who carried off the Chancellor's prize at Oxford this year, and it adds: "This, we believe, is the first time that the highest honor of an English University has been conferred on an American."

I have pleasure in bringing to your notice another triumph of American scholarship in another country and in some respects even more flattering to our national pride and more creditable to the liberality of the institution in which it was achieved.

Messrs. Leopold and Arthur Beckwith, sons of Mr. N. M. Beckwith of New York, stood their examination a few weeks since to define their standing for the next and last year of their course at the École Impériale Centrale des Sciences et des Arts. They had but one serious competitor for the first place besides each other. Leopold entered first in his class and retained his position. Arthur, who entered 9th, put all behind

him last year but his brother Leopold and one other; this year the other drops behind, and he is now abreast of his brother, and they together at the head of the first school of scientific instruction of its kind in Paris.

It is not a common thing for the first honors of such an institution to be carried away by two foreigners and they brothers and competitors, and it shows an impartiality in the judges as honorable as it is rare.

I place these facts at your disposal without the name of

Yours very truly

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

WASHINGTON, August 14, 1865.

My dear Mr. Bigelow:

It has become your sad duty to bear affliction.[1] I know not how to offer you consolation, for the loss of an interesting child is in every way very mournful. But you will allow me to say that I would if I could share your sorrows with you.

Faithfully your friend

JOHN HAY TO BIGELOW

PARIS, August 18, 1865.

My dear Sir:

I have nothing to tell you, but think it well enough to tell you that.

I would congratulate you on an escape you have had. A strong-minded American female called the other day to get your approval of a speech she wants to make. I told her to leave the MS.; she informed me that she carried it in her head and proposed to deliver it verbally to you, "as the graces of oratory," she kindly observed, "sort of lit up a thing of

[1] My son Ernest, whose death from acute hydrocephalus, at the age of four years and six months, had occurred on the 21st of July preceding.

this sort." I agreed with her, I fear, a little too thoroughly, as she immediately proposed to "say it" to me. "It won't take me more than an hour, and I can say it without missing a word."

In the words of the lamented Kirke White,

"Deep horror then my vitals froze!"

I tried to explain that I was only a miserable subordinate—too much honor—could n't assume the high prerogative of Ambassadorial criticism—from which she gathered that I would rather not. She was surprised and said, "Have you *no* curiosity?" "Not a particle," I said. (Heaven forgive me, for I am worse than Gyges.)

She thought me an infant phenomenon and staid an hour talking of her soul and her mission, with both of whom she seemed on comfortable terms, at intervals of five minutes saying abstractedly, "And you have no curiosity?" She went away to see Baron Haussmann, taking her soul and her mission with her. She sent Antoine,[1] after she disappeared, to ask me if I had no curiosity.

"Peace hath her victories
No less renowned than war."

As Dr. Sunderland is a little free in his Litany, I will try, by the time you return, to have an addition of this sort made to it:

"From strong-minded females, from too much soul, from peripatetic apostles with good memories, Good Lord, Deliver us!"

Why not put Mr. Pomeroy at the head of a Wandering Apostle Bureau? He will have no end of endurance and sentiment on hand when he comes back.

Which he has n't done it, up to date.

A pennyworth less of reserve in regard to yourself would be gratefully appreciated. We would be glad to know that Mrs. Bigelow had arrived, and was as well as her recent distressing experience would permit.

I am very truly and respectfully,

Yours

[1] The messenger of the legation.

GEORGE BANCROFT TO BIGELOW

New York, August, 1865.

My dear Mr. Bigelow:

Dec. 23, 1780, Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens was commissioned by Congress as Special Minister to France. Jan. 25, 1781, Washington addressed to Laurens a letter of advice. That letter I have a copy of; it is also on file in the Bound Volumes labelled "États-Unis" in the French archives. I have a floating, uncertain notion that the same volume of the "États-Unis" which contains the letter of Washington to Laurens contains also *a very short letter,* signed by Washington alone, or Washington and others, urgently soliciting the aid of France as indispensably necessary to the cause of America.

Now, if there be such a letter, I beg you to obtain for me a copy of it. It may be that there is no such letter; it may be that the floating idea in my mind grew out of Washington's letter to Laurens, which I have. It will take so little time to make the search, I beg you to ask to have it done; and I am sure the unfailing courtesy of M. Drouyn de Lhuys will grant the necessary order. If it should prove that there is such a letter, its publication will do honor to France and assist to renew in both nations the old feeling of amity.

I remain ever, dear Mr. Bigelow,

Your faithful friend

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Private and Confidential

Paris, Aug. 19, 1865.

My dear Mr. Seward:

I met the Minister from the Argentine Republic at the dinner given by the Minister of Foreign Affairs on occasion of the Emperor's fête the other day, and he casually mentioned that his son-in-law, about whose family I was inquiring and who is the Secretary of the Mexican legation here, had been sent

for by the Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs to come home, but he added, "he is not going." I asked if the orders were not imperative. He uttered a *pish* and made a gesture designed to convey to my mind the most utter contempt alike for the orders and requests of the Maximilian government. I asked if they did not wish him to take another place. "Oh, yes," he said; "they want him in the service, but he will not leave Paris." Another important indication of the disorganization of the Imperial Mexican Government into parties, if not a symptom of feebleness which precedes decline.

Yours very sincerely

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Unofficial

Dieppe, Monday, Aug. 21, 1865.

My dear Mr. Seward:

I am in receipt of your note of the 7th inst. I have had no opportunity of seeing Drouyn de Lhuys for the last four weeks to transact business, nor am I likely to have one for three weeks to come, during which period he intends to remain absent from Paris. If I can avoid it, I would prefer not to write to him about Mexican affairs again until I have had an opportunity of conversing with him very fully upon the subject. I think the result of such a course will be more satisfactory both to you and to me than if I write first; nor do I see that anything can suffer by delay. When I do see him again I shall take care to leave upon his mind as distinct an impression of our future policy towards the interventionists in Mexico as your instructions will authorize. In the absence of something more explicit from you I shall feel it my duty to avoid saying anything which would commit our government to extreme measures in any contingency: *first,* because I do not understand from them or from any other source that the President has determined to abandon the policy of a passive for one of an active armed resistance to French intervention in Mexico in any emergency; and, *secondly,* because I am

unable to see how such a policy can commend itself to his judgment hereafter. I take it for granted that the tone of conventions and of Congress will at first be belligerent, but after all, the people rely a great deal more upon you and upon the President to regulate their foreign policy than they do upon their representatives in Congress or upon the editors of newspapers, and I am sure that upon questions of peace and war you have no occasion to incline before such influences any farther than they harmonize with the conclusions of your own judgment. The objections to making peace with France dependent upon her retirement from Mexico seem to me very grave, and I am persuaded they will not stand the test to which such an important issue would have to be submitted in the United States. In spite of the letter of General Sheridan and the speeches of Mr. Blaine and of the Secretary of the Interior, I have seen no evidence at all conclusive upon my mind that our people are more disposed now than ever before to depart from the traditional policy of non-intervention in the affairs of Foreign States, nor do I now see any more signs of their coveting Mexico for their own than when their army occupied its capital nineteen years ago. They are too sagacious to transfer to their own shoulders a burden which is crushing the Emperor of France and from which they shrank in 1847.

I think you will find, when the question is raised in a practical shape with all its attendant responsibilities before our people, the opposition to the extension of European influence in the Western Hemisphere is a sentiment which they cherish, but not a policy for which they will fight. The moment the burdens of a war waged upon such a pretext should begin to be felt, it would become unpopular, and the Administration would be driven to accept a peace perhaps upon humiliating terms. The abstract folly of making ourselves the armed champion of all or of any of the Spanish-American States, whose people belong to a different race from ours, who speak a different language, who possess a different religion, and who have been trained under social and political institutions having very little in common with those of the United States, would be aggravated now by the state of our finances, which are likely for many years to tax all our resources to the utmost under the most favorable circumstances. As yet no action of

the Latin race has succeeded in establishing a government worthy of being called Republican, and nowhere have their attempts to do it proved more disastrous failures than in Spanish America. I think it safe to assume that the people of this race in our hemisphere will require for many years a much more highly centralized government than we can offer them under our present Constitution, and it is hardly worth while, therefore, under the pretext of defending Republican institutions, to get ourselves into a war with one and perhaps with several of the most powerful States of Europe, whose hostility in a twelvemonth would do us more damage than all our commerce with Mexico would repair in twenty years.

I doubt if there is a power in Europe that would formally sustain our pretensions under what is called the "Monroe Doctrine," while England, France, Spain, Denmark, Austria and Brazil would lend their moral support, and some of them probably material support, to any sovereign that would resist them. The mere apprehension of such a state of things would impair our credit in Europe at a moment when a good credit there appears to offer us our only means of escape from bankruptcy, and it would indefinitely postpone our return to a Specie Standard of value and to a reduction of our tariff, the two measures upon which our national prosperity seems, humanly speaking, to be most immediately dependent; it would check the current of emigration from the Old World, one of the most important items of our national wealth; and, finally, it would cost us the finest opportunity ever offered any nation of indicating the superior sagacity and discretion of a real representative democracy. In a war involving our national existence, like the one just closed, we might resist the world in arms successfully; but in a war to redress the wrongs of Mexico or to propagate republicanism by the sword, we should, in my opinion, be likely to fail. Such a contest would accomplish for the Emperor of France what he has sought in vain to accomplish hitherto: it would rally all his subjects to his support; it would give him that Imperial position among the European powers which has always been his dream; it would speedily arm and equip in the Southern States more rebels than General Lee had under his command on the day of his capitulation, and would probably place our government so completely on the defensive before the close of the first cam-

paign as to make it but too happy to retire from the contest without any other humiliation than the formal recognition of the Emperor of Mexico.

I may seem to underrate the value of our troops and the military genius of our people when I speak of the expulsion of the Archduke Maximilian as a task involving difficulty or danger. I am sure no one can rate either higher than I do, but I can conceive of no more deplorable delusion for our people to fall into than for them to infer from their wonderful military achievements since 1861 that they are destined to be, under their present Constitution, a great military nation. No one knows better than you, My Dear Sir, how impossible it would have been for us to have overcome the forces arrayed against us during the late rebellion, if the struggle had concerned anything less dear, less vital than our national existence. I am greatly mistaken if there was any moment between the 1st of January, 1862, and the 1st of January, 1865, when the administration would have dared decline any terms of peace the South might have offered that included a restoration of the Union and a respect for our plighted faith. Our government is based upon the will of the people, who will not prosecute an expensive war for a cause which is not of vital interest to a very great majority of them, and it is impossible to make them feel that they have any such interest in the restoration of the *soi-disant* Republican government of Mexico. Whoever thinks the contrary, I fear, is deceived.

I suppose I am indiscreet in allowing my pen such freedom upon such a delicate topic and before any one has asked my opinion, but it is a part of your duty to gather public opinion, and neither my regard for you personally, nor my anxiety for our country, would allow me to withhold my contribution. My notion of my duty here, as I understand it, is substantially this: to say nothing and to do nothing which would require us in honor to compel France to leave Mexico if she did not choose to yield to peaceful arguments; and, on the other hand, to avoid saying or doing anything which would lead the Emperor to suppose we would not resort to force if ultimately necessary for the liberation of Mexico.

I had, and, to be frank with you, I have still, a somewhat different view of our true policy towards France. Short of recognizing Maximilian I would give France every possible

evidence of our friendship. I should withhold the recognition upon the distinct ground that according to our convictions the Emperor had undertaken in Mexico what he thought we had undertaken upon the breaking out of the rebellion, a task which must inevitably result in a failure. As long as he keeps an army in Mexico, he is weaker all over the world, and the United States will have more power at his court than she could ever hope to have if he had no such embarrassment. We could negotiate anything with him if we kept his govt. under such obligations to our forbearance for a year or two longer. That the Archduke must fail ultimately no American doubts, nor do I know of any Frenchman that does. If he is to fail we don't need the credit of having caused his failure, while we do constantly need his friendship, which we can now purchase upon the most advantageous terms, by simple forbearance. If, as we all suppose, Mexico will one day be overrun and occupied by emigrants from the United States who will desire to share the protection and privileges of our govt., the discipline which the semi-barbarous population of Mexico is now undergoing will be an admirable preparation for them; while the money which France is spending there in roads and other public improvements may be regarded as so much money invested for our account.

Till Mexico is populated by emigrants from the United States we do not want any responsibility for her government; when she is, no other government can prevail long against the temptations to annexation we can offer.

Were our relations with France such as this theory contemplates, our credit would speedily receive an extraordinary impulse in her markets, and our factories would recruit very largely from her skilled artisans. Instead of adding to our debt several hundred millions in fighting her, we should thereby greatly reduce it; we should improve our credit and strengthen our position as a nation, not only with France but with all Europe; we should give a new impulse to emigration, a new éclat to representative Democracy, and give the finishing stroke, in Europe at least, to the Divine right of sovereigns.

I assume from the tone of your recent notes that this policy does not commend itself to the public men of the United States. I bow to their superior wisdom and shall endeavor to carry out your instructions with fidelity.

Before closing this tedious and rambling letter, permit me to take one more liberty. I beg you will not forget that the American people have never seriously considered the question we are now discussing as a live, practical question. It has always come up, if at all, on side issues and then been handed over to the demagogues to exercise their threats and rhetoric upon, without any serious importance attaching to anything they said or did about it. When it does come up as a practical question, I feel convinced that they will sustain the statesman who takes the longest view of the true interests of the country and who pays least heed to the passing resentments of the hour.

Though this letter is marked "Unofficial" and is only written for your own eyes, you are requested to make whatever use you choose of it, for I am perfectly willing to be held responsible for any opinion I have expressed in it, though I have not felt at liberty to communicate quite so fully to any one but yourself.

I remain, dear Sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Private and Confidential

Dieppe, Aug. 22, 1865.

My dear Mr. Seward:

You will read in the papers detailed accounts of the exchange of courtesies between the fleets of France and England now taking place. They have given rise to an incident which, while it was not worthy of a place in my official correspondence, may still be not without a certain interest to you. Having occasion to see Baron André, the first clerk at the Foreign Office, some three weeks since on some business, I alluded to a report in the *Indépendance Belge* that several maritime states of Europe would be represented at the Cherbourg fêtes besides England and France, and asked him what were the facts. He replied that, in the absence of the Minister, he could not answer me positively, but he felt quite sure that no invitations had been given, though in reply to inquiries from Austria and afterwards from others he believed that assurances had

been given that all who chose to be represented would be very welcome, etc., etc. He then asked if we had any vessels here. I told him we had a few in European waters, but I did not ask with a view to having our vessels participate at the fête, which I understood to be altogether between two maritime neighbors; but as our vessels were liable to touch at Brest and Cherbourg and might find themselves at one of these ports on the 15th, I wished to be able to communicate to the Commodore such information as it might be desirable for him to have upon the subject. The Baron said he was not prepared to say anything officially; that while his convictions were as I have reported them, he preferred to inquire farther, and he would send me a reply in writing.

On the 9th I was in Paris, and I was told that M. Pilet, father-in-law of the Minister of Marine (an American from Louisiana), was asking for me. The following day I came down to Dieppe to join my family, when I was told a gentleman had called in the morning to see me and would call again in the afternoon after the hour when I was expected to arrive. In the afternoon I walked over to the Casino, and there the first person I met was M. Pilet, who was evidently watching for my arrival. He said he came down there to beg me to order vessels around to Cherbourg; that no invitations were given and that I must not consider this one, but take the assurance from him that our presence there would be very grateful to the Minister, etc.; that our officers would be invited to all the fêtes, balls, dinners, etc.

I replied that it was not too late to write to the Commodore by mail; that I could not make an order upon an invitation in that shape, if in any; and, finally, that, as I had accidentally made it the subject of inquiry at the Foreign Office and been promised a communication upon the subject, I would take no further step till I heard from there, nor could I take any notice now even of a formal invitation, much less of an intimation like this from any other department of the government.

I also threw in for the benefit of whom it might concern that as, under a recent circular from the State Department, it might be a little difficult for an American commander to determine precisely what courtesies he could exchange with a British officer in a Foreign port, it might be as well for Commodore Goldsborough to be elsewhere on the fête in question.

Pilet seemed disappointed; said the Minister was very anxious about it and had intended to send for me to come and dine with him privately a day or two before—till he learned I was out of town—to talk it over; intimated that the subject had been canvassed at Fontainebleau; that Drouyn de Lhuys said he had written to me on the subject, etc., etc. I told him what Drouyn de Lhuys had done and what he had not done, and sent Pilet to digest the information at his leisure.

On the 10th, at a diplomatic dinner given by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, one of the first things he spoke of was the absence of our vessels from the fête; to explain why, and to say how welcome they would have been, etc. I took occasion to repeat what I had said before to Baron André and to M. Pilet that it was only by accident that I had inquired about the matter, and that I did not feel myself entitled to any explanation of an affair which only concerned England and France. At the same time I found occasion to mention the fact that I had not received the promised note from Baron André. The Minister of Public Instruction also referred to the subject on the same occasion, and went back to explain the origin of this interchange of hospitalities to show me that the newspaper story of a desire to make a combined demonstration for the edification of their transatlantic neighbors was without foundation.

These facts are only worth repeating in so far as they show the solicitude of the Government to say and do nothing calculated to wound the susceptibilities of our people. Pilet assured me twice when here at Dieppe that such advances had been made to no other Minister as to me to secure the presence of their vessels at Cherbourg. This I have no doubt is true. They were the more solicitous upon the subject, I found, as they were expecting several powers to be represented there and feared to have our absence remarked. Whether they afterwards discouraged the other powers from coming or those powers themselves thought the game not worth the candle, I don't know, but Milner Gibson, who is now here and who was at Cherbourg, told me last night that there were no government vessels at Cherbourg but the French and English. On the whole, the affair was not altogether a success. The weather, which was tempestuous, helped the other elements to make a mess of it. I may as well mention while on this sub-

ject that I declined the Minister of Foreign Affairs' invitation to dinner on the 15th, on the ground that I expected Mrs. Bigelow to arrive on that day at Liverpool. Baron André sent me word that he hoped I would come, as my absence would be remarked, and that if I did not come he wished I would let one of my Secretaries come. Mr. Hay knew no one likely to be of the company but Drouyn de Lhuys and Baron André, to whom I had presented him; was not sure that his uniform would be ready and was, naturally enough, very much disinclined to make his début in diplomatic circles on such an occasion. Mr. Pomeroy was absent under the pretext of having instructions or permission to visit the fair at Cologne. He left, of course, with my permission, though, as I told him, to my great inconvenience, about the 15th of July, to be absent a week or ten days, and though six weeks have elapsed he has not yet returned. I could not therefore send him, and so I went myself. If you happen to know of any Minister in need of a Secretary who has had a brief experience in the legation at Paris, I wish you would place Pomeroy's services at his disposal. He is better suited for an ornamental secretaryship in some legation where there is little or nothing to do, than for this, I fear. I am delighted, on the other hand, with Hay, who is everything that I could desire except a little short in French, but he will soon get up in that.

In what I say of Pomeroy don't understand me as making any official complaint. When he returns, if he ever does, I will hear his explanation—I have had no letter from him since he left—and then I will determine whether it is my duty to report him to the government or not. He left the day my little boy died, and when I was exhausted by the fatigues of two weeks' sleepless and anxious days and nights, and when I was making every exertion to get my family to the country, which the doctor said was indispensable to their health. Under these circumstances I wanted, when I went away, to leave the legation as strong as possible, and Mr. Hay had then but just arrived. Pomeroy seemed to think it more important that he should go than that he should stay, till finally I told him he might go and stay as long as he pleased. I am not sure but I hoped he would not return. He seems to have taken me at my word.

Yours very sincerely

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

WASHINGTON, August 24, 1865.

My dear Mr. Bigelow:

I have your valued private note of the 10th. I have answered by this mail M. Drouyn de Lhuys in relation to Gwin.

I shall be pleased to receive your promised letter in regard to Mexico. Our latest advices from that country will tell with some effect upon popular opinion. I give you a copy of the duplicate for your own use—it is too early to decide whether the supposed desperate vicissitudes of the Republic will abate or will increase impatient sympathy here.

Very truly yours

In the Paris *Correspondant* for the month of May, 1865, an article appeared on the results of the war for the Union, which had recently terminated, from the pen of the Comte de Montalembert, which has already been laid before my readers. It was one of the best statements of the merits of that struggle that, so far as I know, had then or has since appeared in Europe. The count was a man of very considerable influence in France, though he was not in sympathy with the Imperial Government, either with its foreign or its imperial policies. He was regarded as one of the most eloquent speakers in France and only less eminent as a writer and statesman. At his reception one was sure to find among his guests many of the most famous men of letters then in Paris.

I sent a copy of this article to Mr. Seward, who published a translation of it entire in the "Diplomatic Correspondence" of that year. It elicited a grateful message from Mr. Seward and President Johnson, the communication of which drew forth the following reply, which is important to the public chiefly because of its allusion to the first amnesty proclamation of President Johnson, which excluded from its benefit many of the most conspicuous officers of the Confederate Government, both civil and military. The count deemed this discrimination a

serious mistake, and I have sometimes thought that his reasons for criticising it may have had some weight with President Johnson and his advisers, for it was not long before the amnesty was made general.

COMTE DE MONTALEMBERT TO BIGELOW

Maîche (Doubs le),
24 août, 1865.

Mr. Minister:

Before replying to the letter you have done me the honor to write me of the fourth inst., I cannot defer expressing to you and also to Madam Bigelow the sincere condolence which the loss of your child inspires. I sincerely hope that others remain to you, but even so, you have not been the less painfully stricken. Paternal affection occupies too large a place in my heart for me to write to a father who has sustained the loss of his son without telling him that I pity him with all my soul, and that I pray God to console him.

I must now thank you for the trouble you have taken in transcribing for me the precious testimony of the approbation with which Mr. Seward has been pleased to honor my work on The Victory of the North in the United States. When you write to him, be good enough to transmit to him this expression of my gratitude. I am also much flattered at having won the attention and the satisfaction of the President of the United States. If, as I hope, my health permits me to undertake in the approaching spring the voyage which I have meditated a long time, I shall hope to renew to him personally the homage of my respectful devotion to the cause and to the people of whom he is the head.

Meantime I rejoice sincerely with you, Mr. Minister, at the turn, more and more satisfactory, which affairs in your country seem to be taking, and at the gradual return of opinion to a more healthy and just appreciation of the cause which has triumphed. I am also very sure that you have done your best to inspire the Government which you represent with the conciliatory and moderate policy which can alone consolidate

its victory. You are at the principal focus of European opinion and better than any one able to follow its phases and exigencies.

For myself, I cannot conceal from you that there still remains one shadow, not to say one stain, on the flag of your glorious country—the consequences of that confiscation which has been denounced against the conquered. I know not what great statesman it was who said that one incurred less danger in killing people than in despoiling them. Nothing is more true. You can find confirmation of it in the modern history of France. It is by confiscation far more than by its scaffold that the French Revolution has deposited in the soul of our country those deadly germs of discord which time has not even yet extirpated. It is by confiscation of the property of the family of the Orléans (whose death would have been twice as soon pardoned) that the Emperor Napoleon III. raised between himself and honest people that barrier which, in spite of all his prosperities, is not prostrated and never will be.

Pardon a sincerely affectionate friend of your country and of your cause this unofficial effusion, and accept the renewed assurance of the very high consideration with which I remain, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Department of State,
Washington, August 25, 1865.

Sir:

I have received your despatch of the 5th instant, No. 153. In accordance with the request of the honorable Garnier-Pagès, a translation of his letter which accompanied your despatch has been submitted to the President, who recognizes M. Pagès' great political virtues, and eminent labors in the cause of humanity.

Be pleased to convey to M. Pagès my sincere appreciation of the sentiments which he has expressed towards me personally.

I am, sir, your obedient servant

Comte de Montalembert

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, August 31, 1865.

Sir:

At my interview with M. Drouyn de Lhuys to-day and after disposing of the matters referred to in my despatch of this date marked "Confidential," I alluded to the unhappy consequences of M. Rouher's attempt in the Corps Législatif to quote from a conversation which had passed between M. Drouyn de Lhuys and myself in reference to Mexico. I expressed my regret that I had not then availed myself of his offer to make a correction in the *Moniteur* of the Minister of State's statement, and then remarked that the speech in question had given such importance to our correspondence as to render it necessary for you to define with greater precision than I in a somewhat desultory conversation had deemed it necessary to do, the attitude which the United States occupied in reference to France and Mexico. I then read to him your despatch No. 157.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys said by way of comment that France neither asked nor expected from the United States anything more than neutrality in reference to Mexico, at least for the moment; that you had insisted that Mr. Davis, though occupying a large territory with a large army, was not a belligerent, and you now insisted that Juarez, without an army and without a government that any one could find, represented the sovereign power of Mexico. He did not agree with you on either of these points, but he could not object to your holding those views. As long as we observed the neutrality promised in your despatch he felt that we were doing all they had a right to require of us. In regard to your letter, he said he did not see that it differed materially from what I had represented; that I had never pretended that the people of the United States were not more partial to a Republican than to a monarchial form of government, nor has he ever supposed the contrary, but he could not suppose that we would prefer to perpetuate brigandage and misrule under the name of republicanism, rather than have order and security in Mexico, even under a monarchial form of government.

Here, owing to the lateness of the hour and an interruption, it was necessary to bring our interview to a rather premature close, to my regret. There were several points raised in the course of his conversation to-day on which I would have liked to return, but must trust to some further opportunity for that satisfaction.

Meantime, I remain, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, August 31, 1865.

Sir:

Mr. Marquis, the consul appointed to succeed Mr. Smith at Napoléon-Vendée, did not find the position as attractive as he had anticipated, and returned to the United States without getting nearer to his post of duty than Paris, and without waiting even for his *exequatur,* which was duly applied for and granted.

A short time since I was notified by the Director of Posts that a large number of articles had accumulated for Mr. Marquis at the Post Office at Napoléon-Vendée, and was asked what disposition he should make of them. In view of the probability that some of the correspondence was official, I ordered the whole to be sent to this Legation and paid the postage, amounting to 20 francs 20 centimes.

The package contained nineteen letters and circulars, a volume of commercial regulations for 1863, one number of Little and Brown's U. S. Laws for the 2nd Session of the 38th Congress, and twenty or thirty weekly *Tribunes* and weekly *Indiana State Journals.* As Mr. Marquis has never communicated with me since he determined to abandon his Consulate, nor left his address at this Legation, I have deemed it most prudent to transmit the letters and circulars to the State Department at Washington, with the memorandum of expenses incurred by this Legation on account of them. The books and newspapers did not seem worth the trouble and expense of returning.

I would be glad to know what is the present status of the Consulate at Napoléon-Vendée; whether Mr. Marquis has definitely declined the place or not, and if so, if any one, and in that case who, is in charge of the archives, flag, seal, etc., if there are any.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Confidential

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, August 31, 1865.

Sir:

I have just returned from a somewhat protracted interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in which the reciprocal relations of France, Mexico and the United States were the engrossing topic.

I introduced the subject by remarking that I thought he hardly appreciated the efforts I had been making to preserve a good understanding between our respective countries, if I might judge by the tone of his recent reply to my communication about Dr. Gwin's operations in Mexico. I said that it had seemed to me to be quite in the line of my duty to communicate to him any facts properly authenticated which had a tendency to compromise the relations of the two countries, and that I was quite surprised to find that letters like those I had sent to him from Dr. Gwin and his family, about the genuineness of which there could be no doubt, should be treated by him as unworthy of his attention or mine. I added that I only referred to the subject on this occasion that we personally might have a proper understanding with each other, his communication having been transmitted to the Government at Washington, upon which the duty of replying to it properly devolved.

His Excellency in reply gave me to understand that he excepted not to what I said, but to what was contained in the Gwin correspondence; that conversations were there reported to have passed between Gwin, the Emperor and General Ba-

zaine which could never have occurred. True, he said, the Emperor saw Gwin two or three times, as he sees all persons who are specially acquainted with any subject in which he is interested, and M. Drouyn de Lhuys added that he also saw him twice, but he denied that there were any engagements whatever of the character referred to with Dr. Gwin, who impressed him as a rash though energetic man. He then went on to explain how France came to be in Mexico; said that she was anxious to get out and was going out as fast as she could; that she was constantly withdrawing troops from there, and was only waiting for the Mexican Government to become a little more consolidated, and in a better condition to secure her debt to France, to withdraw her army and flag altogether. That event might be hastened or retarded by the conduct of the United States. He knew it was disagreeable to our country people to have French troops in a neighboring country, but France had no interest in having them there, except to indemnify herself against losses sustained through the bad faith of Mexican rulers, and they were intending to leave as soon as possible. He added that only this morning the Emperor opened in his presence a letter from Maximilian in which the latter announced the departure of some French troops, expressing at the same time his regret, as was natural, at being obliged to replace such disciplined soldiers with raw recruits. M. Drouyn de Lhuys then said that when these Southern emigrants proposed coming to Mexico, Maximilian submitted to the French Government his plans, which contemplated the dispersion of that class throughout the country, never many in any one place, and at a prudent distance from the United States border; *that the French Government approved those proposals and believed them designed in good faith to preserve a friendly understanding with the United States.* Such being the case, he thought the tone of my communication was a sort of impeachment of the good faith of the Government, if not a menace. I replied that I believed it was my duty to bring to his attention facts in any way, however remotely, involving the harmonious relations of the two countries, that he admitted the existence of certain relations between Dr. Gwin and the Governments of France and Mexico, and that I was quite unable to see any want of personal or official propriety in my bringing the treacherous schemes of such a man

to the notice of the Emperor's government. M. Drouyn de Lhuys replied that he doubted the propriety of interpellating a government gravely upon the basis of an intercepted correspondence—for he assumed that this must have been intercepted—and he also thought I ought to be satisfied already of the good intentions both of the French and Mexican Governments towards the United States. I told him that, as there was no doubt of the genuineness of the correspondence, I thought it should be discussed and treated by us as it would be by the public, quite irrespective of the means by which it was obtained; and, in the next place, I observed that if His Excellency would take the trouble to refer to my communication he would find that it was not as to what the French and Mexican Governments would do, but what I knew persons in relation with those governments and animated primarily by hostility towards the United States, and by a desire to embroil the three governments, were trying to do, that I wished to provide against in addressing to him that communication. I then read to him, in illustration of the spirit that actuated the emigrants from Texas whom Maximilian was encouraging to seek homes in Mexico, extracts from the correspondents communicated to me with your despatches Nos. 205 and 215. I said to him that those people were not going to Mexico for any better purpose than to make that country the basis of operations against the United States. It was against their machinations, I said, that I deemed it my duty to warn him, and I added that it was against them that it was necessary for our Government at all hazards to guard. His Excellency assented to what I said about the desire of the rebel emigrants to make their relations with the Mexican territory and government a source of trouble between the United States and France, as if he had more evidence upon that point than I had myself, and was reasonably distrustful of them. He then went on to say that my communication was read to the Emperor and to the council, and that they all were impressed by it as he was; but he said: "For the future, when you have anything of that character to communicate, show it to me or hand me the extracts; I will make the necessary inquiries, and I shall be sure to give you every satisfaction."

Recalling what he had said about withdrawing his army from Mexico, I asked how they were getting on there, and what

was the prospect of their getting away. He said that he thought the country was growing more and more contented with Maximilian's government, and repeated that they had already begun to withdraw their troops and soon, he hoped, would be quit of the country. I asked, "How soon?" He said that of course he could not name any specific time, but if we did not increase their difficulties by any intemperate use of our privilege of speaking and writing in the United States, as soon as they could get their debt secured, and could leave without being exposed to the necessity of returning again, they should be but too happy to withdraw. The last condition I supposed to refer to the possibility of Maximilian's government being assailed by exterior enemies, upon the retirement of his ally. I remarked that if they proposed to remain till Mexico paid the claims of France, the French occupation was likely to be tolerably permanent. He smiled and admitted that Mexico suffered sadly from misgovernment and was very poor.

I have given you here an outline of nearly an hour's conversation. The features of it which I would specially signalize to your attention are:

1st. The manifest desire to leave upon my mind the impression that the Emperor was gradually withdrawing his army from Mexico, which leads me to suppose that His Majesty intends to take the ground before the Corps Législatif next winter that he has kept a pledge made to that effect last winter.

2nd. The confirmation furnished by the remarks of M. Drouyn de Lhuys of the impression which I formed on reading his communication, that the relations of Gwin with the Emperor were or had been such as would not just at present bear the light, and that it was His Majesty's annoyance and irritation at being questioned upon the subject to which the Minister of Foreign Affairs has given expression in his communication to me.

I am, sir, etc.

XII

THE PRESIDENT'S AMNESTY PROCLAMATION— THE MONROE DOCTRINE

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, September 2, 1865.

Sir:

I AM in receipt of your despatch No. 204, relating to the replies to be made to the expressions of condolence and sympathy called forth in France by the assassination of our late President. In pursuance of your request that I would convey to the proper party in each case in which the communication had been addressed to or intended for the President, our government, the State Department, or the people at large, the grateful acknowledgments of the government and people of the United States for the neighborly and fraternal spirit, in such terms as my judgment might suggest, I have addressed the communication of which enclosure No. 1 is a copy, and enclosure No. 2 a translation, to the following persons, *mutatis mutandis:*

M. Viennet of the French Academy, grand master of Scotch masonry in France; M. Neno, master of the Lodge La Ligne Droite; M. Perrot, master of the Lodge La Bonne Foi; M. Gary, master of the Lodge Orion; Reverend Descombaz, president of the Evangelical Alliance of Lyons; Henri Carle, president of the Alliance Religieuse Universelle; L. Pelatte, vice-consul of the United States at Nice, representing the American residents at that city; M. Viollier, vice-consul of the United States at Lyons, who transmitted the address of the democrats of Lyons; M. C. Davisson, United States consul at

Bordeaux, who transmitted the address of the citizens of Pau; M. P. Leconte, delegate of La Jeunesse Française.

Of the whole list of letters these were the only ones which were not, as I supposed, sufficiently acknowledged by me immediately upon their receipt. I did not send these replies to you when the letters were forwarded, for the want of force in my office at that time to prepare them, but I now have the honor to transmit to you copies of all these replies in the annexed enclosure No. 3.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO ——

Translation

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, August 31, 1865.

Sir:

I am instructed by his Excellency the President of the United States to acknowledge the receipt of the touching note you were pleased to address to him on the occasion of our late national bereavement.

The President has been deeply affected by the fraternal and sympathetic spirit which this distressing event has awakened in every quarter of the globe. He accepts it as one of the precious results contemplated by Providence in permitting our national capital to become the theatre of a crime in many respects of unparalleled atrocity.

If the world needed some new and signal illustration of the folly of assassination as a political agency, it would be difficult to select an event from all history better calculated for such a purpose than that which raised President Lincoln to the dignity of a martyr, and filled the whole civilized world with grief and dismay.

I pray you to accept the assurance of my most distinguished consideration.

BIGELOW TO VIOLLIER, UNITED STATES CONSUL AT LYONS

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
September 2, 1865.

Sir:

A recent communication from the Minister of Foreign Affairs informs me that orders have been given by the Minister of the Interior for the surrender of Mr. Smith J. Eastman to the federal authorities of the United States in case of his discovery and arrest. The mental condition of Mr. Eastman is likely to raise a question as to his liability to extradition under the treaty. Permit me to recommend, therefore, that before taking any rigorous steps against Mr. Eastman beyond what may be necessary to prevent his escape, you assure yourself fully, 1st, that his crime was one in itself for which the extradition was intended to provide, and, secondly, that Mr. Eastman's mental condition was such as to render him responsible for his acts.

Mr. Parsons has returned to the United States with the intention of arranging with the family and friends of Mr. Eastman for a settlement of his debts and for his discharge. If Mr. E.'s liabilities are such as may be lawfully and fully settled in this way, he is not now and never could have been liable to extradition under the treaty. In every event, I need not say that, until Mr. Eastman's case assumes a more decided character, I hope you will do what lies within the line of your official duty to insure to him humane and respectful treatment.

Yours very respectfully

A. COCHIN TO BIGELOW

Translation—Confidential

September 2, 1865.

Mr. Minister:

I have just received a letter from Dr. Lynch, Catholic Bishop of Charleston, who is detained at Rome, not being

able to return to his diocese, as he is excluded from the Amnesty of President Johnson.

I do not know exactly the cause of his exclusion. I believe that Bishop Lynch had consented to come abroad to request the intervention of the Sovereign Pontiff in favor of peace, and that this mission, received from the rebel States, has been considered a censurable act.

In any case, now that the war is finished, and it remains to conciliate men's minds, to console the wretched and to protect the freedmen, the return of the Bishop of Charleston to that city, so justly but so severely tried, seems very desirable. If Irish emigrants are called into that region to reorganize labor, collisions may take place with the blacks, which would render the presence of the prelate especially useful.

The letter of Bishop Lynch proves that he would consecrate himself with an exclusive devotion to these social labors. He is a loyal, intelligent, charitable man, worthy of respect and confidence.

He begs me to intervene near you, and I do so in the name of my friend Comte de Montalembert, and my own, well persuaded that you will have the kindness to transmit to your government, with a favorable recommendation, the application for Amnesty and permission to return which we make in favor of the Catholic Bishop of Charleston.

Receive, dear Mr. Minister, the assurance of my sentiments of respect and devotion.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Confidential

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, September 5, 1865.

Dear Sir:

I enclose a copy and translation of a letter received yesterday from M. A. Cochin, inviting me to intercede with the President in behalf of the rebel Bishop of Charleston, who has been residing for some time past in Rome as the agent of the

States lately in Rebellion against the Federal Government. I also enclose a copy and translation of my reply.

M. Cochin is, I believe, a Jesuit, but, whether he is or not, there is no other man probably in or out of France in whose estimation everything is more completely subordinated to the interests of the Church. He got into the Academy last winter as the Apostle of Freedom to the negro, and yet he has the effrontery to speak of this Bishop, who traitorously went to Rome to invoke the Pope's aid, and successfully too, in support of a government to be based upon slavery, as a loyal, intelligent and charitable man, worthy of respect and confidence.

I promised M. Cochin to let you know the interest he takes in Bishop Lynch's case, and for that purpose I enclose his letter. I deem it my duty to explain the origin of that interest, that you may not overestimate the importance which deserves to be attached to it. He is one of those who are for all the freedoms when they serve the Church and against all when they don't. You have better means of ascertaining the sincerity of Bishop Lynch's contrition than I, but as it was through his influence that the Pope was persuaded to treat the rebel President and Government with more respect than they were ever treated by any other sovereign, if I were President I think I would at least defer his pardon until I was ready to extend the like indulgence to Mason and Slidell. I was told to-day that the Pope intended to keep Bishop Lynch in Rome until he was pardoned.

Yours, etc.

BIGELOW TO COCHIN

Translation—Confidential

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, September 5. 1865.

My dear M. Cochin:

I have your note of the 2nd instant interceding for the pardon of Bishop Lynch, now or late agent near the Court of Rome of persons in rebellion against the United States. His

case comes under the 1st and 7th categories of exceptions from the President's Amnesty. He was a foreign agent of the pretended Confederate Government, and he was an absentee from the United States for the purpose of aiding the rebellion. The proper course for him to pursue will be to take the oath of allegiance prescribed by the President in his Proclamation of the 29th May, 1865, before the most convenient minister or consul, and then to address a personal application to the President, setting forth his claims to a pardon. If he prefers it, I will transmit his petition, though it would go more regularly through the Legation at Rome, where, I infer from your letter, the Bishop is sojourning. In any event, if thought desirable, on receiving copies of the Bishop's petition and evidence that he has taken the oath prescribed, I will give him the benefit of your interest in his case with the President.

However, I may as well assure you now that nothing will go so far towards propitiating the pardoning power, in my opinion, as evidence that the Bishop is himself conscious of and sincerely regrets having betrayed his country and degraded his church by prostituting his sacred functions to the service of a foul and unnatural conspiracy against the one and the other.

Permit me also to suggest that, in setting forth his claims to the clemency of the President, Bishop Lynch will do well not to give prominence to the importance of his presence in America to prevent collisions between the Irish immigrants and the blacks. I cannot refrain from saying to you, my dear M. Cochin, that it is precisely such prelates as Bishop Lynch, partisans at once of slavery and treason, that have planted in the breasts of many of our Irish adopted citizens prejudices against the blacks which have proved one of our most serious obstacles to the suppression of the late rebellion, and which on quite a recent occasion resulted in a massacre which deluged the streets of our commercial metropolis with African blood. While the President may be persuaded to consent to Bishop Lynch's return to Charleston upon proper evidence of his contrition, I beg you will not remain under the impression that the Bishop's influence over any class of our population is in the least degree necessary to our people or government. Happily, Bishop Lynch's place in the Church can be readily supplied by men whose influence with their flock

has never been weakened by treason, or by a denial to a part of the human race of the rights which the great Head of the Church died to secure to all.

Receive, my dear Sir, the assurance of my sentiments of respect and devotion.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Department of State,
Washington, 6 Sept., 1865.

Sir:

I have submitted to the President the letter which you wrote at Dieppe on the 21st of August, and which was marked unofficial. In that letter you discuss at large the present aspect of the relations between the United States and France, as they are affected by the situation in Mexico.

On this subject this Government does not think itself called upon to volunteer opinions, counsel or advice, or gratuitously to offer explanations to the Governments of Europe. On the contrary, we have been content to stand upon what we have already very frequently set forth, while every proper care has been taken to prevent or allay irritations which might tend to bring about unexpected and undesired collisions. It is possible, however, that the French Government may think it proper to ask you for explanations, to some extent, of the President's opinions and policy.

This paper is intended to enable you, in such a case, to submit to the Imperial Government, in an earnest and yet friendly manner, certain views which the President has taken of the political situation in Mexico. Those views are by no means new, and they are as distinct and as full as the present condition of the question involved enables us to speak.

It can hardly be deemed necessary to repeat on this occasion what has been so often and so constantly avowed by this Government, namely, that the people of the United States cherish a traditional friendship towards France. We also habitually indulge a conviction that the existence of friendly relations between the United States and France is by no means unfavorable to the interests of that great nation. These

sentiments have survived the many interesting national changes which, during the present century, have occurred in the two countries concerned, and they may therefore be deemed to be independent of all merely partizan or dynastic influences in the one country or in the other.

It is perceived with much regret that an apparent if not a real, a future if not an immediate antagonism, between the policies of the two nations, seems to reveal itself in the situation of Mexico before mentioned. The United States have at no time left it doubtful that they prefer to see a domestic and Republican system of Government prevail in Mexico, rather than any other system.

This preference results from the fact that the Constitution of the United States itself is domestic and Republican, and from a belief that not only its constituent parts ought to preserve the same form and character, but that, so far as is practically and justly attainable by the exercise of moral influences, the many American states by which the United States are surrounded shall be distinguished by the same peculiarities of Government. I think it not improper to add that, although the constitution of this Government, and the habits of the American people formed under it, disincline us from political propagandism, and although they still more strongly disincline us from seeking aggrandisement by means of military conquest, yet that the nation has, at various times since its organization, found necessity for expansion, and that the like necessity may reasonably be expected to occur hereafter. That expansion has thus far been affected by the annexation of adjacent peoples who have come into the Union through their own consent as constituent Republican States, under the Constitution of the United States. To these two facts may be added the general one that peace and friendship between the United States and other nations on this continent, and consequently the advance of civilization in this hemisphere, seem to us more likely to be secured when the other American states assimilate to our own.

It is hardly necessary for me to indicate wherein the present attitude and proceedings of the French Government seem to be variant from the policy and sentiments of the United States which I have thus described. I may remark, however, in general terms, that France appears to us to be lending her

great influence, with a considerable military force, to destroy the domestic Republican Government in Mexico, and to establish there an Imperial system, under the sovereignty of a European Prince, who, until he assumed the crown, was a stranger to that country.

We do not insist or claim that Mexico and the other states on the American continent shall adopt the political institutions to which we are so earnestly attached, but we do hold that the people of those countries are entitled to exercise the freedom of choosing and establishing institutions like our own, if they are preferred. In no case can we in any way associate ourselves with efforts of any party or nation to deprive the people of Mexico of that privilege.

Passing by all historical questions connected with the subject as not now necessarily requiring discussion, I have next to remark that this Government finds itself neither less obliged nor less disposed at the present moment, than it has hitherto been, to adhere to its settled policy. Perhaps the French Government may be supposed to have taken notice of the fact that, owing to the popular character of our Government, our national policy is not adopted from the choice of any President, or of any particular Administration, and that, on the contrary, every important or cardinal policy is a result of a determination of the National Will legally expressed in the manner appointed and prescribed by the Constitution. Experience has shown that, in every case, any policy which has arisen from such popular sources and which has been perseveringly supported by the general national conviction through a long series of years has been found to be essential to the safety and welfare of the Union.

The intense popular interest which was awakened by the prevalence of a civil war of vast proportions, during a few years past, has tended in some degree to moderate the solicitude which the situation of Foreign Affairs was calculated to create, but that interest is now rapidly subsiding, and it may be reasonably anticipated that henceforth the Congress of the United States, and the people in their primary assemblies, will give a very large share of attention to questions of extraneous character, and chief among these is likely to be that of our relations towards France with regard to Mexico. Nor does it seem unwise to take into consideration the fact

that the presence of military forces of the two nations sometimes confronting each other across the border has a tendency, which both of them may well regret, to produce irritation and annoyance. The French Government has not shown itself inattentive to this inconvenience hitherto, while this Government has been desirous to practice equal prudence. But a time seems to have come when both nations may well consider whether the permanent interests of international peace and friendship do not require the exercise of a thoughtful and serious attention to the political questions to which I have thus adverted.

This dispatch is confidential. You will not at present record it in the Archives of your Legation. Under the condition mentioned you will communicate its contents verbally to M. Drouyn de Lhuys and give him a copy if requested.

I am, sir, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, September 7, 1865.

Sir:

. . . . . .

With the decline of the civil war in the United States the press, as well at home as abroad, finds its news materially abridged. Hence we have incidents, in themselves unimportant, magnified into indications of solemn state purposes, and loosely drawn and conjectured speculations of forthcoming grave events. The affair at Cherbourg belongs to this class of subjects. This government has taken no thought of it, and has not been disposed to invest it with even the least amount of interest, and of course has no wounded sensibility about it. The government of Great Britain still maintains its twenty-four-hour rule in regard to our ships of war in British ports, and we have expressed our opinion and announced our course in relation to that discourtesy. France has not announced that she intends to maintain that rule, but has left us to infer the contrary, although British agents represent that her course is identical with that of Great Britain. We have taken

no notice of those statements. We intend neither to seek for controversies nor to give voluntary offence to maritime powers, and we therefore are not looking about us for affronts or indications of disrespect.

I am, sir, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, September 8, 1865.

Sir:

M. Drouyn de Lhuys has instructed the Marquis de Montholon to propose to this government a modification of the terms exacted from the Japanese by the three powers in the treaty which followed the hostilities jointly undertaken by them for the purpose of overcoming the resistance to the free passage of the Strait of Simonoseki.

I enclose a translation of an abstract of the instruction, which abstract the marquis has left with me for consideration. Though on its face the proposition which it contains does not seem to offer any serious objection, it is preferred that, if practicable, the adjustment desired should be made at Paris, especially as both England and France are more largely interested in this particular matter than we are, and the English minister at Paris, being so near home, can act under full instructions from his government. The subject is consequently commended to your best discretion.

Although it may be desirable that the affair should be disposed of without delay, so far as we are concerned there is an important element to be taken into consideration, which, if the business were to be settled at once by the executive authority of the United States, would not make that settlement legally binding. The treaty itself has not yet been submitted to the United States Senate. This is indispensable on any instrument of the kind, even one which does not impose an obligation on us, or which does not, like the one in question, contain a stipulation for an exchange of ratifications. You will, of course, mention this to M. Drouyn de Lhuys.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, September 8, 1865.

Sir:

The Epizooty, which has been raging among cattle in parts of Western Europe for the past three months, has led to some protective measures on the part of the French Government to which our Government may not be indifferent.

Upon the first appearance of the disease in England M. Behic appointed a commission of eight to investigate the causes of this epidemic and the best means of protecting France from its ravages, at the same time sending professors of the Imperial Veterinary School at Alfort, one to England and the other to Germany, to collect facts. The conclusions at which this commission arrived were:

First, that the Epizooty which now prevails in those countries, and which the French describe as "Contagious typhus among horned cattle," has never developed itself spontaneously anywhere outside of the steppes of Eastern Europe, however bad may be the hygienic conditions to which the herds of horned cattle may be exposed.

Second, that it was last imported into England with cattle embarked at the port of Revel, on the Gulf of Finland, and landed on the wharves of the Thames.

Third, that though only one country has shown a capacity to beget the cattle typhus, its contagious property renders it essentially migratory, and hence its repeated ravages in Germany, Holland, Belgium, France, Italy, Spain, Egypt and Great Britain.

Fourth, that previous to this all the visits of the cattle plague outside of what may be termed its native country have followed the movement of large armies from the North, the displacing of the great masses of men necessarily involving the corresponding displacement of large quantities of cattle to feed them.

Fifth, that the facilities for transporting cattle from Russia to Western Europe by steam have increased the risk of spreading this pest, as the time required for the voyage is less than

for the incubation of the typhus in animals having in them the germ of this dreadful malady. It was in this way that it has found its way anew into England and Holland.

In view of these facts M. Behic recommends the absolute exclusion from the northern ports of France and the northern frontier from the sea to the Rhine of all foreign cattle and their hides. Cattle landing at other ports from other countries than England, Holland and Belgium are to be visited by special agents; the healthy cattle admitted, the unhealthy cattle not admitted, and the doubtful subjected to a quarantine of ten days, to give the typhus a chance to develop itself.

In case the pest gains admittance to France, as it may in spite of these precautions, M. Behic states that existing laws provide ample remedies. They require the proprietor immediately to notify the authorities of sickness among his cattle, official visits to the stables; the destruction of infected animals and of such of the same species as have associated with them, for which indemnity is provided by the State; the sequestration of sick or suspected animals; the designation by a particular mark of such animals as for a time are not to be removed from the localities to which they belong; the interdiction of fairs; the supervision of pastures and watering-places, etc.

These measures applied with discernment, M. Behic judges from past experience, will suffice to confine the disease and prevent its propagation. His views received the approval of the Emperor, and were incorporated into an order of which enclosure No. 2 is a printed copy and enclosure No. 3 a translation.

A disease resembling in many of its worst characteristics the contagious typhus has been preying for several years upon the herds of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and is commonly known there by the name of *Pleuro-pneumonia* (see 12th Annual Report of the Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Agriculture for 1864). I do not know how or where this Epizooty originated, but its history and phenomena may serve to verify and to explode some of the conclusions reached by the French Commission, especially those which assume that the contagious typhus among cattle never originates out of the steppes of Eastern Europe, and that if the germ of the disease exists in a beast or a herd, it will develop itself within

ten days. Should the two plagues have as much in common as there is reason to apprehend, it may be that neither of these conclusions is to be relied upon.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO DROUYN DE LHUYS

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, September 12th, 1865.

Sir:

I have received your Excellency's note of the 7th ultimo, in reply to a communication which I had the honor to address to your Excellency on the 1st of the same month in reference to alleged schemes of Dr. Gwin and his confederates in Mexico.

In reply I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency the enclosed copy of a dispatch just received from my government.

I avail myself of this occasion to renew to your Excellency assurances of the high consideration, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, 24 August, 1865.

Sir:

Your dispatch of August 10th has been received. It is accompanied by a correspondence between yourself and M. Drouyn de Lhuys in relation to the alleged schemes of Dr. Gwin and his associates in Mexico.

It gives me pleasure to say that information which was received from that country while that correspondence was going on, and which information seems to be authentic, induces the belief that the speculations referred to have altogether failed. I observe with still more pleasure that M. Drouyn de Lhuys, in the communication which he addressed to you of the 7th of

August, authorized us to expect that those schemes and speculations, so far as they were hostile to the United States, would be disapproved by the authorities acting in Mexico under the direction of, or in coöperation with, the Emperor of France. It is perceived with regret that, either in substance or in manner, the representation which you addressed to M. Drouyn de Lhuys, and which elicited his communication before referred to in reply, was regarded by M. Drouyn de Lhuys as exceptionable. It becomes proper for me under these circumstances to say that your representation was made in conformity with instructions given you by the Department, and that on reviewing those instructions we are not able to discover any ground for criticism. They were given under the belief that a reasonable attention to the reports and rumors which were then in circulation in regard to the schemes of Dr. Gwin and other rebel emissaries in Mexico was necessary to prevent difficulties and to allay apprehensions the indulgence of which was prejudicial to a good understanding between the United States and France. The President is gratified with the renewed assurance which M. Drouyn de Lhuys has given us of the Emperor's resolution to observe an impartial and scrupulous neutrality upon all internal questions which may agitate or divide the United States.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO ADMIRAL GOLDSBOROUGH

Unofficial

Paris, September 13, 1865.

My dear Admiral:

Francis Digard, a courier at the Grand Hôtel, left with me 25 francs which he said you had advanced to some person who was to have entered your service but who has been prevented by ill health from keeping his engagement. Shall I place the money to your credit at Munroe's or send it to you, or may I hope for an opportunity of handing it to you in person here one of these days?

I saw the Minister of Marine the day after you left. He expressed suitable regrets at having missed your visit, but almost immediately began to speak of your omission to call upon the Commandant at Cherbourg. He showed that this omission under the circumstances was regarded as a grave discourtesy and had resulted in a suspension of intercourse between the French officers and yours, but he said he had just received a dispatch informing him that you were about to call upon the Commandant, and that all would no doubt be made right. I told him that neither he nor any of the officers at Cherbourg would talk with you five minutes without being satisfied that nothing could have been farther from your intentions than to fail in any courtesy towards the government whose hospitality you were sharing. He seemed satisfied finally, but I required him to give me a copy of the regulations of the French fleet in regard to the exchange of visits in port, which he was kind enough to do. I send the volume to you, that in case it contains anything upon that or any other subject of interest to our navy, not known at the Dept., you may send it on, calling its attention to any desirable modification to be made in our instructions to vessels visiting French ports. Things are looking more quiet at home in regard to Mexico; the prospects of the Republic are growing so desperate as to render the continued recognition of its nominal head more and more difficult. It remains to be seen what will be the effect of the declining fortunes of Maximilian upon the public mind of the United States. My consuls are asking what nationalities are excepted from the interchange of courtesies with an officer, under Mr. Seward's circular. When you get your reply from the State Department I will thank you to let me know its result and what nations, according to your instructions, you do not salute.

Yours very truly

[P.S.] On counting your treasure I find it was 40 instead of 25 francs. J. B.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Confidential

Paris, Sept. 18, 1865.

My dear Mr. Seward:

I find that the figures on the list which I gave you of persons who had been dabbling in the Confederate loan represent losses each had sustained, not the Amts. of stock they had respectively held. I had the information from one of the parties whose name figures among the losses to the tune of £8000 and who subscribed for £20,000, but, being unable to raise the last instalment called for of 50%, sold out and saved the difference. He assures me that he got the information from the bankers Schroeder & Co. I suppose that there is not a shadow of a question about its authenticity. He is a man whom I have met at M. Drouyn de Lhuys' receptions, and who moves in a circle which gives him an opportunity of knowing what he reports. He is interested, as I think I told you, in the *Springbock,* a vessel seized as a blockade runner and which he hopes to have surrendered as not a lawful prize. This fact makes him solicitous to place us under obligations to him, perhaps. His name is D. F. Campbell. The Marquis de Corta, who has been recently appointed Minister for Mexico accredited at London, The Hague and Bruxelles, is a young gentleman of large fortune, under thirty years of age, and without any experience of diplomacy. His wife is a cousin of Madame Drouyn de Lhuys.

Pomeroy came back on the 29th of last month. I gave him to understand that his conduct was very irregular and was ill calculated to give him standing either here or at Washington. He seemed very sorry, and since then has shown great devotion to his duty. I hope, therefore, you will take no notice of the matter. He evidently came here with the idea that the post of Assistant Secretary was a standing permit for seeing Europe and nothing else. I hope to make it advantageous for him in that way, but by a different route and by his giving the government a full equivalent.

Advices from Brownsville, Texas, of 26th Aug., report that a ball was given in honor of a Minister of the Emp. Max.

Numerous federal officers assisted. Fed. General Steele gave a toast to the Emp. of Mexico. I suppose if there is anything in any part of this I shall hear of it through the Department by the next mail. In your private note of the 24th you say, speaking of Mexico: "Our latest advices from this country will tell with some effect upon popular opinion here. I give you a copy of the dispatch for your own use." That dispatch has not come to hand.

I enclose two copies of a new book just published on the Rights of *Neutrals,* one for yourself and the other for the Chief Justice. They were given to me for you by Mr. Campbell (D. F., above referred to), hoping, I suppose, that it will help convert you and the Chief Justice to his view of the law in the case of the *Springbock.* He also wished me to send a copy of the *London Post* containing a letter on the subject of the book.

Yours very sincerely

J. D. B. CURTIS TO BIGELOW

Faeringer-Hof, Freiburg im Breisgau,
Grand-duché de Bade,
18th Sept., 1865.

Your Excellency may be aware that our family is possessed of some 300,000 acres of land in Florida. I am now engaged in forming a colony, which may become very important as to numbers and influence. I am to send pastors, engineers, skilled and unskilled workmen, and my first advanced guard is to leave Havre direct for Florida about the first of Feb. next. I take only Protestants, and wish to found a model colony where God will be glorified, man ennobled, and the children made better than their fathers. The colonists will be faithful to the Union and opposed to slavery, and, if I obtain a large number, control the political destiny of the State. Would it be an improper request to ask the United States Government to aid me in transporting these people to America? I can do it myself, but it would nevertheless be a very acceptable assistance if the Govt. would help me—perhaps it would be agreeable to your Excellency to mention the subject in your

next letter to Washington. I expect to be able to send from 3000 to 7000—to land in companies of about 500 at one time. Would your Excellency permit me to refer to you in case some one desired such a reference? And would you give me a line of introduction to the American Minister at Berlin?

I shall receive any letter which you may be pleased to write me, if addressed to the care of Gustave Deitze, Zurich, Suisse.

I trust that Mrs. Bigelow has rejoined you in good health. Permit me to present to her my best regards and to remain of your Excellency the most obedient servant

BIGELOW TO SUMNER

Paris, September 21, 1865.

My dear Friend:

What has become of Bulwer's MS.? He is just now under a cloud. He comes home with the reputation of a Verres or indeed of something worse. His rapacity became intolerable. He will be likely to pass through Paris one of these days and will wish to know what has become of his speeches. I wish you would write me something that I can show him to prove that I have not neglected his request.

I expect to be able to enclose proof-sheets of an article from Moreau on our financial resources, which will appear in the *Correspondant* of the 27th. This and the article in the *Revue des Deux-Mondes* would awaken a demand here for our securities if they were permitted to be quoted at the Bourse. I do not feel like asking that privilege of the government, and it is not likely to grant it without being asked. Perhaps it is better that we should carry our own burdens, and that will make us more anxious to lighten them and less sensitive to the impertinence of foreign diplomacy and journalism. If the government of France prefers to encourage loans to Mexico rather than to the United States, we can stand it as long as they can.

Among those who dabbled pretty largely in the Confederate loan here were Persigny, Mocquard, Fleury and de Morny, the immediate entourage of the Emperor.

Yours very sincerely

BIGELOW TO HUGH McCULLOCH[1]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, September 21, 1865.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose proof-sheets of an article on the financial resources of the United States which will appear in the leading Catholic review of this city on the 27th instant. The author is a clear-headed man with a rare gift for interpreting complicated budgets, and is withal a friend of the United States. One of the best articles that have appeared on our situation he wrote for the *Correspondant* about two years ago. I enclose a copy of it. Permit me to suggest to you the expediency of sending to M. Moreau any documents emanating from your department which, in serving to fix his attention upon our affairs, would also serve to enlighten him and stimulate his judicious and influential pen to greater activity in our behalf. I will take charge of anything that you may send him through the State Department bag.

Yours very respectfully

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, September 21, 1865.

Sir:

The circular of which enclosure No. 1 is a translation has been issued by the Commissioners of the Universal Exposition of 1867. It provides for the creation of an international scientific commission whose duty it shall be to note the recent advances made in the sciences and arts, to contribute what they can to diffuse the knowledge of useful discoveries, to

[1] Recently appointed Secretary of the Treasury to succeed William P. Fessenden, who succeeded Mr. Chase. The latter was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States by President Lincoln.

encourage international reforms, and, lastly, to point out in special publications the useful results to be derived from the Exposition.

I invite your special attention to the provisions of this circular and take the liberty of suggesting that our government can in no way turn this Exposition to better account than by sending a few of its cleverest men of science to make part of this commission. I say its cleverest, because it is not worth while to send men who would see nothing and therefore describe nothing which would not be seen and as well or better described by the French or other foreign exhibitors.

The Exhibition will be transitory, but the accounts that will be written about it have a chance of enduring. Europe will assign this duty to her choicest men. There is glory to be won in a successful competition with them. I think the opportunity should not be neglected.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, September 22, 1865.

Sir:

I profited by an opportunity which presented itself to-day at the reception of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to recall what His Excellency had said at our last interview about the gradual withdrawal of the French army from Mexico, for the purpose of mentioning a report which had reached me from our Consul in Egypt that six hundred of the Pacha's subjects of the Soudan were daily expected to embark for Mexico to reinforce the invading army. I remarked that such a report was likely to provoke comment, and therefore I felt a desire to know, if he was disposed to tell me, how much foundation it had in truth. M. Drouyn de Lhuys said that he believed there were some troops raised some time ago in Egypt; he did not know how many, but he gave me the impression that he was not aware of any being on the way at this moment. Their capacity to resist the diseases of the Mexican coast led the

government to look in that quarter for soldiers to garrison the unhealthy regions of Mexico. But he went on to add that, whatever may be the number of troops gone or going from Egypt to Mexico, what he had said about the actual reduction of the French army in Mexico was none the less true. Since seeing me he had taken pains to verify in the proper quarter what he had stated to me as his conviction. The reduction, he added, would go on as fast as possible, for the Emperor was very anxious to get out of the country. How fast they could reduce, he said, would depend a great deal upon the United States. It was their wish to retire as soon as they could leave their interests in Mexico properly protected.

I said that His Excellency surely could not have expected our Government to go farther than it had already gone to show its forbearance, or words to that effect. "No," he replied; "my last letters from M. Montholon are very satisfactory—so much so that I sent a line yesterday to the Emperor on the subject." I told him, in substance, that he ought by this time to feel satisfied that our Government had no disposition unnecessarily to embarrass the government of the Emperor.

The features of this conversation which seemed most worthy of attention were the avowal that he had received from the French Minister at Washington so satisfactory an account of a recent interview with you as to report it to the Emperor, and, secondly, that the Imperial Government does not deny the alleged arrangement with the Pacha for crimping Egyptians to serve in Mexico. I did not deem it polite to ask M. Drouyn de Lhuys to state how rapidly the French force had diminished in Mexico, for evidently the reduction thus far is rather nominal than real, and I thought it better to accept his general statement than to require anything more specific. I would recommend that you take note of the avowal in your correspondence in order that the government may be held to the necessity of making it good, in the sense in which such a general statement would naturally be received.

I am, sir, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Confidential

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, 25 Sept., 1865.

My dear Sir:

Your communication of the 5th inst. marked confidential and relating to the pardon of the rebel Bishop of Charleston, Dr. Lynch,[1] has been received. In reply I have to inform you that his pardon has already been issued. Some explanation of the matter might not be improper, but the case is not of sufficient importance to make a record.

I am, my dear Sir, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, September 25, 1865.

Sir:

I have received your despatch of the 2d instant, No. 168, enclosing copies of the replies which you made, in compli-

[1] From the press report:

CHARLESTON, S. C., March 1, 1882.

The funeral services over the remains of the late Bishop Lynch, of this diocese, were held to-day in the Cathedral Chapel. Two archbishops, six bishops and about twenty priests were present, and the church was densely crowded. Archbishop Corrigan, of New York, presided at the chanting of lauds and matins, and Archbishop Gibbons was the celebrant of the solemn requiem mass which followed. No funeral sermon was preached, in accordance with the wish of the deceased bishop, expressed in the following passages from his will which were read during the ceremonies:

"Should I die out of the diocese I wish to be buried where I die, with such a simple high mass as my friends think fitting to bestow, my body not to be taken to Charleston under three years from my death. Should I die in Charleston or in the diocese I direct a single solemn high mass to be celebrated according to the rubrics of the Pontifical; but neither there nor abroad do I wish a funeral sermon. I distinctly prohibit it. I wish to sink quietly in the grave, hoping an able bishop will take my place and correct my manifold errors. I deprecate all costliness of display, but I do entreat my clergy often and often to offer up the holy sacrifice of the mass for the repose of my soul."

ance with my instructions, to the letters of condolence and sympathy which were inspired by the death of the late President, and addressed to this government by various political and social organizations in France. In reply, I beg that you will accept my thanks for the prompt and efficient manner in which you performed the duty assigned to you, and I desire, at the same time, to inform you of my high appreciation of the communications which you have been pleased to submit to me as the result of your labor.

I am, sir, etc.

JOHN BRIGHT TO BIGELOW

ROTHDALE. Sept. 26. 1865.

My dear Mr. Bigelow:

There must be a mistake about the list of Shareholders. It is impossible to ascertain the *losses* of those concerned. The loss would depend on the amount invested and on the time of sale and the price obtained.

There can be no information on these points. Those who sold out *soon* might make a profit. Those who held to the last would make a heavy loss—and there may have been fools foolish enough to do this—but the Brokers or Agents of the Loan could know no more of all this than anybody else. I conclude, therefore, that the List contains the names of the original English subscribers—or that it is a mere attempt to guess who were concerned in the loan. I was about to publish the names when I received your letter—now I shall not publish it without some more definite information.

The story of my invitation to go to the States is amusing enough—where can it have originated? I saw it first in an anti-slavery paper—the *Commonwealth,* or the *Liberator,* or the *Anti-slavery Standard.* Had it been true, I should have been in great difficulty—for it would have been about as impossible for me to have accepted as to have refused the compliment.

Our friend Hargreaves has been very ill—but he is better again—still I fear much for him, and I suspect that his little

strength is being wasted by these repeated attacks. The world will be the poorer should he be taken from it—I think I have never known a man more kind and just and liberal than he is.

With regard to the Fleets, I suppose there was a special object to bring England and France together on the water. I hope America cares for none of these things. She marches alone, but with a power and dignity surpassed by no other nation.

Can you tell me if Mexico will be acknowledged (the Empire) by your Govt.? The announcement will be made in the President's message, if made at all, I suppose. It would be of some use to me, in a commercial sense, if I could know the truth of this matter.

Thank Mrs. Bigelow for sending me the copy of the *Evening Post.*

There is no news here. "Secesh" is vanquished in England as well as in the South.

Always sincerely yours

DROUYN DE LHUYS TO BIGELOW

Translation

Paris, October 4, 1865.

Sir:

On the occasion of a complaint made by the consignees of the American ship the *Mercury* against the application of the general tariff laws relative to whalebone imported from New York, which the officers of the customs at Havre had thought proper to enforce, I have been led to examine, in concert with the Ministers of Commerce and Finance, the question whether these *products of fishery* should be comprised among the natural products mentioned in the first article of the treaty concluded the 24th June, 1822, between France and the United States, and admitted as such to the benefits of that convention.

Up to a recent period the negative interpretation had prevailed, and even after the signing of our recent treaties with

England, Belgium and Italy, the officers of the French revenue continued to apply the common-law taxes to the whalebone imported from these three countries. At the same time, raw whalebone coming from the Swedish-Norwegian fisheries having been comprised by the treaty concluded between France and Sweden, the 14th of February last, in the category of natural products, the whalebone from English, Italian and Belgian fisheries has been admitted to share the same favor, and consequently the Ministers of Commerce and Finance, as well as myself, have thought that, interpreting in its largest sense the first article of the treaty of 1822, it will be proper to make a corresponding decision in regard to similar products of American fisheries.

It has therefore been resolved that raw whalebone coming from the United States under the flag of the Union shall be hereafter, like that imported from European countries, under the conventional regulations admitted as original products to the benefits of the treaty of 1822, from which these products have been up to the present time excluded, and the officers of the French customs have consequently just received the necessary orders.

It is agreeable to me, sir, to be allowed to bring this decision to your knowledge, and I do not doubt that the Government of the United States, to whom I beg that you will communicate it, will learn with satisfaction that the Government of the Emperor has spontaneously lowered the duties upon an important product of the American fisheries.

Accept the assurances of the high consideration with which I have the honor to be, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, October 6, 1865.

Sir:

I had the honor yesterday to submit to the Minister of Foreign Affairs your confidential despatch of the 6th of September, defining the President's policy in reference to France as affected by her intervention in Mexico. His Excellency

seemed rather depressed by it; proceeded to extenuate the course of his government by saying that it did not go to Mexico for conquest; that it did not impose Maximilian, but that he was the choice of the national will as far as it was possible at the time for the national will to express itself; that his being a foreign Prince ought not to be remembered long against him, as he would soon become identified with the fortunes of his adopted country, like many of the reigning sovereigns in and out of Europe, of foreign birth. I interrupted His Excellency to say that it was less because Maximilian was a foreigner that our people excepted to his presence there than because he was maintained there by foreign arms. His Excellency replied that foreign arms were now only needed there as a police, and that the French force in Mexico deserved rather to be termed a *gendarmerie* than an army; that always after a war in a country it is more or less infested with disorderly people, and the office of the French soldier in Mexico now was merely to police the country. "But," he added, as if not wishing to stand too long on such thin ice, "leaving all these details aside, your Government cannot wish us out of Mexico as much as we desire to get out, and we shall neglect no effort to do so with the least possible delay." He could not, he said, at that moment fix any precise time, but if, as his recent intelligence led him to believe, the relations on the border were becoming quiet and satisfactory, the final departure of the French troops could not be distant. I did not feel called upon to enter into any discussion with His Excellency upon the merits of his reasoning, for he knew its weakness as well as I did, but to test his confidence in the popularity of Maximilian with the Mexicans, I asked whether, in the absence of any external dangers, Maximilian would be able to get on without the assistance of foreign troops. He replied that he could hardly promise that as yet: that it required a little time to drill and organize a native police; that the Mexicans had become so demoralized by long years of political disorder that they would require some little time to learn how to make a proper use of much political power, etc.

The result of this conversation, as of several recent ones on the same subject, was to demonstrate the purpose of the French Government to remain in Mexico, if it can, until it obtains, either in money or in a stable government, some secu-

rity for the debt of Mexico to France. This purpose was presented, however, in as conciliatory language as it was possible to adopt. From some remarks which fell from him as I was leaving, I think he purposes soon to resume the subject.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

United States Legation,
Paris, October 6, 1865.

Sir:

In compliance with the instructions contained in your despatch No. 212, I addressed a communication to M. Drouyn de Lhuys, of which enclosure No. 1 is a copy.

I have this day received in reply a communication, of which enclosure No. 2 is a copy and No. 3 is a translation.

His Excellency admits the unequal operation of the French tariff on hops, but declines to make that article the subject of negotiations until both countries are prepared to subject their common custom-house relations to a general review.

This intimation confirmed an impression which I have formed and had the honor to communicate to you in my despatch No. 179, that this government is not indisposed to enter into new and closer commercial relations with the United States if its political relations with us take a satisfactory direction.

. . . . . .

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, October 18, 1865.

Sir:

I waited upon His Excellency M. Drouyn de Lhuys on Tuesday, the 17th inst., at his request, and among the matters

brought under discussion was your despatch No. 264, of the 20th September, in reference to recruiting in Egypt for Mexico, which I read to him on Thursday last. His Excellency said that the Emperor entertained no doubt of his perfect right to avail himself of the courtesy of an ally to strengthen his army, whenever and wherever he had occasion to do so: that the Pacha had placed at his disposition already some of his soldiers, who stood the climate of parts of Mexico better than Europeans, and had promised him more. There was no treaty or written engagement between them on the subject, simply a verbal understanding. It so happened, however, that, in consequence of an insurrection which has broken out in the Soudan, the Pacha has need of all his troops, and therefore the project of recruiting in his dominions is for the present arrested. His Excellency repeated his previous statement that the Emperor did not mean by this explanation to countenance any doubt of his right to enter into any arrangement with any foreign power for military aid when he had need of it.

I then asked if the purpose of taking troops from Egypt was finally and definitely abandoned. He said, No, he could not say that it was definitely abandoned, though the government had no definite intention to renew it. It was one of those prerogatives which, while they claimed the right, they had no present intention to exercise.

I then observed that the question raised by my Government in your despatch was not the Emperor's abstract right to recruit his army from among the subjects of his allies if they invited him to do so, but whether he would practically insist upon taking Egyptian slaves, in the uniform of soldiers, to do military or other service in Mexico. I remarked that it was represented to our Government that the troops in question were not levied upon any equitable system of enrollment, but were seized by soldiers of the Pacha, dragged away so far from their homes as to be unable to find their way back, pressed into the army, where they had no civil or political guarantees whatsoever, and, in point of fact, were taken for the Pacha's army in the same way and by the same means that the King of Dahomey uses to stock his slave market. Such, said I, is the popular impression, and such seems to be the impression left upon the mind of the President, as it certainly was on mine, by the com-

munication received from our Consul-General at Alexandria. His Excellency said that he did not know how the soldiers were levied by the Pacha, but should inquire about it; that his army was composed of men of different colors and nationalities; that all governments required more or less involuntary military service in time of war, and that men thus impressed hardly deserved to be called slaves. I said that was a question of fact; that you did not say absolutely that the service of the Pacha's troops levied for Mexico was servile, but that such was reported to you to be the fact, and such, I added, was the presumption; that we as a nation suffered bitterly from the institution of slavery, and that we naturally could not contemplate with composure the possibility of its being planted in a neighboring country, under any disguise whatever. Waiving therefore the abstract right asserted by the Emperor, which I had no occasion to discuss, even if I found myself unable to agree with His Majesty, I begged His Excellency to inform me, in case it should appear that the troops levied by the Pacha for the Emperor were seized without any enrollment and without any recognition of their civil state and rights as citizens, whether France, the first to set the example to the world of emancipating her slaves, would accept them. He replied promptly: "By no means. The government of the Emperor will have nothing to do with the propagation or encouragement of slavery." He added that he should for his own information—the practical question you had presented to him having been disposed of by events and therefore not requiring him to inquire officially—take steps to ascertain how the troops of the Pacha were levied for Mexico.

I said I would thank him to do so, and that I should also endeavor myself to obtain more precise information upon the subject. I concluded by saying that I should have pleasure in informing you: *First,* that the levy of Egyptian troops referred to in your letter was not to be used in the re-enforcement of the French army in Mexico.

Second, that the Emperor at no time contemplated the enrollment of slaves into his army in Mexico or elsewhere.

This communication will be submitted to M. Drouyn de Lhuys before it is posted.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

BIGELOW TO CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS

Unofficial

PARIS, October 19, 1865.

My dear Sir:

Upon the report from our Consul-General in Egypt that another detachment of troops were to be levied after the Egyptian fashion in the Soudan, for service in Mexico, Mr. Seward addressed a pretty strong remonstrance to M. Drouyn de Lhuys. The answer that I received yesterday was that, while the Emperor claimed the right to profit in that way by the good dispositions of his allies, he would not be able to in the present instance, as insurrection had broken out in the Soudan, and the Pacha had need of all his forces to put it down. Therefore practically the state of facts did not exist upon which the dispatch of Mr. Seward was written. Whether it ever would arise at a future time, he could not say, though the Government always claimed the right, etc. I asked if the Emperor claimed or if France would exercise the right, if it existed, to take slaves, though in uniform, to Mexico and hold them there to military or any other kind of service. He said no, by no means. I told him that was the whole question and that he was never likely to get any troops from Egypt on any other terms. The fact is, this insurrection in the Soudan, I presume, is merely the raid of the Pacha to get the soldiers. It has changed its name and character under the remonstrance of the government at Washington. At all events, the question is disposed of for an indefinite period. I send you this line that you may be prepared to answer questions likely to be addressed to you. I was delighted with your passage at arms with Earl Russell. Nothing more creditable to our diplomacy has been published within my recollection.

Yours very sincerely.

[P.S.] I need hardly say that the facts stated here are not for the public, but merely sent as a basis for such tranquillizing assurances as they will justify you in making.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

PARIS, Thursday, October 19, 1865.

My dear Mr. Seward:

In my dispatch No. 184 I gave you but a partial account of a long conversation which I held with M. Drouyn de Lhuys on Thursday two weeks. There was one subject touched upon, which, for reasons which will appear, I deferred reporting to you until it took more shape and proportion. It has since done so, to a degree, at least, to seem to merit your attention. You will remember that your dispatch about Egyptian troops for Mexico was one of the topics of that conference. What was said upon that point led the Minister to speak of the conditions which detained the French Army in Mexico and to repeat the Emperor's oft-expressed desire to get it away from there as soon as possible, an event which, he again said, was only a question of time. I observed that he must by this time have become satisfied of the disposition of our government to respect its neutral obligations, and as he represented Maximilian's government to be acceptable to the Mexicans in the main, I asked whether he could not get on without foreign troops; if he could, I said, the withdrawal of the French auxiliaries would simplify the situation very materially. M. Drouyn de Lhuys replied that he thought the new government would be able to get on alone very soon, but that it would first be necessary to perfect the military organization of the army and get the government a little consolidated before it would be prudent to make the attempt. France did not wish to leave Mexico till the interests which she went there to protect were secure, nor, by retiring prematurely, to provoke trouble which might compel her to return.

Being determined to learn, if I could, just how much faith his Excellency had in the self-sustaining force of the Archduke's organization, I then put this farther question:

Supposing it possible to remove all solicitude in regard to the final disposition of my country people towards the new government, by a formal recognition of it at Washington, would that enable the Archduke to dispense with a foreign army? The question took his Excellency a little by surprise. He was in the position of the Jews when asked if John's

Baptism was of heaven or of men. He began by saying that our recognition would greatly facilitate and hasten the retirement of France from Mexico. He was not prepared to say they could leave at once; it might be necessary to perfect their military organization to replace that upon which the government now in a measure depends. Then, as if wishing time for reflection or at least fearing to commit himself too far, he said that if they could have some security for their debts, he thought there would be no difficulty about their retiring promptly.

I said that, as their debt increased faster than their revenue from Mexico, the quicker they left, in a financial point of view, the better, and if, as he represented, the Republican government was extinct and the Mexican people accepted the new régime, the shortest way to dispose of this matter of difference between the United States and France was for France to retire, and then the question of recognition by the United States would, as it seemed to me, be presented to the government at Washington free, at least, from insuperable objections. Our government—as he knew very well before, and if he did not he might have learned from the recent speech of the President to the Brazilian Minister—does not concern itself with the form of government to which neighboring states choose to give a preference. We should only be following our traditions and many precedents if we recognized whatever government shall establish itself in Mexico effectively and independently of foreign support. He seemed much interested in and gratified by what I said, but thought the recognition should precede the retirement, which I, of course, represented as contrary to the logical order of events, and after some farther talk, which did not materially vary our positions, he said he would speak of the matter to the Emperor on his return, not as a suggestion from our conversation, but *ex proprio motu,* and would give me the result at our next interview. I told him that of course I had no authority to make or receive any propositions of that sort, for he knew the attitude of my government upon this whole subject as well as I did.

He at once said: "Let what has passed between us be as if it had not happened. I will talk to the Emperor without using your name and will see if it is not worth while for us to pursue the subject farther."

This conversation took place Thursday afternoon two weeks. The Emperor was then expected from Biarritz in a few days. He did not, however, return until Saturday last. On Monday evening last I received a note from M. Drouyn de Lhuys requesting me to call upon him to *"causer de deux ou trois choses dont vous m'avez entretenu dernièrement."*

Of course I went. He spoke of the Egyptian levies, about which I wrote you an official communication by the *Europe* yesterday, and about one or two other matters, and then said that he had spoken to the Emperor upon the interesting point mooted in our conversation Thursday week. The Emperor wished to leave Mexico; was ready to go as soon as he could go safely and honorably, and if we would recognize the new government they would be able to go very soon.

I said to M. Drouyn de Lhuys that the logic of the situation required the Emperor to go first; that it was idle to ask the republic of the United States to recognize any ruler in Mexico who depended upon any foreign sovereign, while there were many reasons disposing us to recognize any government in Mexico which was independent and self-sustaining. He replied that in his opinion the logic of the situation required that before he leaves Mexico she should have such security as a formal recognition would give that they would not have to go back.

I said that if all objections to the recognition of the Archduke by my government were removed, it would not be difficult for us to give the Emperor such assurances as would relieve him from all solicitude upon that point; that was a detail for which the resources of practical statesmanship were ample. I then recapitulated the reasons which rendered it impossible for us to recognize any foreign government in Mexico under whatever disguise, and the logical necessity in which the Emperor was placed of taking the first and necessary step, if he really desired to quit Mexico, to put her as soon as possible in a position that would admit of her being recognized by the United States.

His Excellency then proceeded to recapitulate the features of the situation on both sides at considerable length. Reduced to ultimates, his statement amounted to this, that if the Emperor could have a reasonable assurance that the recognition and the withdrawal of his army could take place simul-

taneously or thereabouts, it might be worth while to do it. He argued the point with so much earnestness that I could not resist the conviction that the Emperor as well as himself had the matter much at heart. Nothing was said at this interview about assisting them to find security for their Mexican debt, and in his summing up, the idea of recognition preceding the retirement of the troops was abandoned. He even went so far as to say that with such an arrangement in prospect they would take steps to hasten the necessary military organization, which in case of need might be done very rapidly.

When we had reached this point I said that I could not pursue this subject farther with propriety nor with advantage without first communicating to you what had passed between us, and if I received from you any encouragement to renew the conversation, it would give me great pleasure to do so.

On my rising he said more deliberately what he had hinted at two or three times in the course of our interview, that the time had come for putting the commercial relations of France with the United States upon a footing better proportioned than they are at present to the great future now opening before us; that negotiations to that end were in the contemplation of the Emperor when the war broke out, and that his Majesty only waited for the establishment of a perfect political understanding between the two countries to revive or rather to open them.

I have here given you the substance of a conversation which lasted a full half-hour. It left upon my mind the conviction that the Emperor would be glad to purchase our recognition of Max. by the retirement of his army upon a very short notice.

Perhaps I have committed an indiscretion in allowing myself, by discussing it, to give that much encouragement to the idea that our recognition of Maximilian was possible upon any terms; if so, please say so as bluntly as you please, or, if it suits you better, say nothing. I am under no obligations to renew the subject and neglected no proper precautions against leaving the impression that I spoke of any inspiration from home. It is due, however, to the kindness with which you have always treated me that I should state to you frankly the attitude of my own mind on this subject. If the Repub. gov-

ernment is or is rapidly becoming extinct and if France will withdraw from Mexico I see no objections to our recognizing the actual government, unless we feel called upon to inquire into the process by which it was founded or by which the Mexicans have been reconciled to it. There are very few existing governments which could bear such a test; statesmen would hardly be unanimous about our own, but if that were altogether otherwise, ours has no faculty for conducting such investigations. According to our practice and traditions, it seems to me that we would have no pretext for withholding recognition, while our interests clearly point to a friendly understanding with this government as soon as possible. The Emperor would appreciate our forbearance and magnanimity, and I think would be but too happy to give substantial tokens of his gratitude.

I remain, dear Sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

PARIS, Octr. 20, 1865.

My dear Sir:

I sent you by the *Europe* an account of Drouyn de Lhuys' explanation of the Egyptian levies for Mexico. He refused to say in reply to my point-blank question that the government had finally "abandoned" the idea of taking troops from Mexico, but in the *Patrie* of the 18th there is a semi-official paragraph, which I enclose, that states that the project once entertained had since been abandoned. The *Moniteur* has not alluded to the subject.

I have hoped to receive some explanation of the amendments made through the press lately to the list of Confederate bondholders which I sent you. Campbell expected to be in Paris last week, but has not yet come. My impression is that the denial of many who have denied was technical. That their names were down on the records of the bankers who had the selling of the loan, I have no doubt, with or without their formal consent. The truth is likely to come out. The leakage has begun already, as you will see by the reports of a

meeting of the Confederate bondholders in London on the 18th inst. which appear in the *London News* and *Herald.* I send you copies.

It is gratifying to observe how very odious an offense it has become in England to have had anything to do with Confederate finances. Mason was compelled to deny that he had sent home a list. Why, if the parties accused were not on it? The sudden silence of the press in England upon the subject goes to show that it will not bear discussion.

. . . . . .

I send you a few slips from the papers that you may not have seen.

RICHARD H. DANA, JR., TO BIGELOW

BOSTON, Oct. 25, 1865.

My dear Mr. Bigelow:

Let me offer my condolence on the domestic bereavement you met with after your kind letter to me. If the facts were correctly reported here, it seems to have been attended, on this side the water as on yours, with circumstances as painful as it is easy to imagine. I will not try you by longer dwelling upon them, yet they impressed us all as so distressing to the feelings of parents—separation at the time of death—an ocean between—and at the burial—that I cannot help referring to them, to express our sympathy.

I sent you, a few weeks ago, a dozen copies of my address on Mr. Everett, as you kindly suggested, encouraged by your earnest commendation of it. I hope the political philosophy it attempts may interest the French mind.

(By the way, the experience of the last four years, in the way of conversation and correspondence, has satisfied me that Frenchmen get a truer notion of our institutions than Englishmen of equal intelligence. Every traveling Englishman is a traveling castle, with drawbridge, moat and towers. He will lower the drawbridge to friendship, but not to new or antagonistic ideas. If you can fill up the moat with arguments and facts, you have a chance to scale the wall, but that is all. A Frenchman meets you on an open plain, unarmed.)

I am glad to get a few words from you on the subject of my Faneuil Hall Speech and Address. In Massachusetts, as soon as the clouds of battle blew away, and we could see the face of the country, we struck out for a principle. It is matter of opinion whether our principle is sound, but no one can deny that we struck out for it bravely, early, and intelligibly. We did not wait to know what Mr. Johnson thought or intended, or to see how it would affect the push-pin of party politics, or the channels of patronage. We did not lose a man by it here, but gained largely from the hitherto conservative men. In Maine they followed our lead boldly, and had a larger majority than ever. Pennsylvania, always a critical border state, adopted our doctrine boldly, and greatly increased its majority. So was it in Iowa. Ohio equivocated, or was silent, and lost votes. New York, *more suo*—excuse me, for you once lived there, though not a native—New York, *more suo,* took the bearings of the Custom House and Post Office, cast the horoscope of Executive influence, looked over its bill-of-fare of hand-to-mouth electioneering, made up a Weed-Raymond caucus and platform,—and if we are beaten anywhere, it will be there.

I wish to explain one thing, which you did not credit to me, in your letter. It is true that a state, admitted to the exercise of its functions as a state, must be on an equality with the other states. These cannot be bound by compact to refrain from the exercise of essentially state functions which other states may exercise in similar cases. It is true that she may respect the laws and alter the constitution on the faith of which she was received back. That only shows that the security we obtain in advance of her re-admission is not a perfect security. It is the best our system allows us to obtain, and it is worth requiring. If the rebel states adopt constitutions putting negroes equal before the law, there is not much fear that they can change them. The security is valuable and worth demanding.

This consideration also shows the necessity of obtaining the security before we re-admit the states. If we do not require it as a condition precedent, we can never do it, except in the event of a new war. I will not shut up the negro, to whom my faith is pledged, in the room with his old master, the master armed and he not, lock them in together, and give the master

the key, so that, whatever happens, I cannot enter but by a breach of the peace.

Our position is certainly plain. There has been a war. The war was constitutional. The victorious nation has a right, before it remits the conquered rebels to the exercise of the *powers*—yes, the powers *over us*—of states, to secure whatever the public safety and public faith reasonably require. Can any thoughtful man deny that abstract proposition? I think not. The only question then is, Do the public safety and public faith require *anything;* and if so, what?

The President is acting on this principle. He requires *something* of the rebel states, as a condition precedent to their re-admission. He requires this something on the ground that the public safety and faith make it necessary. (He has not said by what function he demands it, and here men's ideas are confused; but it seems to me clear that it is solely under the war power. It is on the theory that the conquered rebels cannot make the victory fruitless to the nation by putting an end to the status and rights of war on our part at their own pleasure. This is not a question of constitutional law, but of the nature of things.)

The only question among the Republicans and Union Democrats is, *What* may the nation require of the rebel states; or, rather, what is really *bona fide* necessary to our safety and good faith? Mr. Johnson says the abolition of slavery and the disavowal of secession. He thinks we cannot do more.

We think the mere abolition of slavery is not enough, considering that it leaves the colored race disfranchised, not recognized as citizens, with absolutely no rights of any kind secured to them, or the means of securing any completely in the hands of the white race. Still less is it enough when we consider the temptation the white race is under to keep them always in that condition. Look at the motives!

(1) The natural eagerness of men to hold privileges and power, social and political.

(2) The spirit of domination slavery has bred in them.

(3) Reluctance to see a late servile race in the exercise of any political power.

(4) Desire to retain their old social and political oligarchical relations as nearly as possible.

(5) The fact that by disfranchising the entire colored race,

yet counting them in the Congressional and Presidential ratio, *two Southern white men will constitute a majority over three Northern white men!*

These states are a little on their good behavior just now. But is any man mad enough to suppose that, if they are readmitted as they stand, they will tax themselves to educate the negroes, or divide a scrap of political power among them, or raise their social position, at the expense of their own supremacy? I think not. I do not expect it,—not of this generation.

But the danger lies not alone in the rebel states. The Democratic party of the North is ready and eager to join hands with the late slaveowners, to sustain them in their purposes.

Yes, Sir, the Democratic party is making this most inhuman alliance. The terms are these: You may keep the colored race in a condition as near to slavery as you can, and we will take care that you are not interfered with; in consideration whereof, we are to vote together, and have the name of Democracy, and govern the republic, as in the good old times of slavery *eo nomine.*

At the South there is no secrecy. They intend to do that. And they see in it, with the aid of the Democratic party, their restoration to dignity and power in the nation.

At the North the Democrats put forward constitutional and popular arguments. They contend for the right of a state to regulate the relations and status of its colored population absolutely, and deny the right of the nation to make any terms or conditions whatever with a state coming out of rebellion; declaim against centralization, and so mislead the public and conceal the real issue. The Democrats have or had hopes of gaining over the President. I think—I pray—they are mistaken. That were a disaster to the nation indeed! I do not think they will seduce the people, for I believe in a Divine Government, and I believe that the Democratic party has received the displeasure of a just God; and although He does sometimes permit the wicked to succeed for a time, yet ordinarily the wicked do not prevail.

Now you will ask—what is probable or possible? I think we could have secured some reasonable measure of political rights to the colored people if the President had insisted upon

it in April, May or June last. He would have brought the Northern people up to it, and the South down to it. I fear that his policy has so encouraged the rebels and demoralized the Republicans—as witness that meanest of all states, Connecticut—that we shall fail of everything but a mere abolition of slavery *eo nomine,* leaving the whole power over the freedmen to their late masters.

That means the restoration of oligarchy in some degree, danger of collision of races, and the regaining of national power by the union of this oligarchy with Northern democracy,—which means the substantial re-enslavement of the negroes and the stay of human and liberal progress.

I do not wish for universal suffrage at the South. I fear it. I ask only for impartial—a substantially fair chance for the colored men to attain to the franchise. Here again come in the unfortunate teachings of the Democratic party. It has taught the Northern people to insist on universal suffrage as a kind of natural right, and so embarrassed this subject; while it has taught the absolute disfranchisement of the colored race at the South.

Give my regards and kind remembrances to Mr. Beckwith. I am under obligations to him for kind attentions in China in 1860, and am cheered with recollections of many pleasant hours at his house, where I had the pleasure of seeing Mrs. Beckwith.

I will try to enclose a Mem. to Mr. Beckwith in reply to his Mem. he privately sent me with your letter.

Believe me, dear Sir, as ever, faithfully yours

P.S. In reply to your word about the Mexican question,—here again the *Democratic party!* Their cue is to distract attention from the domestic issue, and hurry back the Rebel States on any or no terms, by that magnetism over the public mind which a great foreign issue, portending war, always exercises. The moderate view of the Mexican question prevails chiefly in N. England.

R. H. D., Jr.

BIGELOW TO M. COSTE OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE

Translation

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, October 26, 1865.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 14th instant, with its enclosure, inviting my country people to participate in the International Exposition of Fishery and Water-culture which is to take place at Arcachon in July next.

I have read the circular and Regulations issued by the Scientific Society of Arcachon with great interest, and do not permit myself to doubt that the results of the contemplated exposition will be proportioned to the distinguished auspices under which it is commended to public attention.

I have taken steps to have the project brought to the knowledge of my country people, and beg to assure you that nothing shall be wanting on my part to secure such a representation from the United States as is due from a country adapted by nature to profit more largely perhaps than any other in the development of the sciences of Fishery and Water-culture.

I shall avail myself of an early opportunity of sending you, as you request, a list of persons to whom the Scientific Society might with advantage address copies of its circulars.

Accept, sir, the assurance of my most distinguished consideration.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, October 28, 1865.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose an address, numerously signed by citizens of Caen, which, by the request of the subscribers, I transmit to you to be laid before the President. The delay

in the transmission of the document is sufficiently explained in the letter to me which accompanied it, and of which I enclose a translation and my reply.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

Translation

CAEN, CALVADOS, October 20, 1865.

Sir:

At the first news of the assassination of President Lincoln we had circulated the address which we send you so late to-day.

This address was covered with the signatures of the most prominent persons of our city, and names collected from all classes of society.

Wishing to add to the number, one of our friends took the address and caused it to pass from hand to hand, and finally it was mislaid for several months. It was impossible to think of asking for so many signatures over again, but happily we succeeded in finding the paper, and now hasten to send it to you.

We think, indeed, that it is never too late to testify once more the sympathy of the French people for the American people, and to add our felicitations to your President Johnson upon the re-establishment of the Union in a manner at once so conciliating and so energetic, so firm and so lawful.

Thus America gives to the Old World a great and noble lesson. Among us a powerful general, commanding nearly a million of soldiers, would have profited by that crime to proclaim that it was necessary to save the republic by a dictatorship, and he would at last have destroyed it for the profit of personal ambition.

With you the Constitution has been respected with a sublime simplicity. Grant, Sherman, and all your generals remain simple citizens, but great citizens.

We thank them; we thank your President and your noble American people for giving to us at this day the spectacle of the many virtues of the bright days of the Roman republic—to us, people of the Latin race, who have now before our eyes only Octaviuses without vigor, tottering in their buskins while

trying to play the part of worn-out Cæsars amid the suppressed jars of Europe.

Hail, then, to Johnson, to Grant, to Sherman! Hail to all your citizens, and heaven grant that they may send back to France with the winds of ocean—with its tempests, if need be—those powerful blasts of liberty which it sent to them a century ago at its first awakening.

We salute you fraternally.

EDWARD TALBOT, *Proprietor.*
TÊTE, *Retired Merchant.*

MR. BIGELOW, *Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of the United States, at Paris.*

BIGELOW TO TALBOT

Translation

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, October 27, 1865.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated October 20, and of the address of the citizens of Caen to President Johnson, by which it was accompanied. I will at once give to this address the direction you have indicated.

I thank you for the sympathy for my country and its government, of which you have been kind enough to send me this expression, and I beg that you will convey my acknowledgments to those who have joined you in it.

Accept, sir, the assurance of my most distinguished consideration.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

UNITED STATES LEGATION,
PARIS, October 28, 1865.

Sir:

The assassination of President Lincoln set free in France a large amount of latent respect for his character, and for the

cause to which his life was sacrificed, which till then had given scarcely any sign of its existence.

This fact, in view of its bearing upon the great events of which our country has been recently the theatre, has seemed to me of sufficient importance to justify the collection and preservation of the evidence by which it may be historically established. With that view I have directed a translation to be made of everything of consequence, I believe, that has appeared upon the subject in the political press of Paris, and have the honor to transmit to you the two volumes in which it is bound, by this post.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, October 30, 1865.

Sir:

Your despatch of the 13th of October, No. 184, has been received. I thank you for the information you have given me of the manner in which my No. 264 was received by M. Drouyn de Lhuys, and I shall wait with interest for an account of the imperial purposes in regard to the matter therein presented.

I am, sir, your obedient servant

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, October 31, 1865.

Sir:

I acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 6th instant, No. 181, acquainting me with the gratifying manner in which the French press comment upon the course of the President, and our treatment of the rebel loan question.

I give you my thanks for your thoughtfulness.

I am, sir, your obedient servant

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, 31 October, 1865.

Sir:

I enclose a copy of a letter of the 23rd of August, last, addressed to this Department by the Secretary of War, upon the subject of a proposed visit of Major-General Schofield to Europe. The General now proposes to carry that visit into effect. You are consequently requested to do anything you can towards promoting the professional objects of the General and towards making his abode in Paris agreeable to him.

I am, Sir, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

WASHINGTON, Nov. 2, 1865.

My dear Mr. Bigelow:

I have your note of Oct. 17th, which is the only thing I have from Europe to-day. We still look with much anxiety for your forthcoming papers.

Very truly your friend

W. H. RUSSELL TO BIGELOW

18 SUMNER PLACE, LONDON,
Nov. 3, 1865.

My dear Bigelow:

You are too busy to be displeased by the silence of a friend who has had nothing but the old, old story of sorrow to tell you. I write now to point out a paragraph in the *Times* correspondents' letters relating to your share in the publication

or procurement of the "list" of Confederate Bondholders—which, according to them, was a very large one—that you may notice it if you think fit, tho' I presume it has been placed before you long ere this.[1] Are you a Fenian? I know you are not a *fainéant,* and I believe they will all turn out to be the latter. Seward's language—my dear friend King Villum's oracular style, bless him, is at times obscure—is very pleasant, but there 's a smack of powder in it too, and Max must be rather puzzled to make out his meaning. Air yew for nigger suffrage, or air yew not, my dear Minister? I don't think you will ever get a chance of swallowing that dark foreign element and of assimilating it in your great republican chylopoietics unless you take it with a dose of ballot box. It 's the only way to make the Creatures citizens instead of Chattel Savages. Don't you go a-fitin' of us. We ain't afeared, but we don't like it. We will let you let the Fenians sack a Canadian Village as a pendant to St. Albans, but we can't let it go on, you know, unless you promise to send them all to stay in Canada when they take it. This Ministry can't last long, and I expect my party will be coming in some of these days very hungry, but not warlike. Gladstone will be cautious now, and will be torn to pieces by the Rads when they find he is shy of them.

And so, Mr. Minister, may Heaven have in holy keeping the *good* friend of

W. H. Russell.

[1] A copy of the article referred to will be found on page 216.

XIII

CONFEDERATE BONDHOLDERS IN ENGLAND—YTURBIDE

THE EDITOR OF *GALIGNANI'S MESSENGER*[1] TO BIGELOW

No. 224, Rue de Rivoli, Paris,
Nov. 4, 1865.

THE Editor of *Galignani's Messenger* presents his compliments to his Excellency the Minister of the United States, and begs to enclose the annexed extract from the New York correspondence in yesterday's *Times*.

Before reproducing it in the *Messenger* the Editor desires to draw Mr. Bigelow's attention to it, and to add that if his Excellency will favor him with any statement on the subject it shall be inserted simultaneously with the *Times* paragraph.

From the American correspondent of the *London Times*, dated October 21, 1865, and printed in the *Times* of November 3, 1865:

The list of holders of Confederate stock which appeared in the New York papers a few weeks ago, having been the subject of much comment in England, I think it right to tell you what I know about the document. On the 8th of September (about a week, I believe, before the list was published), I saw Mr. Seward for the first time at the Foreign Office. In the course of conversation he said to me, "Pray what has Mr. —— (naming a gentleman) made by his stock in the Confederacy?" I answered that I knew nothing about it, but thought it very improbable that the gentleman in question had ever held any of the stock. He rang a bell and said to the messenger, "Bring that list of British bondholders here." The man brought it, and Mr. Seward said, "We have obtained this from Confederate agents in Paris. The Con-

[1] English daily newspaper.

federates are poor now, and are willing to sell all their secrets. Besides, your Vice-Chancellor Page Wood has decided that we are the heirs at law of the Confederacy, and, therefore, we are entitled to their papers." This he said with a smile. He then read the list, to the best of my recollection as it appeared afterwards in the papers, together with an account of a meeting at Mr. Beresford Hope's, which you will have seen was published *after* the list. "Now," said Mr. Seward, handing the papers to me, "you may judge how disinterested was the support English leaders of opinion gave to the Confederacy." I, and a member of the English House of Commons who was present, suggested that these papers were probably not authentic. Mr. Seward said, "I cannot tell that. I only tell you where I got them from. I intend to use them, and we shall see." On looking down the list I said, "I am sure there must be some mistake here," and the member of Parliament made a similar remark when he saw the name of Mr. Gladstone down for £2000. Mr. Seward, however, merely repeated that Confederate agents had sold the list in Paris. The papers were foolscap sheets, fastened together by a piece of blue riband in the corner. I now *know* that they were in the handwriting of the American Minister at Paris, Mr. Bigelow. Of this, I repeat, there is not the slightest doubt. I heard no more of the list until one morning I saw all the newspapers shouting over it. It was sent from Washington in the "Associated Press" despatch, and appeared simultaneously in all the journals, the *Herald* being guiltless of the fabrication. After a few days' interval the second instalment was published in the same manner. I think it right to add that, in my belief, Mr. Seward was as much deceived as any one by the imposture, and that Mr. Bigelow is the person chiefly responsible for putting it in circulation. Thinking the affair rather curious and that it might turn up again one day, I made a few notes about it after I left Mr. Seward, and from them I give you this short statement.

BIGELOW TO THE EDITOR OF *GALIGNANI'S MESSENGER*

Mr. Bigelow presents his compliments to the Editor of *Galignani's Messenger,* and thanks him for the obliging proposal contained in his note of the 4th inst., of which, however, happily Mr. Bigelow has no present occasion to avail himself.

Charing Cross Hotel,
London, Nov. 6, 1865.

I, Henry Hudson of Bo'dge Road, Hammersmith in the County of Middlesex, England, Gentleman, do solemnly and sincerely declare that the number of bonds, names, addresses and memoranda as to the interest last paid and written upon seven of the annexed nine sheets of paper are in my handwriting and faithful copies of the numbers, names and entries in and upon the entry of Scrip Book of the seven per cent. Confederate Cotton Loan, the same being the official book in the hands of the Confederate agents; and I make this solemn declaration conscientiously believing the same to be true, by virtue of the provisions of an act made and passed in the session of Parliament of the fifth and sixth year of the Reign of His late Majesty King William the Fourth, entitled "An Act to repeal an Act of the present session of Parliament entitled an Act for the more effectual abolition of oaths and affirmations taken and made in various Departments of the State and to substitute declarations in lieu thereof and for the more entire suppression of voluntary and extrajudicial oaths and affidavits and to make other provisions for the abolition of unnecessary oaths."

(Signed) HENRY HUDSON.

Subscribed and declared at my office in No. 31 Threadneedle Street, London, this Sixth day of November, 1865.

Before me

signed, J. H. GRAIN,
Not. Publ.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Confidential

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, 4th November, 1865.

My dear Sir:

General Schofield proceeds to Paris. He is, I believe, fully informed of the feelings and sentiments, not only of this Government, but of the American people. I commend him to your confidence and authorize you to communicate with him whenever occasion shall require, to pass between yourself and any of our Representatives whom you may wish to consult informally upon the general situation.

I remain, My dear Sir, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, 6 Nov. 1865.

My dear Sir:

I append a copy of a letter of the 3rd inst. from Mrs. Alice G. Yturbide, marked confidential, and of my reply of the 4th, in regard to the detention of her infant child in Mexico without her consent, and to her desire to have him restored to her care and guardianship.

Without entering into the questions raised in the letter of Mrs. Yturbide, I must request you informally to lend your good offices towards aiding that lady in the accomplishment of her object, so far as it can be done without injury to the dignity or rights of this Government.

Very truly yours

The day after the receipt of the foregoing note I arranged for an interview with Madame Yturbide at the legation.

B. MORAN TO BIGELOW

Confidential

LONDON, 14 Nov., 1865.

My dear Bigelow:

A *shady* person known as Forbes Campbell has been talking very imprudently here of late. He says he saw you at the Charing Cross Hotel on Saturday; that you left Paris to get rid of an invitation to Compiègne; that you have lately had some angry talks with Drouyn de Lhuys about Mexico, etc., etc. He also says there is a new *official* list of rebel bondholders, that it is in the possession of this Legation, and has been sworn to.

I don't know whether you are acquainted with this man or not, and therefore write these facts for your guidance as a matter of information. He has heretofore been a rabid rebel, and on all occasions is to be dealt with cautiously. At present he has some Mexican scheme on hand. The worst feature in his conduct is his habit of talking about everything he hears, and thus making mischief.

Hoping you are well, I am,

Ever truly yours

BIGELOW TO CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS

United States Legation,
Paris, November 14, 1865.

My dear Sir:

I was sorry for many reasons that the necessity of my somewhat abrupt return to Paris deprived me of the pleasure of seeing you leisurely at Brighton as I had intended. I avail myself of the post to bring to your attention one subject about which I had intended to speak to you. It is summed up in a note received by me this morning, of which I enclose a copy, omitting address and signature.

It runs as follows:

"London, 13 November, 1865.

"*My dear Sir:*

"I have ascertained:

"1st, that the machinery was made at Sheffield, Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool.

"2nd, that it has recently been purchased by the *Blakely* Ordnance Co., limited, whose office in London is Pall Mall East, for a great deal less than it cost (say for 105,000, whereas it cost more than 400,000).

"3rd, that it was constructed for the Confederates to bore cannon with.

"4th, that the Blakely O. Co. have not yet *taken delivery of it or paid for it.*

"By prompt action you may prevent the completion of the

sale and recover the property, in which case your government must pay me a commission of 5 pct. on value of whatever is recovered.

"I remain, "Yours very sincerely, "____ ____."

The machinery here referred to was constructed for the Confederates by the Blakely O. Co. to bore cannon; it is pronounced by a competent authority, whose opinion in writing I have seen, to be equal to the same sort of machinery at Woolwich. The abrupt termination of the war, as near as I can learn, prevented the delivery of it within the Confederate States, though I am under the impression that it went as far as Nassau. It is lawful prize if we can put our hands upon it. The writer of the foregoing note can furnish the evidence, I think. It is to him I owe the information I have upon the subject. He says that he thinks he should have 5 pct. upon the sum realized, and I told him that I did not find his request unreasonable; but, as the affair did not arise within my bailiwick, I could give him nothing but my recommendation with you. If you approve of some arrangement being made, I will send you his address, and you may put any person you please in relation with him. As the machinery is at Liverpool, it would be best perhaps to send Dudley to him and no one else, for the less intercourse he has with Federal officers, the more useful he may be in this and similar matters. Unless the arrangement can be effected, my informant prefers that his name should not transpire at the legation.

I am, dear Sir,

Very truly yours

D. FORBES CAMPBELL TO BIGELOW

Monday Evening,
45 Dover St., W., [London],
13 Nov., 1865.

My dear Sir:

The Confederate machinery for boring cannon was sold *quite recently,* at Liverpool, to the Blakely Ordnance Co.,

limited. I am promised the name of the Agent who effected the sale. [Col. Dowling.]

I have borrowed and have here for your inspection a "seven per cent cotton loan bond of the Confederate States of America." It bears date *Paris*, June, 1863, the seal of the "Treasury Department" and the signature of "C. I. McRae, agent for the loan" (countersigned "John Slidell, Commissioner"), "Émile Erlanger & Co., Contractors," and of "J. Henry Schroeder & Co., Agents to the Contractors in London."

You see the *Shenandoah* has cast up to-day at Liverpool.

I called for you at the Charing Cross Hotel this afternoon about one-half past five, but although the Porter said you were in the hotel, you were not to be found in that vast establishment.

Hoping to be more lucky, I shall call again to-morrow forenoon at 11, unless you prefer to look in here.

I remain,

Yours sincerely

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Department of State,
Washington, November 18, 1865.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 28th October, No. 193, together with the two manuscript volumes which are therein mentioned. Into these volumes have been collected the generous tributes which were spontaneously made by the press of France to the character of Abraham Lincoln, and the cause in which his life was sacrificed, when he was removed from his field of eminent service by the fearful and mysterious crime of assassination. It was a very just and happy thought on your part to make this collection, which is so honorable to France, and so entirely in harmony with the geniality of sentiment which distinguishes the French people. The volumes will be preserved in the archives of this government.

The President is of opinion that an acknowledgment of these

tributes would be eminently just and proper. I have therefore to suggest to you the publication of this despatch if, upon an informal consultation with M. Drouyn de Lhuys, it should be found that such a publication would be agreeable to the Emperor's government.

A list of the contents of the volumes is appended to this communication.

I am, sir, etc.

THURLOW WEED TO BIGELOW

New York, Nov. 19, 1865.

My dear Friend:

You are often in my thoughts, and always pleasantly, unless some calamity which touches both of us brings sadness. Such a calamity as the Death of our Mutual Friend renders me unhappy now.

Mr. King's nervous system gave way a month since, and I now reproach myself for not consenting to his frequent intimations of a desire to resign.[1] But his reasons for doing so were so unsubstantial that I talked him out of them.

I passed the evenings regularly with him, and generally left him calm and sometimes cheerful.

On Sunday last I was all day with him, and it was agreed that he should have Dr. Brown of the Bloomingdale Asylum here on Monday morning. I left at 10 o'clock with an attendant who allowed him to go out alone.

I did not go into the *Times* as was contemplated. The organization of large Journals in this City leaves them without Editorial responsibility. I find Raymond almost every morning as much surprised at his Editorial columns as the hen was with a brood of young ducks.

Ever yours

[1] On his retirement from the Senate, Mr. King was persuaded unwisely to accept the collectorship of the port of New York.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, November 20, 1865.

Sir:

I received some time since information, from persons interested, that there was a sum of money in dispute at Montpellier, to which the United States were supposed to have some claim. The object of my informants was to obtain from me some expression which might be construed into a relinquishment of such claim. My refusal to answer their inquiries in that sense induced the direct application, of which I enclose a translation, from the agent of the notary in whose hands the deposit now lies.

From this memorandum it will be seen that M. Grasset, notary at Montpellier, is in possession of 20,000 francs, deposited on the 8th of April, 1863, by an engineer named Raymond Thomassy, to secure the payment of wages to four French salt-makers whom he had hired to assist in the execution of a contract made with the insurgent government at Richmond, 8th January, 1863, to work the salt lands of Clarke County, in the State of Alabama. Thomassy having died on the journey at Havana, and the workmen having returned to France, they now claim the payment of the sum deposited by him as compensation for their lost time and labor. Grasset, the notary, declines paying them the money, as it was deposited with him to be paid only on the certificate of the insurgent government, and as he apprehends a reclamation on the part of the United States, the parties now desire a formal relinquishment of the claim by our government.

As the money appears to have been advanced by Thomassy in pursuance of a contract that never was executed, and as the laborers never reached the United States, our claim, if made, would probably lead to litigation, the result of which might be doubtful.

I have the honor to submit the matter for your consideration and to request your instructions in regard to it.

Preston King

United States Senator from New York

MANCOMBLE TO BIGELOW

Translation

PARIS, November 17. 1865.

Sir:

You have requested of me a memorandum in relation to the affair of the salt-makers, of which I had the honor to speak to you yesterday morning. I hasten to furnish it.

The following are the circumstances under which was deposited in the hands of M. Grasset, notary at Montpellier, the sum of 20,000 francs, the delivery of which is now desired by parties interested:

By the terms of an agreement made at Richmond, the 8th of January, 1863, with the general commission of subsistence of the Confederate States of America, Mr. Raymond Thomassy, engineer, engaged to furnish to Captain Grant, engineer, of the Confederate States, the plans, specifications and instructions necessary to the working of the salt lands situated in Clarke County, Alabama.

He was also to come to Europe and engage for the service of the Confederate Government five workmen, skilled in the manufacture of salt, and to return with them to the place of the projected works, of which he was to be superintendent.

Mr. Raymond Thomassy came to France and hired four workmen, Clot, Clerc, Marchandon and Stobiac. To gain the confidence of these workmen, a sum of 20,000 francs was deposited the 8th of April with M. Grasset, the notary who framed the articles of agreement, who pledged himself not to deliver it to the said workmen except on a certificate from the Confederate Government that they had fulfilled their obligations.

They set out, and Mr. Thomassy died at Havana, in July, 1863.

After many vicissitudes, the salt-makers returned to France, and they still await the payment of the wages promised them.

In the name of justice and humanity, I will be obliged to you, sir, if you will obtain from your government the authorization which M. Grasset desires for the delivery of these funds.

This authorization should be framed in the most simple terms. I submit a form to your judgment:

"I, the undersigned, —— ——, Minister of the United States, declare personally that I will not intervene in behalf of my government in the division which may be made among those entitled to it of the sum of 20,000 francs, deposited the 8th of April, 1863, in the office of M. Grasset, notary at Montpellier, on account of the salt-makers, Clot, Clerc, Marchandon and Stobiac, and that I will not prosecute nor molest the said notary in the matter of said division."

I do not doubt, sir, that in your wisdom and justice you will do all in your power to give satisfaction to the claims of our countrymen. And I beg that you will accept in advance the assurance of the profound respect with which I have the honor to be,

Yours most devotedly,

E. Mancomble,
Advocate, 11 Rue Lafitte.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, November 20, 1865.

Sir:

The *Moniteur* of yesterday contained an official account of the arrival of Admiral Pareja with his fleet at Valparaiso, on the 17th of September last, and the correspondence which had passed between him and the Chilian government up to the 24th of that month.

I felt impelled to call at once upon M. Rosales, the Chilian minister at this court, to express my surprise and regret at the apparently harsh and unreasonable conduct of the Spanish admiral, which I ventured to assure him would produce a very painful impression in the United States. I also expressed to him the hope that his country would be able to maintain her national integrity and honor.

M. Rosales seemed very much gratified by my visit and by the language I had used. He proceeded to give me a history

of the differences which had come to such an unexpected issue, of which you are doubtless informed long before this, and then said the war thus commenced was likely to be a long and bloody one; that in his opinion there was no chance of an arrangement. The feelings of the Chilians towards the Spaniards had become so bitter that the nation would be but as one man against the invaders, in evidence of which he gave several striking illustrations. The debt of Chili, he said, was only about $18,000,000; the admiral would not be allowed to land a man upon the coast, to take a drop of water or an ounce of coal from their territory, though he were to burn every house within reach of his guns, and that before long Chili would have vessels as formidable as those of her enemies. M. Rosales also informed me that special agents had already been sent to California and Washington, as I inferred, though he did not distinctly say so, to get steamers to arm.

The impression left here upon the minds of all, as you will see by the press, is most unfavorable to the Spaniards, who seem recently to have relapsed into the old predatory habits contracted two or three centuries ago by her navigators on the coast of America. The conduct of Spain since the commencement of our war is calculated to inspire a distrust of all the European states having or coveting possessions beyond the Atlantic, and it certainly seems as if the time had come when the power of the United States should be exerted to discourage enterprises like that which has placed the Mexicans at the mercy of an Austrian prince, desolated St. Domingo, extorted $3,000,000 from Peru, and now threatens Chili with a similar outrage. More now than ever, the United States seem to be regarded, on both sides of the Atlantic, as the natural and only competent protectors of the feebler states of the New World from the cupidity of the Old. Whatever we may be prompted to do, subject always to our traditional policy of non-intervention, towards discharging the duties which our institutions, strength and position seem to assign us in the western hemisphere, will be likely, in my opinion, to receive the most general approval, if done upon our own exclusive responsibility, or at least without complicity with any European power.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Paris, Novr. 21st, 1865.

Dear Sir:

In the course of a long interview which I had to-day at my Legation with M. Balacarce, the Minister of the Argentine Republic at this court, he invited me to speak of Mexico. Mr. B., be it premised, is the father-in-law of M. Estrada, late Secretary of legation of the *soi-disant* Minister of Mexico at this court. Mr. B. stated to me that things look worse now than ever for Maximilian in Mexico; that he is more unpopular with the people than the day he landed, and that the hostility to him is increasing rather than diminishing. The Mexicans are also getting rather hostile to the French. He thinks there is no longer the remotest chance of Maximilian ever being able to dispense with the support of foreign troops.

These admissions from such a source, hitherto friendly and even interested in the support of Maximilian, seem to me of sufficient importance to repeat to you. I told him that it was impossible that affairs should go on much longer in Mexico as they had been going on, without seriously affecting our relations with France; that we had done everything we could to enable France to consult her true interests without appearing to act under undue foreign influences, but when it should become apparent to our people that this forbearance was not duly appreciated by the Emperor's Government, we should cease to exert it, I feared.

I thought it would do no harm to let M. Balacarce circulate this much of our feelings in his own way.

Yours very truly

BIGELOW TO R. H. DANA

Paris, November 21, 1865.

My dear Sir:

I read your favor of the 25th ultimo with great satisfaction, the enclosure as well, which I sent with your message to Mr.

Beckwith. A few days after I received the enclosed notes from B. I think your apprehensions for the fate of the negro are generally shared in a greater or less degree by the people of the North, and in that I find their security. I think the conscience of the country will not tolerate any permanent injustice towards the black race after what has occurred during the past two years. The zealous ability with which your views on the question of suffrage are presented by leading minds is a partial guaranty for this. But, on the other side, we must not lose sight of the grave inconveniences which the President hopes to escape by his policy of reconstruction. The first interest of the President was to do his utmost to bring back the Southerners to their allegiance cordially and practically, thus to restore the circulation of wealth, open markets, revive industry, enlarge the imprisoned cotton, and prevent the isolation of the South and the organization of a formidable Southern party united, as in the days of slavery, by a great and common interest in which the North did not participate. The evils to result from such a condition of things, if not prevented in the present state of our finances, would have been incalculable. The President has—so it seems to me at this distance—been obliged to choose, between two evils, what promised the greatest good. Without the cordial co-operation of the Southern people in the government, no federal legislation could make the condition of the negroes supportable. With that co-operation, their condition would naturally improve if the sympathy for them is as general and profound as it seems to be.

But there is one sad truth upon which you must reckon, or you will make a great miscalculation. You never can equalize the political any more than the social powers of the freedmen of the South and the whites whether North or South. Nowhere this side of Heaven will the negro count for as much as the white, however he is protected by laws and constitutions. But in a country like ours, where there are special premiums upon thrift, industry and logic, the negro must always eat at the second table. Nothing that the President may do or attempt can alter this. It is idle, therefore, to overlook this fact in planning a political career for these people; it is idle to offer them privileges which they will neither appreciate nor improve. They should have all restrictions taken from them

that interfere with their improvement, and such encouragement given as the nature of our institutions and the humanity and good sense of our people can provide. If I were a citizen of a slave State I would give the freedmen the franchise as liberally as it is enjoyed in Massachusetts; though I would limit the cases in which it should be exercised almost exclusively to representative officers. But I doubt much whether the General Government can meddle with the question of suffrages to the benefit of the black without establishing a precedent which will work more mischief than it will cure.

These are opinions formed at a distance and under great disadvantages, and therefore not held dogmatically.

Yours very sincerely

H. S. SANFORD TO BIGELOW

Brussels, 20 Nov., 1865.

Dear Bigelow:

. . . . . .

There is a point which might be made with effect in the Mexican question which I have not seen referred to in the Liberal Press, to wit: Max. directed, over a year since, his agents in Europe to give notice that he did not hold himself liable under the act of Miramar in which he renounced his eventual rights as Archduke, because his signature was given under duress.

Murphy, his Minister at Vienna, declined to give the notice:

First, because it was contrary to the interests of Mexico to make this declaration, implying want of faith in the future of the Emperor, and

2nd. What was doubtless of quite as much weight, because the Govt. at Vienna would not permit such a step.

The others put in their Master's protest—he was recalled. This fact could be worked up with effect by some orator on the Mexican question.

In haste, truly

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, November 21, 1865.

Sir:

I shall send you by this post a copy of *La France* of the 19th instant, containing an extraordinary article in defence of the French occupation of Mexico, from the pen of Lamartine. I should not trouble you to read this or anything else that Lamartine has written about the United States since his unsuccessful appeal to American charity some ten years since, but for its appearance in the columns of a *quasi*-official journal and for the comments which introduced it to the public. *La France* is edited by M. de La Guéronnière, a senator who is supposed to enjoy in a special degree the confidence of his sovereign, and to be a perfectly legitimate aspirant to the portfolio of Foreign Affairs whenever it becomes vacant. The language of commendation therefore bestowed by *La France* upon "the masterly style," "lofty inspiration" and "strong thoughts" of M. Lamartine's rhodomontade gives it a certain importance which the effusions of this poet's brain alone have long ceased to possess. The thesis which M. Lamartine attempts to elaborate and which Senator La Guéronnière deems worthy of a conspicuous place in the columns of *La France* is the following:

"The Globe is the property of man. The New Continent, America, is the property of Europe."

In elaborating this doctrine in justification of "the generous and eminently civilizing purpose which has directed the Imperial policy" of his sovereign in Mexico, M. Lamartine finds occasion to void all his ignorance and venom—and it is difficult to say in this case which most abounds—upon the people and government of the United States. Here is a specimen of both:

"We can easily understand that this people possess as yet hardly any elements of an American literature. The Mexicans before the conquest, the so-called savages of Montezuma, the Peruvians with their *quippos* poems, were in this respect greatly in advance of them. The gigantic monuments left by the Aztecs give evidences of intellect and power far superior

to those evinced in the purely utilitarian structures of the Americans of the North. Pioneers do not build for posterity; woodmen only know how to cut down those grand aristocratic trees of the forest to convert them into lumber, taking pleasure in felling them, as envy does in overcoming natural superiority. Their eloquence extends no further than the debates of their public meetings, where they bring the violence of their rude manners, and where brutal gestures and clenched fists take the place of that moral suasion which the great orators of ancient or modern Europe exert by means of argument and logic over distinguished men assembled for the purpose of seeking together for truth and right in all things.

"Their journals, innumerable because cheap, are but collections of advertisements of quacks recommended by the *Barnums* of the press, compilations of slanders and invectives daily thrown to the different parties to furnish them with odious names, or trivial accusations wherewith to discredit each other and gain subscribers. Their drawing-rooms are held at hotels; their gatherings of men, unsoftened by kindly feelings or female politeness, are but clubs in which eager traders avail themselves even in their time of rest to increase their fortune at the close of the day, proud of knowing nothing except that which pays, and conversing only on real or imaginary speculations in which to increase their capital a hundredfold. Their liberty, which is entirely personal, has always in it something hostile to some one else; the absence of kindly feeling gives them, in general, the tone and attitude of a person afraid of insult or seeking to prevent insult by dint of an overbearing attitude: they are themselves aware of the habitual disagreeableness of their manners.

"One of the few political orators they possess, the most eloquent and the most honest, whom national jealousy has always prevented, on account of his superiority, from rising to the presidency, said to me one day: 'Our liberty consists in *doing everything that can be most disagreeable to our neighbor.*' The art of being disagreeable is their second nature. To please is a symptom of loving. They love no one; no one loves them. It is the expiation of selfishness. History furnishes no type of a nation like unto this people: pride, coldness, correctness of features, stiffness of gestures, chewing tobacco in the mouth, a spittoon at their feet, the legs stretched

on the mantelpiece or crossed without regard of the decorum which man ought to observe towards man, a short, monotonous, imperious tone, a disdainful personality stamped upon every feature, such are these autocrats of gold.

"With a few shining exceptions, who suffer everywhere from the general pressure in an inferior atmosphere, exceptions which are all the more honorable as they are the more numerous individually, such is the American of the North, such is the air of his country: the pride of what he lacks.

"Such is this people to whom Mr. Monroe, one of its flatterers, said in order to gain its applause: 'The time has come when you must not permit Europe to interfere in the affairs of America, but when you must henceforth assert your preponderance in the affairs of Europe.' "

While, as I have already intimated, the feebleness of M. Lamartine's character has long since made his talents as a writer a calamity to himself and a source of mortification to his friends, it may be profitable for those who direct the Government of the United States to know what sort of opinions about us are still most cheerfully propagated by journals deriving their inspiration from official sources.

In connection with M. Lamartine's view of the Mexican expedition, so cordially approved by Senator La Guéronnière, I invite your attention to an extract from an article which appeared in the same journal only the day previous, the 18th instant, entitled *Les remaniements territoriaux.*

Its purpose was to show that if Prussia should persist in her design of annexing the Duchies, France must look to her own safety and seek a compensation by extending her frontier—it is to be presumed on the Rhine.

"The Emperor's Government," it says, "faithful to that spirit of moderation which France has shown, has no conflict to engage in, pretensions to support, or compromising questions to raise. But if other great powers thought fit to give way to the impulses of an ambitious and turbulent policy, to rush into adventures, and to overthrow for their own profit the conditions of European order and equilibrium, France could not remain inert in the midst of that agitation more or less directed against her—she could not see aggressive forces increasing around her without thinking of fortifying her defensive position; she would not feel bound to remain platonic-

ally quiet within her frontiers while other states had overleaped the bounds fixed by treaties; she would regulate her conduct by the necessities of a situation which she has neither desired nor sought, but which had been created without her, in spite of her, and against her. She would do what the most simple common sense commands in such a case; she would in her turn take her precautions, and would think of her own safety by re-establishing an equilibrium which would restore to her the guarantees destroyed by the changes effected."

Should the time ever come when we need the counsel of older states to guide us in determining how to indemnify ourselves against the encroachment of European power upon the territory of our neighbors, this paragraph may have a certain value.

I am, sir, etc.

If my language to Mr. Seward about Lamartine may seem a little harsh to my readers, I appeal to one who knew Lamartine thoroughly and whose judgment my compatriots, at least, will cheerfully defer to. Alexis de Tocqueville wrote of Lamartine as follows:[1]

I do not know if I have met, in the world of selfish ambitions in the midst of which I have lived, a spirit more void of any thought for the public welfare than his. I have seen flocks of men disturbing the country to advance themselves, such is the current perversity, but he is the only one, I believe, who has always seemed to me ready to turn the world upside down to divert himself. Nor have I ever known a spirit less sincere nor one who had a more complete contempt for Truth. When I say he despised it, I deceive myself. He did not honor it enough to take any notice of it. In speaking or writing he abandoned and returned to the truth without noticing the difference, occupied only with the certain effect he sought to produce.

[1] Souvenirs de De Tocqueville, p. 165.

BIGELOW TO DROUYN DE LHUYS

PARIS, November 22, 1865.

Sir:

Recalling the conversation which I had the honor to hold with your Excellency on the 17th ultimo in relation to the alleged levy of Egyptian troops for involuntary service in Mexico, and the representations I then made in regard to the natural unwillingness of my Government and country people to see slavery in any form replanted either within our territory or on our borders, I beg to invite your Excellency's attention to certain recent decrees bearing upon the subject of emigration to Mexico, purporting to emanate from authorities acting in opposition to that Republic. In the opinion of the law officer of my Government, these decrees, if enforced, would inevitably reduce to the condition of Peon Slavery workingmen of the African race, and of course such of the freedmen of the United States as may have already been or hereafter may be seduced to go there without a full and intelligent comprehension of their liabilities. That your Excellency may understand the grounds for this conclusion, I am instructed to transmit to your Excellency a copy of the Attorney-General's opinion, which will be found enclosed, and to invite the attention of the Imperial Government to the questions there discussed.

In complying with the instructions of my Government, I avail myself of the language of the dispatch containing them to say that "if European opinion can be regarded as established in reference to any one political question, it is settled that African Slavery in any form ought henceforth to cease throughout the world. We do not doubt that the Emperor of France cordially and fully concurs as we do in this humane sentiment."

I pray your Excellency to accept assurances of the distinguished consideration with which I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's very obedient and very humble servant

JAMES SPEED, ATTORNEY-GENERAL, TO SEWARD

ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
October 21, 1865.

HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2nd of October, together with an extract from Despatch No. 13 of Mr. William H. Corwin, Chargé d'Affaires of the United States in the City of Mexico, and also translations of decrees recently issued by Maximilian, now exercising the authority of an Emperor in Mexico, in relation to immigration into and colonization in that country.

You ask me whether, under these decrees, peonage or any other form of slavery can be instituted in Mexico.

The decrees of which you have sent me copies are in substance as follows:

It is recited that, considering the scant population of Mexican territory, it is desirable to give the fullest guarantees of property and liberty to immigrants; it is then decreed:

1. That Mexico shall be open to emigration from all nations.

2. Agents of emigration are to be appointed and their powers and duties prescribed.

3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 set forth and declare what shall be the rights and privileges of emigrants. The sixth article reads thus:

"Immigrants who wish to bring, or cause to come, workingmen in considerable numbers, of whatever race they may be, are authorized to do so; but these workingmen will be the object of special protective legislation."

The Second Decree is supplementary, and in it are the special protective regulations for workingmen referred to in the sixth article. These regulations read as follows:

1. In conformity with the laws of the Empire, all men of color are free by the fact alone of having trod on Mexican territory.

2. They shall make with the patron who shall have engaged them a contract by which he shall bind himself to feed, clothe, lodge, and take care of them in their sickness, as well as to pay them a salary, the amount of which shall be settled between them. The patron shall bind himself besides to deposit to the credit of the workingman a sum equivalent to one-quarter of his salary in the Savings Bank, which will be further mentioned below. The workingman shall at the same time bind himself to his patron to execute the work to which he shall be set during the term of five years at least, and ten years at most.

3. The patron shall bind himself to provide subsistence for the children of his workingmen; in case of the death of the father, the patron shall have the guardianship of the children, and they shall remain in his service until the age of majority on the same conditions that the father was.

4. Every workingman shall have a book, inspected by the local authority, on which shall be given his description, the indication of the place where he works, and a certificate of good life and conduct. In case of change of patron, the consent of the first patron shall be inscribed on the book.

5. In case of the death of the patron, his heirs, or the individuals who have acquired his property, are bound towards their workingmen on the same terms the patron was. And the workingman on his part is bound in respect to the new proprietor in the terms of his first contract.

6. In case of desertion the workingman apprehended shall be employed without any pay, on the public works, until he shall be reclaimed by his patron.

7. Every unjust act of the patron towards his workingman shall be turned over to the courts.

8. Special commissioners of the police shall watch over the execution of the present regulation, and shall, by virtue of their office, prosecute those contravening the same.

9. The Government will establish a Savings Bank for the ends hereinafter mentioned.

10. The patron shall deposit in the Bank every month to the credit of the workingman a sum equal to one-quarter of the salary to which he is entitled by reason of his contract.

11. The workingman may besides deposit at the Savings Bank sums of money for which he shall have full credit.

12. The deposits shall have the advantage of 5 per cent. annual interest.

13. At the close of his engagement the workingman, on the presentation of his book, shall receive the full amount of his deposits.

14. If, on the expiring of the contract, the workingman be disposed to leave his money in the Savings Bank, he can withdraw the interest due, or leave it on deposit; and in the latter case it shall be capitalized with the primitive capital, and shall also bear interest.

15. In case of death intestate, or without heirs, the deposits of the workingman shall pass into the possession of the public treasury.

The sixth article of the decree and regulations are inconsistent and contradictory. Whilst the sixth article of the decree speaks of workingmen of every race, the regulations under it seem to embrace men of color only.

Notwithstanding the broad declaration in the first regulation that

all men of color are free by the fact alone of having trod on Mexican territory, it is manifest that in the subsequent regulations a grinding and odious form of slavery is sought to be established.

Slavery is a law by which one man asserts dominion over the conduct of another, either for a specified time or for life.

The law of slavery makes a man a mere machine, controlled and governed by another; the slave has but little occasion to exercise and use the noble faculties of his mind. The physical man is alone of value to the master or patron, and he of course looks only to the physical wants of the slave.

That the regulations make slaves of the workingmen and their families is evident.

1st. They are required to sell themselves for not less than five nor more than ten years.

2nd. They are required by law, no matter how circumstances may change or things may occur that were not reasonably within the contemplation of the parties, to specifically fulfill the engagement.

3rd. They must execute every work to which they shall be set by their patron during that time.

4th. They cannot feed, clothe, lodge or take care of themselves either in health or in sickness.

5th. They cannot provide for the subsistence of their children, nor educate them, unless by the permission of the patron, and in case of death their children become the slaves of the patron until the age of majority.

6th. The patron or master can sell or dispose of them to whom he pleases.

7th. They may complain to the police of the harsh treatment of their master, but have no right to petition for or seek a change of any law which may be regarded as oppressive or unjust to them, or to their class or country.

8th. If the police refuse to hear their complaints, or, hearing, deny interference, they are without redress.

9th. These regulations contemplate that the workingmen require physical comforts only; their minds must remain uncultivated, their morals neglected, and their religious training not cared for.

10th. There is no provision by which the workingman can purchase himself, or his time, or release and improve the condition of his children.

11th. What is to become of the workingman and his children after he shall have faithfully served his term is not provided. Is he to be a free citizen, or is he still to be regarded as a workingman, and again compelled to sell himself and his family?

I have no hesitation in saying that these regulations constitute a law which deprives workingmen of their rights which we in this country

regard, and which in every well-organized community should be regarded, as inestimable, inalienable and indestructible, and certainly makes them slaves. The history of this country, and particularly the history of the troubles from which we were just emerging, show that no society can be organized permanently and remain at peace within its own borders and with the outside world, where these great and important rights are denied to any considerable class of men.

I am, sir, very respectfully, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Department of State,
Washington, 22 Nov., 1865.

My dear Sir:

Allow me to introduce to you and to commend to your regards His Excellency O. P. Morton, Governor of Indiana.

Mr. Morton has been thought wiser and more effective, in an important position, than any other Governor, and without him I can hardly conceive how the country should have effected its escape from factious domestic conspiracies which aimed at rendering the overthrow of the Union inevitable by coöperating with its open enemies at home and abroad.

I am, my dear Sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, Nov. 24, 1865.

Sir:

In my despatch No. 203, giving an account of conversation with M. Drouyn de Lhuys upon the subject of Mexican affairs, I forgot to mention a few words exchanged between us upon the subject of the outrage recently perpetrated by Admiral Pareja in the harbor of Valparaiso.

Not wishing to question the Minister formally upon the sub-

ject, and at the same time thinking you might wish to know what the Emperor had done and was disposed to do in the premises, I closed our conversation about recognition by remarking that the recent proceedings of Spain in the Pacific had aggravated the difficulty which the President had to encounter in entering into negotiations upon the subject of recognition. Her conduct in St. Domingo, in Peru, and in Chili had produced such a distrust of the purposes and designs of European states seeking or holding a footing in America as to complicate the Mexican question even more than ever. "And, by the way," I went on to say, "I perceive by the journals that you have made a representation to the Spanish government." He said they had; not so accentuated as that made by the English government. "For you know the style of our diplomacy is not so *accentué* as theirs; besides, it may be necessary for us to mediate between the parties, which we would unfit ourselves for doing if we took too decided a position."

His Excellency spoke as if he thought the matter would be arranged soon, or at least without war.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, November 24, 1865.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No. 300, in reply to my note of the 19th October last, relating to Mexican affairs, and have given it very careful consideration. Yesterday I waited upon the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and, after disposing of some other matters, said to him that I had received no encouragement to continue the conversation which had occupied so large a portion of our interview on the 17th ultimo. I then added that I did not know that I had occasion to say anything more. His Excellency asked if I had received any communication upon the subject. I said I had, and that the President did not at present see any prospect of the two governments being able to come to

an understanding upon the basis discussed in our conversation. His Excellency replied that the President could not know that until he tried, that if there was a disposition to agree it was easy to agree, etc. I replied that the circumstances under which the French established their power in Mexico, the antagonism between the institutions under their protection there and ours, together with the apparently growing rather than diminishing indisposition of the Mexicans to accept the government represented by Maximilian, all tended to discourage any negotiations on our part looking to recognition of Maximilian's sovereignty.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys replied as to the first point, the circumstances under which Maximilian came upon the throne of Mexico, that they were matters of the past, about which our governments had nothing new to say to each other, and upon the discussion of which, therefore, there was no occasion to enter. While admitting that we had withheld our approval of the step, he seemed to think, without exactly saying it, that we had not, at the time, made any formal opposition to it, and therefore ought not to make it an obstacle to the proposed negotiation.

As to the second point, the antagonism of our institutions, he said that Mexico had once before chosen an Imperial government; that that form of government suited their genius best perhaps; that there was an Empire in Brazil; that it was not our interest to perpetuate the disorderly governments which had succeeded the former Empire, but that we were as much interested as any nation in having a stable government in Mexico, which he thought in time might be established there, and sooner if we co-operated than if we stood aloof.

As to the third, he could not admit that the government of Maximilian was losing instead of gaining the confidence of the Mexican people. He thought, on the contrary, they were gradually acquiring, through it, a respect for order; that time was necessary to educate such a people to the usages of civilization, and that the result thus far was satisfactory. He then repeated that he was sorry that my government was indisposed to debate the subject we had discussed, to see whether a *rapprochement* was possible, and still more sorry if the reasons were of a nature which time could not cure; that we, however, were the only judges of what it became us to do in the

premises, and that France must front the result which the future had in store, whatever that might be, as she always had done, and always expected to do. He then said that he would communicate my report to the Emperor, though he knew in advance that he had given to me the Emperor's reply.

I then, without closing the conversation, stated that I had been instructed to call the attention of the Imperial government to the recent decrees of Maximilian which deny to native Mexicans taken captive in war, rights invariably accorded by the law of nations to prisoners of war. His Excellency replied to this with some feeling. He said in substance: You know I had nothing to do with originating our present relations with Mexico, but I really cannot understand how your government, after denying that Jefferson Davis, with a large army, vast territories inhabited by a people united in his support, represented a government, should talk any longer of the Mexican Republic, whose President neither you nor I nor any one else can find, who has no capital, no army, whose government is now represented only by brigands, who murder innocent women and children, who live by plunder, who are the terror of their own race, and whom Juarez has characterized as a disgrace to the country and worthy of nothing better than hanging. This is the sort of government you persist in sustaining; this is the sort of violence which you dignify with the name of war; while you censure all the world for permitting themselves even to recognize the late Confederate Government at Richmond, with its vast military appointments, as belligerents. This is not consistent, and, frankly speaking, I do not understand it. He then repeated that we, of course, had a right to discriminate, as we had done, in favor of the Government represented by a President whom nobody could find, without the semblance of an army or a capital; that France would go on with her work and abide the consequences, whatever they might be; that it would have been easier with the cooperation of the United States than without, but it would go on nevertheless.

When he had finished the remarks of which I have given but an epitome, I replied to him that I had listened to what he had said with profound attention, and without dwelling unnecessarily upon the obvious distinction between a rebellion against a lawful, recognized and undisputed government, and

the attempt on the part of certain foreign powers to destroy such a government, I proceeded to say that his Excellency, in looking at the Mexican situation from a European point of view, had failed to appreciate the policy of my Government at its proper value. "You," said I, "speak of Juarez as the Government of Mexico, and when he disappears from the field you treat the government he represented as having no longer a recognizable existence.

"With us, on the other hand, the government of a nation is understood to rest primarily with the people composing it, its President or sovereign being merely a symbol of their authority. Juarez, in fleeing from Mexico, if he has fled, did not carry with him the national sovereignty. You now pretend that Maximilian represents the sovereignty of Mexico, and complain that the United States do not recognize him as its symbol. Sir," I asked, "can you produce any evidence that the Mexican people have ever felt or manifested any preference for Maximilian over Juarez as their ruler, or for Imperial over Republican institutions? Have they given the least evidence of contentment, I do not say gratitude, for your intervention? I see by your smile that you are thinking of the pretended election of Maximilian, but I am sure you cannot speak gravely of such a farce. Can you," I added, "specify any one moment since your expedition landed in Mexico when the Government of the United States could have recognized the authority you have been trying to establish there, without a gross breach of good neighborhood to a friendly government, or without doing violence to the principles upon which our own government was founded and is conducted? Had Maximilian been received in Mexico as William of Orange was received in England, and, like that monarch, had adopted and worked the constitution which he found in the country, with the cordial concurrence of its people, the question presented to us would have been different and would have admitted of a solution; but you ask us to recognize as the Government of Mexico an authority imposed by a foreign power; you ask us to recognize as the chosen sovereign of the Mexican people a man who requires to sustain him on his throne a foreign army more numerous than Mexico ever raised for her own defence or for the prosecution of any of her numerous conflicts with other powers. If Maximilian is the choice of the Mexicans, why

does he not surround himself with Mexican troops and Mexican officers instead of depending exclusively upon aliens?

"In the absence of any evidence whatever that the Mexican people, who, according to our American view, are the lawful government of Mexico, accept Maximilian as their sovereign, and in view of the pregnant implication of the hostility to him and the government which imposed him upon them, to which I have referred, it is certainly not surprising that the President should find it impracticable at present to enter into negotiations which might compromise those fundamental principles of national sovereignty upon which his own government reposes."

M. Drouyn de Lhuys then in a *pro forma* way said, smiling, that the election of Maximilian was conducted without the interference of the military, and was the best mode of ascertaining the public will that then offered, and that a large number of the officers of the government at Mexico were Mexicans. "Yes," I interrupted, "civil officers about the court, but the army officers and the soldiers are all foreigners." He admitted that they were, but said it was because the Mexican soldiers were undisciplined. He then went on to say that the Mexicans would very soon become reconciled to the new régime but for the encouragement they received from our attitude. "Pardon me," I said, "I am sure your Excellency cannot mean that our Government has done or permitted anything to aggravate the natural difficulties of your enterprise; nay, more, you are ungrateful," I said—he smiled—"if you have not more justly estimated our efforts to simplify your position in Mexico to a mere question of finance by the prompt reduction of our Army and Navy at the close of the war, and by the rigor with which we have maintained our neutrality." He laughingly said, "Yes, yes, I was not in earnest."

The latter part of our conversation, though conducted with great earnestness on both sides, was carried on with the best of feeling, and with occasional sallies of humor which it would be impossible to communicate to you without unnecessary amplification. He said jokingly that we must not allow our countries to get into a war about such a question as this, and he still hoped, after our Congress meets, if not before, the opportunity might present itself of renewing our conversation.

I have given you as fully as seems desirable the results of

an interview which lasted about an hour and a half. The features of it most worthy of your attention are:

1st. His acquiescence in my statement that the army which sustains Maximilian, both soldiers and officers, are almost exclusively foreigners, and more numerous than any army ever levied by Mexico for her own defence. I should have hesitated to make this statement so broadly but for an article signed *Louis Chauveau* in the *Constitutionnel,* November 22, containing an affirmation of the fact.

2nd. His practical acquiescence in my inference that Maximilian therefore could in no sense be regarded as the choice of the Mexican people.

3rd. His reference again, for this was not the first time, to his original innocence of the Mexican Expedition.

4th. His disappointment, repeatedly manifested, that we would not negotiate, and

5th. His intimations that he would like to consider the subject open for renewal at some more propitious opportunity which, he seemed to think, might present itself.

I did not read your despatch to him, because I could not do so very well unless at the beginning of our conversation, and I felt a desire to see first the effect of a vague statement of your reasons for declining to encourage a renewal of our conversation of the 17th instant. I incline at present to read it at our next interview and after he shall have seen the Emperor. That will give him an opportunity, if he chooses to avail himself of it, of reporting the Emperor's comments upon the result of our interview.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, November 26, 1865.

Sir:

I felt it to be one of my first duties upon assuming the responsibilities of this mission to utilize the statistical resources placed within its reach by the operation of the law passed in

1863 requiring a copy of all invoices of merchandise exported to the United States to be filed at the Consulate where they are authenticated. To this end I addressed to the different consuls of the United States within the territory of France, on the 26th of June last, the circular of which I enclose you a copy marked 1, inviting them to send me classified returns of the commercial movement from their respective districts for the two years succeeding the 1st of July, 1863, when the system of filing copies of invoices with the Consul was inaugurated. The returns to this circular, which, with one or two exceptions, were promptly made, though leaving much to be desired, and far in some respects from answering my expectations, will, I think, prove instructive, and form a point of departure for a comprehensive, uniform and valuable system of commercial statistics. Such as they are, they would enable me to lay before you the first report ever made of the commercial value of the exports from France to the United States having any pretension to completeness or accuracy. I have digested them into tables for the purpose of bringing their most instructive results immediately under your eye. The period which these tables cover embraces practically the last two years of the war. They show that the aggregate exports from France to the United States for the first year—when I speak of first or second year I wish always to be understood as referring not to the calendar year but to the years ending June 30th of 1864 and June 30th, 1865—were invoiced at 200,142,450 francs and for the second year at only 102,587,210, a falling off of about half. A uniform falling off was experienced at each Consulate, as will appear by the following comparative statement of the aggregate of exports of each Consulate for the two years in question:

. . . . . .

By this statement it also appears that the Consulate of Paris exported about as much again the first year, Nantes more than three times as much, Nice more than five times as much, and La Rochelle more than seven times as much as in the following year. La Rochelle, for the first time probably, exported to the United States last year less than Nantes, and less than Nice exported the year previous.

The quarterly returns for the past year show that for the last quarter, embracing the months of April, May and June,

1865, the exports were nearly twice as much as for the quarter immediately preceding, and more than three times as much as for the quarter ending December 31st, 1864.

. . . . . .

That the impulse given to the exports from this country to the United States by the return of peace was not accidental and transitory is proved by the fact that the exports from the Paris Consulate for the 3rd quarter of this year were nearly double the amount of the preceding quarter.

. . . . . .

I have no doubt a corresponding increase will appear in the returns from the other consulates and that a still greater increase will appear in the returns for the current quarter.

In submitting to you this first attempt to turn to account the statistical resources of the different consulates I am tempted to offer one or two suggestions looking to a considerable enlargement of their usefulness. The system of requiring duplicate invoices to be filed with our consuls of all merchandise shipped to the United States furnishes a means of arriving at a very satisfactory estimate of the commercial movement from all countries to the United States; one in all respects superior in point of accuracy to any that has been or can be made by any other nation with its existing facilities. Those who have had occasion to give their attention to the subject are all agreed that no statistics are more completely untrustworthy than those which have hitherto professed to give the value of exports, even from France, where industrial statistics are sought for more diligently or studied more carefully, I believe, than in any other country. Of the untrustworthiness of the French tables of exports I had occasion to furnish you some evidence during the last year of my consulate. In confirmation of the impressions then formed and expressed I will compare the returns of the year 1864, made up under the direction of the French administration, with the returns of our consuls for the same period. The French returns give the entire export of merchandise to the United States at frs. 100,801,923;[1] our tables give them at 141,541,556, a difference of more than 40,000,000 frs. It is needless to say that if either of these returns is correct the other can only

[1] See "Tableau général du commerce de la France avec ses colonies et les puissances étrangères pendant l'année 1864," p. 59.

mislead. It is impossible that our tables should be overstated as to value, for it is the interest of the exporter to invoice his merchandise as low as possible, and as every piece of merchandise going to the United States has to be invoiced, it is safe to say that our imports from France in 1864 rather exceeded than fell below 141½ million, and consequently that the error of the French tables is moderately stated at forty per cent.

Owing to a want of concert among the consuls, which was unavoidable, there is a lack of harmony in their classification, which for some purposes impairs the value of their statistics. In several instances it will be observed that they have changed it, so that articles which in one quarter were reported under one head in a succeeding quarter appear under a different head. For example, in the returns of the Paris Consulate "Artificial flowers," Bronzes, Gloves and many other articles were placed under some more general head for the first six months. Other headings were afterwards dropped and the articles transferred to a different class. While this irregularity deprives us of the means of comparing the monthly and quarterly exports of such commodities, it does not impair the accuracy of the aggregate values given in the recapitulation. In order to derive the most advantage, however, from the regulation requiring duplicates of every invoice to be filed at the consulates, two things are requisite: First, that similar reports should be requested from all our consuls throughout the world; secondly, a classification of merchandise as nearly uniform as practicable should be adopted by them. In this way we should have the means of ascertaining: *First,* the exact value of our imports from every consular district in every country not only for any year but for any quarter and month of any year; *Secondly,* the proportion of each class of articles exported for those periods; and thereby, *Thirdly,* a means of ascertaining, proximately at least, the political and social conditions, interior and exterior, which most affect the importation of particular classes of merchandise. The advantages of having these reports brought down from July, 1863, so as to embrace the last two years of the war, are too obvious to require statement; the inconveniences of the work can be perhaps better appreciated at the department than elsewhere.

Should the suggestions I have made seem to justify the labor

which they will involve, the direction of course must proceed from Washington. There is no country of half the wealth of the United States which depends upon such defective statistics of its industry and resources. This has been due mainly to our abounding wealth and trifling taxation, which in a measure made it excusable. In countries where the necessity exists for levying large revenues—and ours certainly is now in that category—accurate knowledge of their consumption as well as resources is quite indispensable. For that purpose statistical information must be collected upon some comprehensive system that inspires and deserves confidence. It is in that view that I have taken some pains to inaugurate the method here submitted of ascertaining the movement of merchandise to the United States from France, which, if extended to other countries, would have at least the merit of being superior to any other now in use, and, for all the practical purposes whether of commerce or statesmanship, everything that is to be desired, in my judgment. For the purpose of preventing errors in the figure work and to have copies to distribute among the consuls and other officials, I have had the table work printed. . . .

With these printed tables in their hands to study and compare one with another, the hope is to be indulged that the future returns from the consuls will come in with greater promptitude and regularity, and in the matter of classification with greater uniformity, more especially if what they have already done should be found to merit the approval of the government.

I should do violence to my own feelings if I closed this report without bearing my testimony to the self-denying and patriotic spirit of the gentlemen who constitute the Consular body of this empire, manifested in assuming the labor of preparing these statistics, in addition to the new burdens which have been placed upon many of them by recent legislation and without any corresponding increase of emoluments. Their efforts deserve the grateful appreciation of their country.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Confidential

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, 29th Nov. 1865.

My dear Sir:

I duly received your private and confidential note of the 11th inst. written from London, and have taken the liberty to submit it confidentially to the Honorable Caleb Cushing, who is looking after such matters for us.

Very faithfully yours

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, November 30, 1865.

Sir:

Upon reflection I concluded that I should be likely to leave more correct impressions and perhaps exclude some erroneous ones from the mind of Monsieur Drouyn de Lhuys by reading your despatch No. 300 to him than by leaving him, after our interview on Thursday week, to imagine its contents. I accordingly called upon his Excellency on Tuesday last, and, after disposing of some other matters of less importance, told him frankly that I wished to read to him the despatch, to the contents of which I had referred at our last interview, to prevent his supposing it contained anything which I had thought proper or had been instructed to conceal from him. While I was reading it he asked me to repeat the phrase "disallowable and impracticable," and then said, " 'Disallow' means to not allow, does it not?" I said it did.

When I had finished he thanked me for reading the despatch, though he felt obliged to say that he derived neither pleasure nor satisfaction from its contents. He regarded it in the light of a menace to the authority which France is trying to estab-

lish in Mexico for the benefit of all the world. France, he said, had no more interest in the establishment of a good government in Mexico than ourselves or many other nations; that France did not take a portion of the Mexican territory as we did a few years ago, in spite of the relations of comity and friendship which Mr. Seward incomprehensibly professes to have always entertained with the Republic, and he thought it most extraordinary that, in view of the remedies to which we resorted when we had griefs against Mexico to redress, we should except to what France was trying to do there now. You come to France—he said—with complaints against a government you refuse to recognize. He here referred to the representation I had made in regard to the shooting of Mexican prisoners taken in war and also the case of Madame de Yturbide. Why—he said—do you not go to President Juarez? We are not the government of Mexico, and you do us too much honor to treat us as such. We had to go to Mexico with an army to secure certain important interests, but we are not responsible for Maximilian or his government. He is accountable to you as to any other government if he violates its rights, and you have the same remedies there that we had.

As to the alleged antagonism between the new Government and Maximilian and the United States, he said your language practically claimed that the whole American continent belonged to the United States and that the institutions and forms of government to be established upon it must conform to your wishes. You feel strong now, and you may assert these enormous pretensions, though until now you had not given him or the world notice of them. Different nations will receive these pretensions in different ways, as their interests may dictate.

France is not timid nor much accustomed, when she has entered upon a policy, to flinch from its consequences, whatever they may be. He then said that he had felt at liberty to infer, from your correspondence which in times past I had read to him, that while the Government of the United States was not pleased with the establishment of an Imperial Government in Mexico, it did not propose to embarrass it by an armed opposition, but from the despatch I had just read, he could not resist the conclusion that we were determined to destroy all they had been trying in the interest of all nations

to do for Mexico. For this change of policy he was not prepared, and he asked why, if we meant war, you did not say so frankly, and then they would understand us and he would have nothing to do but to "take the orders of the Emperor."

This is the skeleton of a strain of remarks which occupied at least fifteen minutes, and which his Excellency pronounced, especially the closing part, with a good deal of feeling. I did not interrupt him, preferring to know as nearly as possible the exact effect your despatch, as I supposed he would, and as he did, interpret it, would produce upon him.

I replied to his Excellency, in substance, that he was mistaken if he supposed our Government was more indifferent than formerly to the preservation of friendly relations with France; that I conceived he had misapprehended the tenor of your despatch in supposing that you had threatened an armed intervention in behalf of the Mexican Republic; that you had said to me, not to him, that the effort to establish a foreign *and* Imperial Government—not a foreign or Imperial Government—in Mexico was "disallowable and impracticable," and because it was disallowable and impracticable, you did not say you would make war upon it, but you said that you could not now agree to compromise the position we had heretofore assumed, and that you were not prepared to recognize or to pledge yourself hereafter to recognize any political institutions in Mexico which are in opposition to the Republican Government. Certainly—I said—nothing which you had ever written to him was inconsistent with this, and if you had never said before that you could give no encouragement to expect a recognition of the authority which France was trying to establish in Mexico, it was because the question had never before been officially presented to you. In replying to that question you had assigned reasons, if not the same, certainly not inconsistent with the language you had always held since the projects of France in Mexico were first developed. I hoped therefore—I said—that he would disabuse his mind of the impression that my Government had either changed its position on this subject, or been wanting in ingenuousness in discussing it with the Imperial Government. In reference to the inconsistency which his Excellency thought he discerned between our views when we thought we had griefs against Mexico of our own to redress, and when France was the party

aggrieved, I stated that the distinction of the two cases could be made apparent in a moment.

In the first place, Mexico commenced the war against us in 1846–1847 by marching her troops upon our territory, and we followed the example of Italy when Austria moved an army across the Italian frontier in the spring of 1839: said I—here dropping the parallel—we followed the retreating army of Mexico to her capital because we could obtain no satisfaction sooner; we came to terms with her in regard to our indemnity, which it was more convenient for her to pay in land than in money. For that reason we accepted land. We then retired, leaving to the Mexicans not only their autonomy but the same constitution and rules that we found there. France, on the contrary, went to Mexico, and, without the formality of declaring war, took military possession of the country, overthrew the government, imported a foreign prince, called him Emperor, gave him a constitution based upon Imperial principles to administer, and supported him there by a foreign army, quite regardless of the habits or the sovereign rights of the Mexican people. We left Mexico with the constitution, government and laws that we found there, in full force and effect; you imposed upon Mexico a foreign Government, and maintained it there by a foreign army larger than Mexico ever raised for her own defence either against domestic or foreign enemies.

His Excellency said it was not fair to say that France had imposed a foreign Government upon Mexico, and repeated what he had said on a previous occasion about the manner in which the public opinion of the Mexicans had been consulted, and the anarchy which through French intervention had been displaced by order and law. I replied that an authority which was planted by a foreign power, which is presided over by a foreign prince, who required to sustain him upon his throne a foreign army that has already proved itself large enough to conquer the country in spite of the most desperate resistance of its inhabitants, had all the essential attributes of a foreign Government.

Referring to his remark that we had the same remedies against Mexico that they had availed themselves of, and concealed within which I thought I discerned a meaning about which I desired to be more enlightened, I said: "Supposing

we had occasion to send an army to Mexico for redress of grievances, would not France be called upon to protect the authority it has planted there?"

He hesitated a moment, and then said: "If Maximilian were to give you just cause of war, you may be sure he would not receive any protection from us."

I went on to say that our Government would do everything consistent with its duty and dignity to maintain friendly relations with France; that I was sure he did not doubt my own personal disposition and solicitude upon this subject, and I assured him of my conviction that the Government at Washington placed quite as high a value upon the friendship of France as I did, but I said his Excellency was too experienced a statesman to be surprised at the feeling which existed in America in regard to a government founded on our borders for the avowed purpose of limiting the diffusion of the Anglo-Saxon race upon the American continent, and upon a political basis essentially antagonistic not only to our own, but to that to which the people of Mexico themselves had given a preference. It is as idle—I said—to suppose you can disregard a great national feeling as that you can annihilate a particle of matter. You may displace both, but there the power both of science and statesmanship ends. If the feeling inspired by the presence of your army in Mexico does not express itself through the Government, it will express itself in some other less desirable way. I urged his Excellency, therefore, to follow the Golden Rule of Diplomacy which he gave me at our first interview in January last, and occasionally look at this question from our point of view. He would then see that the difficulties were not all on his side, nor the remedial resources all on ours. I again repeated that I was ready to do everything and sacrifice everything that was personal to myself to maintain good relations with France, but that there was a power in what was right, when it had impregnated the opinions of a nation, with which it was idle for any one to contend.

His Excellency referred with a smile to my allusion to the limitation of the Anglo-Saxon race in America as a pretext for the occupation of Mexico, and said that the letter of the Emperor in which that idea is presented he thought was rather designed for home than foreign consumption, and was rather an assertion of the right of the Latin race to expand, than that

the Anglo-Saxon race should not. With the intention doubtless of confirming his opinion that it was written for local effect, his Excellency said the idea was not original with the Emperor, but was first presented in the Chambers by M. Guizot, apropos of the annexation of Texas to the United States, and in reply to M. Thiers. The doctrine of the equilibrium between the Anglo-Saxon and Latin races in Mexico was then first formulated. His Excellency promised to send me that speech, which he heard. If it arrives in time, it will accompany this despatch. If not, you may expect it by the next post.

There were two features of this conversation which I have not been able to develop satisfactorily in my report, but which left a strong impression upon my mind. The first was what M. Drouyn de Lhuys said about our having the same remedies against Mexico that they had had. I may do his Excellency injustice, but I cannot divest myself of the impression that he would regard it as a great relief if we could find some adequate pretext for taking Mexico off the end of their spear, with our own.

The second was that, though speaking with much warmth at times, he seemed impliedly to admit that if we insisted upon it, of course that would be an end of their Mexican experiment; in other words, no attempt would be made to defend Mexico if war should break out with the United States. I think I was justified in receiving that impression from some words which fell from his lips, though nothing that he said authorized me to infer that France would submit peacefully to any interference with her Mexican Protectorate.

In closing this imperfect sketch of our interview, I am happy to be able to say that, though our conversation was very earnest and on the part of M. Drouyn de Lhuys at times unusually warm, nothing occurred to chill or to modify the very friendly personal relations which have heretofore subsisted between us.

I am, Sir, etc.

XIV

GUIZOT AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE

IN my last preceding interview with Drouyn de Lhuys he sought to justify the Emperor's policy of checking the monopoly of the Western Continent by the Anglo-Saxon race by the example of M. Guizot when Foreign Minister of Louis Philippe, to which policy the United States then made no objection. I asked him if he could put his hand upon any public avowal of that policy, as I remembered none. He said he could and would. Two or three days later I received the following:

Translation

PARIS, 1st Dec., 1865.

Dear Minister:

Here is the extract from the Discourse of which I have spoken to you.

Yours very sincerely,

DROUYN DE LHUYS.

Opinions of M. Guizot, Minister of Foreign Affairs, on the Dangers presented by the Unlimited Aggrandizement of the United States, expressed in a Discourse in the Chamber of Peers on the 12th of January, 1846, and in the Chamber of Deputies on the 21st of January, 1846.

Neither in the discourse of the King at the opening of the session on the 24th of December, 1845, nor in the address of the Chamber of Peers on the 8th of January, 1846, nor in the address of the Chamber of Deputies is there any question of Texas or of the United States.

This question was treated in the general discussion and by the Chamber of Peers in the session of Monday, January 12, 1846. See *Moniteur,* No. 13, Tuesday, January 13, 1846, page 71.

M. le Comte Pelet de La Lozère reproached the Cabinet for being, like England, opposed to the annexation of Texas to the United States, and says that "on this occasion the conduct of the French Government had been contrary to the traditions of our policy and of our interests."

M. Guizot, Minister of Foreign Affairs, replied at once after some general remarks:

"When we concluded a treaty of commerce with Texas, when M. le Comte Molé had recognized her independence, it had not been done with a view to a present interest, but in the interest of the natural and practical—that is, our interest in the establishment of a certain number of independent states in the New World, and the consequent maintenance of a certain equilibrium.

"Behold, gentlemen, one of the ideas which have directed our politics. Do not deceive yourselves; should you, or not, adopt this idea, it will grow, it will develop. As fast as the relations between the Old World and the New World are developed you will see naturally, inevitably, by the simple progress of public good sense, the European policy will constantly tend to maintain between the various states of America this same tendency to equilibrium which has constituted the greatness, the prosperity, the dignity of the European states.

"I can indicate some practical, usual consequences from what I have been saying. Some years we have suffered from the changes occurring in the tariffs of the United States of America in her relations with France. Well, suppose the United States to be sole masters in America, you would have been subjected in your commercial relations to a single and the same tariff.

"What is true in your commercial relations is true in your political relations."

In the session of the Chamber of Deputies on the 20th of January, 1846, M. Thiers employed almost the same arguments with M. La Lozère; blamed the Government for showing itself hostile to the annexation of Texas and the aggrandizement of the United States; saying, among other things: "As fast as America grows, as fast as she occupies a larger place in the preoccupations of England, England can no more say that it is we alone who have need of her. She has also need of us; the contract is more equal. As fast as America grows, England is disposed to cultivate better terms with us." See the *Moniteur* of Wednesday, 21st of January, 1846, page 153 and following.

See *Moniteur* of Thursday, 22d of January, 1846, No. 22, pages 158, 159.

In the session of the 21st of January, 1846, M. Guizot, replying to

M. Thiers, after some general considerations expressed himself in these terms:

"To-day, in the general condition of the world, three great powers are in the way of rapid and immense territorial extension whether by conquest or by direct and uncontested influence—Russia, England and the United States. Owing to circumstances which you all know, France does not at present feel in the same degree this tendency. She is embarking in Africa in a large and difficult enterprise which her duty, honor and interest require her to accomplish, but, except at this point, France is not in the way of territorial aggrandizement. It is extremely important to her, however, that the three great European powers which in Asia, in America, and throughout the world are extending and enlarging their territories should continue to balance each other, that neither become in any considerable part of the world exclusively preponderant mistress.

"This is for France a great concern, her future. It was the future which had presided over all this treaty. . . . I leave commercial interests to occupy myself with political interests.

"Well, from this point of view we have a great local interest in the independence of Texas. This interest was the interposition of an independent state between the United States and Mexico.

"There are confronting each other in Mexico two distinct races, the Spanish race and the English race, the race of the North and the race of the South. I do not pronounce in favor of either one or the other; we have affinities with each, necessary relations; but what I affirm is that we certainly have an interest that neither of these two races be destroyed and absorbed by the other. We have an interest with the Spanish race, the Catholic Spanish race in the New World—its certain degree of importance, its activity, its population—that it does not fall under the yoke and shall not be devoured by the Anglo-American race.

"We have thought that Texas, interposed as an independent state destined to grow and be populous and develop, was one means of preventing in North America and South America those conflicts, that collision of the two races, Spanish and Anglo-American, and the absorption of one by the other.

"The honorable gentleman will permit me to insist on another general political interest which has appeared to him somewhat chimerical, but which I persist in regarding as perfectly simple, and that is the maintenance of the independent states in existence to-day.

"In Asia, where Russia and England confront, they balance each other and are checked.

"In America the United States grow and extend almost alone. I will not withdraw here anything which I have said elsewhere of the sentiments with which the greatness of the United States inspires and ought to inspire France, but is that saying that if the American Con-

tinent, the whole New World, should fall under the exclusive domination of the United States it would not have, that it could not have for us an inconvenience, a danger, a provocation of discontent? It is that which I have understood, gentlemen, by the equilibrium and counterpoise words which I have more than once made use of in our discussion. I have not intended to make any assimilation between our world and the New World, although I believe that the experience of the one is good for the other, and can often direct our conduct toward each other. I have meant to say simply that the political and commercial relations of France had an interest in the maintenance of independent states and that no power should acquire too exclusive preponderant influence there."

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Paris, December 1, 1865.

My dear Sir:

You will remark that the journals of France indulge in no reflections upon the appointment of Logan to Mexico, though every one tells of it. Drouyn de Lhuys told me yesterday that he requested them to let the subject alone. To counteract the effect of the news of this appointment you may see what agencies are employed by running your eye over *La France* of last evening, which I send you.

Erlanger's Confederate loan was based upon Confederate cotton. I have been thinking whether he could not be made to account to us for the proceeds. Is it worth while to take an opinion here upon the subject?

The Emperor has been trying very hard to be selected to mediate between Spain and Chili, and paragraphs suggesting such a probability have appeared from time to time in the Paris journals. I hear that the Chilians have been very indignant at these reports and have formally denied that the question would be submitted to arbitration.

I have seen the Yturbides and will report progress to you next week.

I wish you could send me important passages about Mexico and Chili from the message in advance of the telegraph, that I may correct the telegraph if it is very wrong.

Yours very truly

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

WASHINGTON, Dec. 8, 1865.

My dear Sir:

I have your note of the 21st of Nov.

We have used our good offices between Spain and Chili, and, as you will be informed officially, we continue doing so with hopefulness.

We have spoken nothing officially about the war between Brazil and Paraguay. We lament it for the sake of all the parties and of Continental-American interests. In my private judgment, each one of the parties will suffer by any advantage it gains, and will profit by every obstacle that it encounters in the conflict. We want order and peace in America. Hostility and agitation will not long be held in esteem on this side of the ocean.

Yours very faithfully

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Private

WASHINGTON, Dec. —, 1865.

My dear Sir:

I have your note of December 1st. While the appointment of General Logan was very gratifying to the American people, it is not easily perceived how the proceeding could be seriously regarded as subject of complaint by France. Your suggestion about Erlanger's cotton loan will receive attention. If you can in any way favor a reconciliation between Spain and Chili, I hope you will do so.

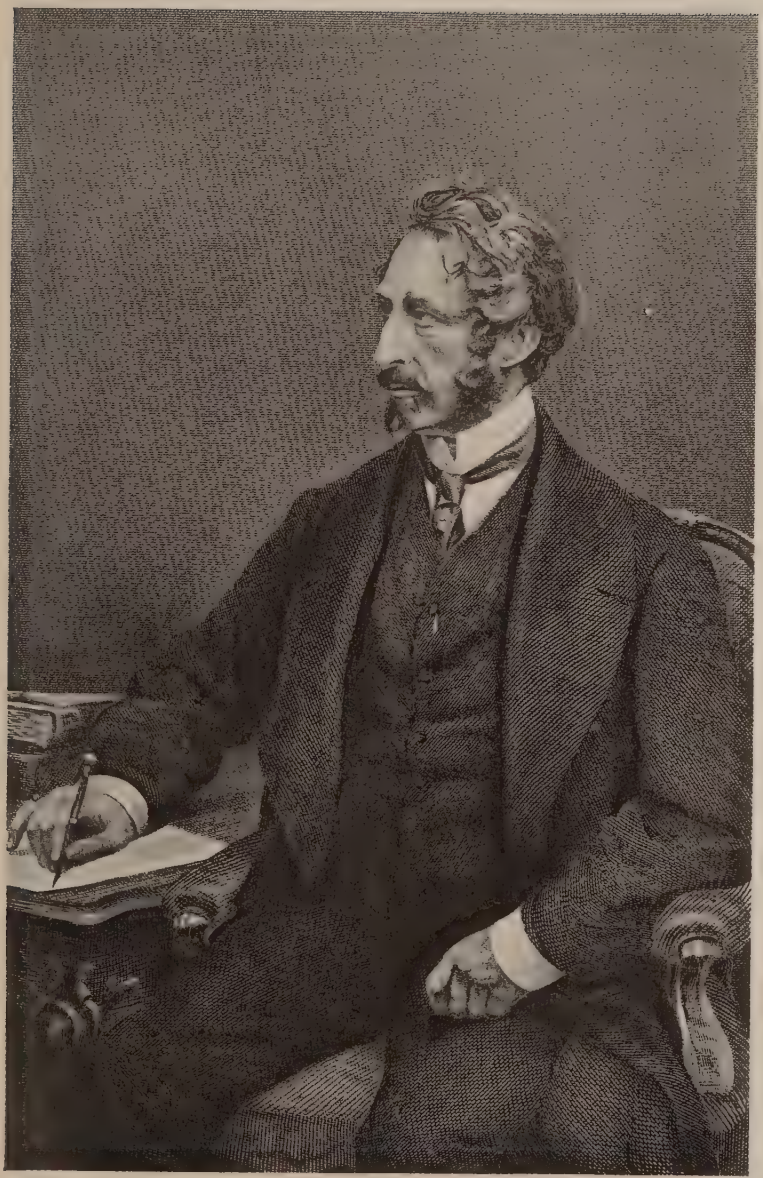
Faithfully yours

By official proclamation President Johnson set apart the first Thursday of December, 1865, as a day of national thanksgiving. The American residents and visitors in Paris deemed it an occasion to be celebrated with more than usual ceremony. The result was that at eight o'clock on the evening of the 7th of December some two hundred and fifty-three of our countrymen sat down to a dinner in the spacious dining-room of the Grand Hotel in Paris, then regarded by travellers as the most elegant public dining-hall in Europe. The late John Jay of New York, who chanced to be in Paris, presided. I was one of the invited guests. After drinking toasts to the President of the United States, to the Emperor of the French, to the Memory of Washington and to the Memory of Abraham Lincoln, all standing, and the last in profound silence to the music of dead-marches, the chairman then announced—I quote from the official proceedings as subsequently printed:

"The next toast is one that this assemblage of travelled Americans will be glad to honor, knowing as they do the difficulties by which our ambassadors at the courts of Europe have been surrounded during the last four years. I give you 'The Diplomatic and Consular Representatives of the United States in Foreign Countries' [*applause*]; and I shall ask a response from my honorable friend, his Excellency Mr. Bigelow, for the favor of whose presence on this occasion I beg to thank him on behalf of this assemblage."

Mr. Bigelow then rose, and said: "*Mr. Chairman:* It is a favorite motto of the service with which you have been pleased to associate my name that speech is silver, but silence is gold. In allowing myself to be betrayed by you into the exhibition of an apparent preference for the baser metal, I presume I shall convict myself of being more of an American than of a diplomatist. If so, I have the faith to believe, as I look around me, that I could not take my sins to a more indulgent confessional. [*Applause.*] My first offence against the golden rule of silence must be to thank you, sir, and the committee for the faithful manner in which you, by your words, and they, by their deeds, have interpreted the gratification we all feel in finding that one of our most ancient and cherished festivals has survived the sad and trying vicissitudes of the past four years, and is so fitly honored in this distant land; that we are permitted to assemble once more a united people, at the summons of our constitutional President, to testify our gratitude for the countless blessings of which, both as a nation and as individuals, we have been the receivers. I venture to assure you, sir, that there are none whose hearts swell with deeper emotion at this spectacle than those whom public or private duties have exiled from their native

land during those eventful years. Your chairman, my friends, has seen fit to associate my name with the diplomatic representation of the United States, and though I know you all take the deepest possible interest in whatever affects the dignity or honor of our country, I am sure none of you will expect me to attempt to entertain you with revelations or speculations about our foreign relations. Though those relations were never probably more interesting than they have been for the last two or three years, I am persuaded that they do not inspire you with any serious anxiety. [*Great applause.*] Not speaking of myself, who am only a subordinate, I feel quite safe in assuming that that unflinching faith which, in common with the rest of our country people, you have exhibited, under the greatest emergencies, in the wisdom which directs our national councils, will not falter now. Nor should it. When I first presented myself as your national representative to the distinguished statesman who directs so ably the foreign affairs of this empire, I took occasion to let him know that I was not unconscious of my inexperience as a diplomatist. He replied, with characteristic courtesy and wisdom, that according to his experience the most important qualification for a diplomat was the faculty and the disposition to look at diplomatic questions from the point of view occupied by those with whom one is negotiating as well as from one's own. [*Loud cheers.*] There never was more wisdom or sound statesmanship expressed in fewer words. It is the faithful adherence to that principle by the eminent statesman who now presides over the destinies of our country and his immediate and lamented predecessor that renders our public policy both at home and abroad so simple and direct as to strip it of all mystery. If I were disposed, therefore, I could tell you no secrets, for you can judge as well as I what the logical necessity of our position as a nation, inspired by the great principle to which I have alluded, and which is neither more nor less than the doing to other nations as we would have other nations do to us, must in almost any imaginable contingency require. No one who has studied the measures and conduct of our present chief magistrate can entertain a reasonable doubt that this principle has been, and will continue to be, his faithful guide. [*Loud applause.*] By its light all nations can distinctly see the shortest routes which lead to the friendship or to the enmity of the United States. By its light they can see that, if they wish to find an enemy in us, they will have to make us such, for our policy is logically and inevitably peace and friendship with all the world; and it is one of the blessed convictions for which I have desired to unite with you in giving thanks this day, that our country has now every reasonable prospect of enjoying a term of peace with all the world, to which no living statesman can presume to fix a limit. [*Loud, prolonged and general cheering.*] I learn from the lips of the distinguished soldier whose achievements will fill some of the most thrilling



A.D. 1803 Edward Lytton Bulwer A.D. 1873

pages in the annals of our country, and whose presence with us to-night lends a special grace to this charming festival, that within the past six months our country has paid off and restored to civil life an army of 800,000 men; no stronger proof of its peaceful dispositions could be given. [*Loud approbation.*] From that same source I also learn that it has reserved a force of 200,000 veteran troops, the remains of the largest and I presume most formidable army ever mustered into service, which are sufficient to show that its future policy cannot be influenced in the slightest degree by a sense of weakness. As a political power, therefore, we have attained to that happy equilibrium of forces which enables us to do precisely what the aggregate wisdom and conscience of the nation shall prescribe; nothing more and nothing less. It is difficult to imagine for a state a more desirable condition, or, let me add, one that carries with it graver responsibilities for the wise economy of its influence upon the rest of the world. [*Hear, hear.*] I ask your pardon, Mr. Chairman, for dwelling upon so grave a theme so long on a purely festive occasion, and when there are so many around you competent to give you more seasonable entertainment. Permit me, however, before taking my seat to assure you and the committee how highly I appreciate the honor of being their guest this evening, and I beg you and them to accept this public expression of my most cordial thanks."

After a succession of speeches by Mr. Nicolay, the Consul at Paris, General Schofield, and Dr. Sunderland of the American Chapel in Paris, the chairman closed the entertainment with a toast to "Our Countrywomen," and asked Colonel John Hay, then Secretary of the Legation in Paris, to respond to it. As this was probably the first public speech Mr. Hay had ever made, and though nothing he then said could possibly add any lustre to his subsequent career, it may justly be said that it was more successful than the first public effort in oratory either of Sheridan or of Beaconsfield. He replied as follows:

My Countrymen—and I would say my countrywomen, but that the former word embraces the latter whenever opportunity offers: I cannot understand why I should have been called upon to respond to this toast of all others, having nothing but theoretical ideas upon the subject to be treated—one, in fact, I must be presumed never to have handled. [*Laughter and applause.*] I have been called up, too, by a committee of married men. I can think of no claim I have to be considered an authority in these matters, except what might arise from the fact of my having resided in early life in the same neighborhood

with Brigham Young, who has since gained some reputation as a thorough and practical ladies' man. [*Great laughter.*] I am not conscious, however, of having imbibed any such wisdom at the feet of this matrimonial Gamaliel as should justly entitle me to be heard among the elders.

So I am inevitably forced to the conclusion that these husbands cannot trust each other's discretion. The secrets of the prison-house are too important to be entrusted to one of the prisoners. So ignorance of the matter in hand has come to be held an absolute prerequisite when any one is to be sacrificed to the exigencies of this toast.

I really do not see why this should be so. It is useless for husbands to attempt to keep up this thin veneering of a semblance of authority. The symbols of government they still retain deceive nobody. They may comfort themselves with the assurance of some vague invisible supremacy, like that of the spiritual Mikado or the Grand Llama, but the true Tycoon is the wife. A witty and profound observer the other day said: "Every husband doubtless knows he is master in his own house, but he also knows his neighbor's wife is master in hers." [*Laughter and cheers.*]

Why should not you, husbands of America, admit this great truth and give up the barren sceptre? Things would go much easier if you ceased the struggle to keep up appearances. The ladies will not be hard on you. They will recognize the fact that, after all, you are their fellow-creatures, and you can be very useful to them in many little ways. They will doubtless allow you to pay their bills, take care of their children, and carry their votes to the ballot-box just as you do now.

You had better come down gracefully, and, above all, let no feeling of discovered inferiority betray you into evil speaking of the domestic powers. There have been recent instances of distinguished gentlemen, no doubt instigated by rebellious husbands, who have recklessly accused these guardian angels of your firesides of being extravagant and frivolous. These things are never uttered with impunity. I would not insure the life of one who libels the ladies for less than cent. per cent.

"*Discite justitiam moniti et non temnere Divas!*"

which, as you may not understand the backwoods pronunciation of the classic warning, I will translate with a freedom befitting the day we celebrate:

"Now, all you happy husbands,
Beware the rebel's fate!
Live in obedience all your lives,
Give up your latch-keys to your wives,
And never stay out late."

[*Laughter and loud cheers.*]

But I really do not want to waste your time by talking about matters I do not pretend to understand, and I will compensate you liberally for the moments you have lost in listening to me, by giving way to one of our distinguished American scholars, the Rev. Charles T. Brooks, who has promised to read to us an original poem by a charming young countrywoman of ours: very gifted and worthy, but not better than thousands of the noble unnamed who during the last four heroic years have illustrated the name of American womanhood, and have incontestably established their right to be considered, as we have always loved to consider them, the brightest, most consummate flower of Christian civilization. You who have been absent during this time can with difficulty conceive the brilliancy of this period of devotion; we who remained at home can never forget it. Wherever woman's holiest work was to be done, you would find them, in the salon, the camp, and the hospital. They adorned and made beautiful our every-day life, and they shed over the horrors and savageries incident to the rush and waste of war a halo as bright and as delicate as that garland of mist and rainbows that hangs forever in caressing loveliness over the plunging terror of Niagara. [*Great cheering.*]

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Private and Confidential

PARIS, December 8, 1865.

My dear Sir:

I have nothing new to communicate officially; I have not seen the Minister of Foreign Affairs since the last interview of which I sent you an account. You will perceive by the journals that General Schofield's arrival still engrosses public attention. The impression prevails that he has been instructed to make some peremptory communication to the French government about Mexico.

Owing to the absence of the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Compiègne, I have had no convenient way of doing my part towards correcting what was correctable in this impression until to-day, when I called upon Maréchal Randon, the Minister of War, to ask him to fix a day when it would be agreeable to receive the General.

I read him your letter enclosing the letter from the Secre-

tary of War. I am to call on Monday with the General. The Marshal spoke of Mexico, and we had a rambling conversation over the points discussed in my late interviews with the Minister of Foreign Affairs. He took one new position—that President Monroe acknowledged Yturbide and received his Ministers. When I told him, as I did promptly, that Yturbide was a Mexican and the choice of the Mexicans, he had nothing to reply. He said if we would acknowledge Maximilian the war then would soon end. I satisfied him of the utter impossibility of our doing anything of the sort while Mexico lacked any element of independence, while foreign influence was felt in the slightest degree within her borders; that we only asked the public law of Europe to be applied in America: all Europe would rally against any state that attempted to change the form of government of a neighboring power. France would never permit Holland to overthrow the Monarchy of Belgium to establish a Republic, nor would Holland or any other European power permit Prussia to replace the republican government of Switzerland by a Monarchy. I dwelt the more on the impossibility of recognition and upon our right to an application of the public law of Europe to America because I knew the Marshal was going to Compiègne to-morrow, where I think the government is considering the Mexican question from a new point of view. I should not be surprised to hear that the Emperor had determined to come to an immediate and distinct understanding with the United States upon the subject of Mexico before the 1st of January. His most confidential advisers are now with him at Compiègne. Drouyn de Lhuys has been there most of this week and will be there most of next week, nominally for pleasure. Maréchal Randon gave as a reason for not receiving General Schofield to-morrow that he was going to Compiègne. The subject of our relations with France preoccupies the attention of all journals, of all classes and of all interests. I feel that I do not use too strong a word when I say that the feeling here is intense. It alarms the government. Something must be done promptly and decisively to relieve the situation. I doubt if it will be safe for the government to allow the present state of suspense to continue until the meeting of the Corps Législatif. It is my conviction that the next week will not pass without an important crisis in our relations with France, or at

least without an important crisis in the relations of France with Mexico.

The universal unpopularity of the Mexican expedition, aggravated by recent events, leaves upon my mind little apprehension that the Emperor will undertake to brave both his own people and ours rather than take one step backwards. The general impression here among the best-informed people with whom I converse outside of the government is that the Emperor has no other course but to leave Mexico, that it has become a logical necessity. I beg you will not attach too much importance to these surmises and conjectures. I send them for the want of something better. The great talent of the Emperor is his tenacity of purpose, and he may overrule all his counsellors, but I don't think he can continue the occupation of Mexico a month longer upon any other terms.

Yours very truly

P.S. At the Thanksgiving dinner given by the Americans last evening I made a peace and friendship speech designed to show the absence of any disposition on the part of our government to add to the public concern which events inspire here. J. B.

BIGELOW TO ADMIRAL GOLDSBOROUGH

Paris, 11 December, 1865.

Dear Sir:

Your favor of the 8th instant from Nice has been received, and your request shall be faithfully complied with.

General Schofield is charged with no communication for this or for any other European Government. His eminence as a soldier and the intimate relations of confidence which are known to subsist between him and the President give a natural and just importance to his presence in Europe at the present time.

I think, however, you will not be disturbed in your winter quarters by me, and, if not, I shall hope to persuade the General to run down with me to see you before the spring.

I have the honor to remain, dear Admiral, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, December 12, 1865.

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit herewith a communication from the Minister of Public Instruction to the Emperor, relating to a proposed series of reports to be made at the Exposition of 1867 on the Sciences and Literature. This communication is accompanied with another from the Minister of Public Instruction to M. Le Play, Commissioner-General for the Exposition, explaining the manner in which the Minister proposes to execute the project, as he has traced it out, for France.

The *Chef du Cabinet* of the Minister of Public Instruction, his son, called upon me with these documents at the request of his father, with the view to interest our government and country in securing a corresponding representation of the progress which science and literature have made in the United States during the last twenty years.

It is the purpose of the Minister that these reports, so far as France is concerned, shall make known the progress accomplished during that period:

1st. In the mathematical, physical and natural sciences.

2nd. In the moral and political sciences in their application to the wants of society, and

3rd. The influence exerted by French letters upon the general education of the country.

The topics to be treated under these general heads are all given in the letter to M. Le Play.

It is proposed that their treatment should be committed to the highest authorities in the Departments to which they relate. For example, the Law of Nations will be treated by M. Drouyn de Lhuys, Public Law by M. Troplong, Administrative Law by M. Royer, Chemistry by M. Dumas, etc. In a few days I am promised a complete list of the persons to whom the twenty-four topics enumerated shall be assigned. M. Duruy's classification of subjects has been made with special reference to the progress of literature and science in this country. Other countries are expected to make their classification upon the

same principle, giving prominence to those departments in which their progress has been most notable.

Should the persons who are capable of making such a series of reports for the United States find a sufficient inducement to undertake the work, it would certainly afford a rare opportunity of popularizing American science and opinions in Europe. The literature of China has scarcely a less positive and direct effect upon the people of France than the literature of the United States. Some half-dozen of our popular writers, and not all of them belonging to the first class, have been translated and read by a few thousand Frenchmen, but of the forty millions of people who inhabit the Empire of France, it would be safe to say that thirty-nine million never read an American book or a translation of one. It is not surprising, therefore, that American ideas, American inventions, American books, American art and American genius have profound ignorance and strong prejudices to contend with. Some of both, the project of M. Duruy, well executed on our side of the Atlantic, would have a tendency to dispel.

It is on many accounts to be desired that specimens of our most esteemed elementary school-books should also be exhibited, for I think I take little risk in saying that they are the best in the world.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Confidential

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, December —, 1865.

Sir:

I have had the honor to receive your private note of the 6th ultimo, requesting my friendly offices in behalf of the infant son of Donna Alice G. Yturbide and grandson of the late Emperor Yturbide, alleged to be detained at the City of Mexico without the consent of its parents. A day or two after the arrival of your favor, I received a note from Donna Alice

herself, requesting an interview, which I accorded for the following day. At this interview she made to me a statement of which I shall proceed to recite the principal features, that you may know precisely by what representation of facts the steps which I have taken and may hereafter take in her behalf have been directed.

When the *soi-disant* Emperor Maximilian arrived in the City of Mexico, and for many months thereafter, he took no notice of the Yturbide family. In the course of time both he and the Empress began to express an interest in the infant child of Donna Alice, who, though only two and a half years old, was uncommonly interesting and attractive and enjoyed great popularity among the Mexicans. During the course of the last summer, the elder members of the Yturbide family received notice from Maximilian that they must leave Mexico. No reasons for this extraordinary demand were assigned, and the Yturbides refused, saying that they had no resources but the money owing them by Mexico and that they could not live abroad. They said, however, that if Mexico would pay them what she owed them, they would go. In the course of a month or two Maximilian proposed to confer upon the child of Donna Alice and its cousin, a lad of 16, the rank of princes; to charge himself with their education, suited to their proposed rank, and to make a reasonable pecuniary allowance to all the elder branches of the family, provided that all save a maiden aunt, who was to remain at the palace with the infant child, would leave the country, not to return without the authorization of the Emperor. To these conditions all refused at first to accede, but after reflecting that they were completely in the power of Maximilian, who could stop their income and send them out of the country at any time, and dazzled a little, as they admit, by the brilliant prospects held out to their child, they accepted the proposal, and on the 15th September signed a contract, of which the first three articles (which are all that relate to the child) read as follows:

"1. His Majesty will give a high position to the two grandchildren of the Emperor, Don Augustin and Don Salvador, as also to the daughter of the said Emperor, Doña Josefa de Yturbide.

"2. Their Majesties will provide for the expenses of education of the said two grandchildren of the Emperor Augustin,

as well as for those of the maintenance of the same and of Doña Josefa.

"3. In proof of the special protection and favor which His Majesty wishes to dispense to the said grandchildren of the Emperor, Don Augustin and Don Salvador, His Majesty constitutes himself tutor and guardian of them, appointing Doña Josefa de Yturbide co-tutoress."

Immediately after this instrument was signed, the Yturbides were notified that their departure from Mexico must not be delayed. They set out the following day, the 16th, Donna Alice de Yturbide having previously sent some of the playthings of her child to the Empress, with a note commending it to her protection.

On arriving at Puebla, where they tarried several days, Donna Alice realized the impossibility of reconciling herself to a permanent separation from her child, and wrote to Marshal Bazaine to invoke his friendly offices with the Emperor and Empress to procure its restoration to her, but, before receiving a reply, set out herself to the City of Mexico, travelling under her maiden name of Alice Green. She found an asylum at the house of Donna Podressa, the wife or widow of one of the Emperor Yturbide's most influential and devoted friends. This lady took her to see Marshal Bazaine, who informed them that he had just received a reply to a note he had sent to the palace, in which the Emperor stated that he had received the child in virtue of a solemn contract signed by all the adult Yturbides, and the Marshal was requested to take no further notice of Donna Alice's suit.

Donna Alice persuaded the Marshal to write again, and to enclose in his a note from Don Augustin Yturbide, the oldest representative of the family, and another from herself, imploring the surrender of the child. (A translation of the letter of Donna Alice is annexed and marked *A*.) To this no written answer was made, but the Empress sent to the Marshal, by one of her messengers, the letter in which Donna Alice had commended the child to her protection; the messenger was charged to say that their Majesties would take time to reflect whether the letters required any further reply. Two days after, at about 10 in the morning, one of the Imperial, or, as they are called, Palatine Guard, called on Donna Alice at Donna Podressa's and said that the Emperor and Empress wished to

see her at the palace, where they could confer about her child more conveniently than by correspondence.

The officer had all the external appearance of a gentleman, and spoke so kindly of her child and so encouragingly of her prospects of recovering it, that all suspicion of treachery was disarmed, and she consented to go, apprehending nothing more serious than the persuasions and appeals with which her resolution might have to contend at the palace. On descending she saw at the door one of the Imperial carriages. She asked Donna Podressa if she would not let her carriage take her to the palace. The officer begged her not to refuse the hospitality of the Emperor's conveyance, which had been sent expressly for her. Not wishing to do anything to prejudice the success of her mission to the palace, she stepped in, and they drove off.

On arriving at the corner of the street where the carriage should have turned to go to the palace in the city, it went straight on. Donna Alice remarked, "The Court is at Chapultepec, I suppose." The reply was in the affirmative. Presently the carriage passed the street into which it should have turned to go to Chapultepec, and then explanations ensued by which she discovered that she had been betrayed and that she was on her way to Puebla.

On reaching the outskirts of the city, they found a diligence waiting for them, with another officer and one or two men waiting to escort her.

She descended from the carriage, seated herself upon a stone by the roadside, and refused to go with them farther. She was then taken up by the men, placed in the diligence, and driven off towards Puebla. In the toilet which she had made for her visit to the palace, and with nothing but her mantilla over her head and shoulders, she rode all that day and a succeeding cold and rainy night, and arrived at Puebla the day following. Here they received notice that they must prepare to leave Mexico by the next steamer. They set out for Vera Cruz the following day. On arriving at Orizaba, Don Augustin de Yturbide addressed to Maximilian a letter protesting against the series of acts which were culminating in their expulsion from their native country and the forcible detention of his nephew. They quitted Mexico in the next steamer.

When the child was first left at the palace, on the 15th of September, the Emperor, the Empress and the aunt Josefa promised to advise them by letter or telegraph daily of its con-

dition. On the first day's journey from Mexico, the 16th of September, Donna Alice received a telegram from the Emperor stating that the child had slept well and was gay and cheerful. This is the only communication ever received from them on the subject.

Donna Alice then stated that she had visited Washington and had been encouraged to hope that I might assist her in persuading the Emperor of France to intercede with Maximilian for the restoration of her child.

In reply to my inquiries she stated that Maximilian was afraid of the popularity which the infant Yturbide enjoyed and was likely to acquire in Mexico; that the aunt Josefa, now some 56 years of age, was not on good terms with her brothers, hated her, was very ambitious, and had been bribed by the title of princess to lend herself to this unnatural intrigue. She says that Marshal Bazaine treated her very kindly, regretted that he had no authority to take the child, and manifested a willingness to do everything in his power to induce the Emperor to surrender it.

I told Donna de Yturbide that of course I had no authority to interfere officially in what seemed to be purely a domestic grievance for which the authorities of her country owed her redress, but my sympathies for her, both as a mother and a fellow-countrywoman, disposed me to go to the verge of official propriety to assist her. I proposed therefore to call on the following Monday to confer with her husband and Don Augustin, and learn from them in what way I could be useful.

I called at the time appointed, and, in the presence of Donna de Yturbide, Don Angel, her husband, and Don Augustin, heard from the latter another recital of the circumstances which preceded and led to their banishment from Mexico. It was substantially the same as that given me by Donna de Yturbide. I repeated to them that, though I could not assist them officially, my friendly offices were at their disposal, and begged them to inform me in what way I could further their views. They wished me to obtain for them an opportunity of making an appeal to the Emperor for the restoration of their child, and for leave to return to their country. I promised to mention the subject to M. Drouyn de Lhuys and to try and induce him to receive their application in person.

I saw His Excellency on the following day, Tuesday the 28th ultimo, read to him your letter to me, recapitulated the cir-

cumstances of the case, as I had received them, said that, while I had no vocation to represent Mexican subjects near the Emperor, I could not withhold my friendly offices from a fellow-countrywoman in distress.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys declined to receive Donna de Yturbide, said that she should have appealed to the Emperor [Maximilian] or sought redress from the tribunals of her country, that the family had signed a contract by which they were bound, that France could not interfere with the domestic questions of another empire.

I replied that the Yturbides had appealed to Maximilian, that Don Augustin had formally protested against the acts of the Emperor, that they had been expelled from the country, and any appeal to the local tribunals was out of the question. I added that the contract did not bind the Yturbides to leave the child, but, as a condition of leaving the country, the Emperor had charged himself with its education in a manner befitting the rank of a Prince. This engagement the Yturbides could enforce against the Emperor, but they are not bound to avail themselves of it, if they do not choose to.

After some further conversation His Excellency said he would write to the French Minister in Mexico, recommending the surrender of the child, and would mention to their Majesties the wish of Donna Yturbide to see them, though he doubted whether they would be more inclined than himself personally to entertain her suit.

On Thursday last I saw M. Drouyn de Lhuys again, when he repeated his reasons for not seeing the Yturbides, who had an official representative in Paris through whom they should be heard, but he told me confidentially that he was satisfied of the folly of the step Maximilian had taken, and had spoken of the affair to a person (not the Minister) who corresponded habitually with the Emperor Maximilian, and who, at his request, had communicated to their Majesties his views upon the subject, at length. His Excellency seemed disposed to do everything in his power unofficially to put an end to the scandal for which his Government could not hope entirely to escape responsibility.

Thus the matter rests at present.

I am, Sir, with great respect, etc.

A

ALICE G. DE YTURBIDE TO THE EMPEROR OF MEXICO

Sir:

After my despatch from Mexico on the 16th of September, my presence in this city will appear strange to your Majesty, but a grief which has no bounds, a feeling the most intense known to man, have guided my steps in search of a son who is the charm of my existence.

There is in the life of parents a constant thought, the welfare of their children, and I—poor me—who enjoyed life so much in looking at my child, thought always of his future; his education occupied me as the only mission to be fulfilled by me on earth, and in one of those moments in which I vacillated in regard to the position of my dear Augustin, I came to separate myself from him, thanking your Majesty for keeping in mind the Yturbide family, in which you distinguished very specially my son; but I have so wept over this separation, I have undergone such bitterness during these nine days, that I have no words with which to explain to your Majesty all the magnitude of my trouble. I thought that if I did not see my child, I would lose my mind, and all my family was obliged to take part in that idea, permitting me to return to address the prayer which I make with a heart full of grief, with a heart which needs a ready consolation; this prayer is to see my child and not to be separated from him in his infancy.

In my dreams as a mother, I never thought that my son should be a prince who would aspire to a crown; my passion was to educate him as a good Mexican, who, brought up with good ideas, might one day become useful to his country; but, very contented with the humble position in which I lived, my happiness knew no limits, and now that your Majesty honors in my child a national memory, am I to separate myself from a child who stands in need of all my solicitude? What remorse, if I survived this separation, would not the least mishap in the life of my child create in me!

This black thought has followed me everywhere, since my child was no longer at my side, and I have nothing either in my heart or in my head to render me tranquil; each passing hour increases my grief; and if your Majesty is convinced of the sincerity of my words, it is not possible that your Majesty would prolong any longer my sufferings.

No longer to see my child! To separate myself from him, perhaps forever! To abandon him when he most needs my care! There is no agony comparable to this sad thought. Your Majesty cannot insist on a separation which puts in danger my existence, and I hope that, doing justice to my feelings, your Majesty will accept my gratitude for your affectionate treatment toward my child, and will order that he return

to the side of a mother who ought not for one moment to abandon him, no matter what might be the expectations of his future.

I am confident that her Majesty the Empress, who has shown herself so kind to my son, will support my prayer. The good heart of your Majesties cannot permit that the profound affliction of your servant be prolonged.

ALICE G. DE YTURBIDE.

To His Majesty
The EMPEROR OF MEXICO,
Mexico, September 27, 1865,
Street of the Coliseo principal No. 11.

It is but justice to Maximilian to say that when he found the youthful Yturbide could be to him no longer a source of hope or fear, he had the grace to make such reparation to the bereaved parents as yet lay in his power. Shortly before his capture, and after he had formed the purpose of abandoning Mexico, he wrote to Doña Alicia that he could no longer protect her son, and that he would be glad to place the child in charge of any one she might select. About the same time she received a note from the Archbishop of Mexico informing her that he should send her son by the steamer of a date designated to Havana, where he recommended her to meet him. Doña Alicia profited by his suggestion, sailed for Havana, and, after a separation of more than two years of incalculable solicitude, the mother and child were once more in each other's arms.[1]

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, December 13, 1865.

Sir:

Referring to my communication No. 210, bearing date December 1, 1865, I have the honor to transmit a translation of

[1] For a more detailed account of this attempt of Maximilian to provide himself with a popular successor to the imperial crown of Mexico, see "The Heir Presumptive to the Imperial Crown of Mexico," *Harper's Magazine*, April, 1883.

the entire contract entered into by the elder members of the Yturbide family and the *soi-disant* Emperor of Mexico, of which I sent you only an extract. I have also the honor to transmit herewith a copy of the protest made by Don Augustin de Yturbide at Puebla.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

Secret Agreement which the Children of the Liberator Don Augustin de Yturbide made with His Imperial Majesty

His Majesty the Emperor wishing to honor the memory of the Liberator Don Augustin de Yturbide, on account of the just titles which it has to claim the gratitude of the nation, and the children of said Liberator wishing at the same time to facilitate all the means that may lead to the realization of the noble manifestation which His Majesty has conceived,

By order of His Majesty, His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Don Fernando Ramirez, in charge of the Department of State, &c., &c., and the Señores Don Augustin, D. Angel and D. Augustin Cosme and the Srita. Doña Josefa de Yturbide have agreed upon what follows:

1. His Majesty will give a high position to the two grandchildren of the Emperor, Don Augustin and Don Salvador, as also to the daughter of the said Emperor, Doña Josefa de Yturbide.

2. Their Majesties will provide for the expenses of education of the said two grandchildren of the Emperor Augustin, as well as for those of the maintenance of the same and of Doña Josefa.

3. In proof of the special protection and favor which His Majesty wishes to dispense to the said grandchildren of the Emperor, Don Augustin and Don Salvador, His Majesty constitutes himself tutor and guardian of them, appointing Doña Josefa de Yturbide co-tutoress.

4. The Señores D. Augustin, D. Angel and D. Augustin Cosme de Yturbide promise for themselves, for Doña Sabina, and for their legitimate offspring never to return to the Empire, without previous authorization of the Sovereign or his legitimate Regency.

5. The Government of His Majesty will order to be delivered by the National Treasury to the Señores D. Augustin, D. Angel and D. Augustin Cosme, Doña Josefa and Doña Sabina de Yturbide the sum of $30,000 (thirty thousand dollars) in cash and $120,000 in bills on Paris, at the common rate of exchange and payable—$60,000 on the 15 of February, 1866, which makes a total of $150,000 (one hundred and

fifty thousand dollars) on account of the credit which they have against the nation.

6. The Government of His Majesty will order the account or accounts of the family of the Liberator Yturbide to be liquidated, not only those which belong to it expressly, but also those which may revert to them by inheritance, and will recognize the credit which may result.

7. The Government of His Majesty will give the proper orders so that the pensions which at present are held by Señores D. Augustin, Don Angel and D. Augustin Cosme, and Doña Josefa and Doña Sabina de Yturbide be paid to them with all punctuality and without any discount at their place of residence, or at the nearest if Mexico have not with the former any commercial relations.

8. The Government of His Majesty grants to the above-mentioned D. Augustin, D. Angel and Doña Sabina, over and above the pensions which they at present hold, an annual allowance for life of $6100 (six thousand one hundred) to the first; $5100 (five thousand one hundred) to the second, which annually shall be received by the wife of D. Angel in case of his decease; and $1524 (one thousand five hundred and twenty-four) to the last; as also the payment to the Señor D. Augustin Cosme of the full pay corresponding to his military rank.

The necessary orders will be given so that those allowances be paid with all punctuality and on the same terms expressed in the preceding article in regard to the pensions.

In testimony whereof the present agreement is signed by triplicate at the Palace of Chapultepec on the 9th of September, 1865.

By order of His Majesty Imperial, the Minister of Foreign Affairs in charge of the Department of State.

(Signed) José F. Ramirez.
Josefa de Yturbide.
A. de Yturbide.
Angel de Yturbide.
Augustin C. de Yturbide.
Alicia G. de Yturbide.

Protest

Sire:

It is my duty to protest before your Majesty against yourself for forcibly detaining in your keeping my nephew the Prince Don Augustin against the wishes of His Highness' mother, Doña Alicia G. de Yturbide.

As in the present circumstances your Majesty has no legal warrant for such a proceeding, and if even such a title existed I do not believe it would be consistent with your Majesty's dignity to maintain it, I hope, Sire, you will take measures for the restitution of the aforesaid Prince to the arms of his afflicted mother.

I remain, Sire, with profound respect, your Majesty's very obedient servant,

(Signed) A. de Yturbide.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Strictly Confidential

Paris, December 14, 1865.

My dear Sir:

I presume there will be a disposition in Congress to speak very plainly to France upon the subject of Mexico. I see no object, either, in concealing from the government and people the true state of feeling in America, which Congress may be supposed to represent. It will be convenient, however, and wise in my opinion, to adhere to the policy you have hitherto pursued, and put nothing upon the records of either government, if possible, which will render the situation more complicated or leave a scar after the inevitable wound shall be healed.

Congress, while interpreting the public opinion of the country, may just as well interpret that of Europe, and for that reason I send you a sketch of a preamble and resolutions which presents the whole Mexican question in a nutshell, without a fact or an inference which will be contested by an independent press in Europe, or hardly by any other.

These resolutions or something like them might be presented by a person of no special political significance and discussed one day in the week, and that a day just before the sailing of the steamer. If things progress as we desire them, the resolutions might be dropped or voted down and the friends of France allowed a triumph.

This is all a suggestion, I need hardly say, in the strictest confidence. If my connection with it were to transpire, of course my usefulness here would be seriously impaired, if not

destroyed. I send it to you as more competent than any one else to judge of the value of it, and better entitled than any one else to know what I do on public questions.

I have shown the resolutions to General Schofield, but have impressed upon him the necessity of ignorance as to their source.

I am, dear Sir, etc.

WHEREAS, The Government of France, taking an unworthy advantage of the domestic troubles of the United States, has made war upon the neighboring republic of Mexico; driven her President from his capital; subverted her republican constitution wherever its military authority has prevailed; imposed an imperial form of government in its place, with an Austrian refugee as its administrator; has promulgated decrees denying to the resisting republicans the rights which the law of nations guarantees to prisoners of war; has projected a system of labor liabilities for colored people which threatens to restore some of the worst features of Slavery to Mexico;

WHEREAS, The pretexts for this war upon our sister republic were to collect certain debts, a large proportion of which were notoriously fraudulent, and to prevent the extension of the Anglo-Saxon race in countries colonized by the Latin, pretexts unworthy of an honest or of an enlightened government;

WHEREAS, The person who has been imposed upon the Mexican people with attributes of Sovereignty and with the title of Emperor is maintained there against their wishes by an army larger than Mexico ever raised for her own defence or ever required for her internal administration, and composed entirely of foreigners;

AND WHEREAS, The public law of Europe as well as the higher law of Self-Defence prohibits the subversion of the constitution and government of a state by a foreign power, regarding such a proceeding as a virtual menace to all other nations having similar constitutions and forms of government;

Therefore

RESOLVED, That the attempt to subvert the republican constitution and government of Mexico by the Emperor of France was a violation of the established public law of Europe, was a menace to all republics and an insult to the government and people of the United States.

Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to communicate the substance of the foregoing resolution to the Government of France as the deliberate opinion of the Government of the United States, and request it to take measures with as little delay as possible to restore the political independence of the Mexican people.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Paris, December 14, 1865.

My dear Sir:

I have no copies of the letters I wrote you from London, but I suppose the note you referred to in your favor of the 22nd November related to the list of Confederates furnished upon oath of a Mr. Hudson. I have no doubt that list is all it purports to be and is perfectly genuine, and I would send it to Congress for publication if there is no objection to allowing Hudson's name to be given. I have written to Moran to procure Hudson's consent and advise you of it, if he has not done so already. I think the general belief in England is that all on my list except the Chancellor of the Exchequer were there by some good title. It is supposed that a brother or relative is meant by —— Gladstone. My impression, however, still is that the Chancellor of the Exchequer is on the books, whether innocently or not I cannot pretend to say.

Yours very sincerely

BIGELOW TO HENRY J. RAYMOND

Paris, December 14, 1865.

My dear Raymond:[1]

A highly esteemed friend of mine, M. Leverrier, has undertaken a translation of your life of Lincoln. He took measures to obtain my approval of the enterprise, but of course desires also yours. I promised to obtain it for him and such a letter

[1] The founder and the editor of the *New York Times.*

from you as would serve as a sort of introduction of the book to French readers.

I hope you will help me keep my engagement, for Leverrier is not only a most excellent fellow and an accomplished writer, but he has been one of our most useful and steadfast defenders in the press and in society. I think it a subject for national congratulation that your life of our late President should be made accessible to the people of France under such auspices.

Yours very truly

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Private

Paris, December 14, 1865.

My dear Sir:

I am sorry not to have seen Drouyn de Lhuys to-day. He has not yet returned from Compiègne. He has missed two receptions. It is evident the government is turning a corner upon some subject; and I do not doubt it is the Mexican corner. One of his aides said he would not wonder if the Emperor was preparing one of his surprises for the Corps Législatif and was going to recommend the withdrawal of the army from Mexico. I hope it may be so, but wait for the evidence. D'Estrada, one of the fathers of the French invasion of Mexico, also father of the late Secretary of the bogus Mexican Legation here, is now in Paris and is openly in favor of the restoration of Juarez.

The military counsellors of the Emperor think it will be hard for the French army to get out of Mexico without losing a part of the last regiment on shore, unless we will aid them.

The Mexicans here say that the Archduchess is on her way to Europe and that her trip to Yucatan is a blind. You have better means than I of knowing the truth of this, but it is worth knowing that this sort of talk is current in Paris. Madame de Yturbide tells me that an Austrian vessel has been lying at Vera Cruz ever since the arrival of the Archduke, showing that he had less faith than Cortes had in being able to remain in his new Empire.

It is also currently reported here and believed that he is plundering the country of everything he can get of value to send to Miramar.

Yours very sincerely

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Private

Department of State,
Washington, 15th December, 1865.

Dear Sir:

I enclose a sealed memorandum which you may hand to M. Drouyn de Lhuys to give to the Emperor, if His Majesty, on being informed, should be disposed to receive it. If it should not be agreeable to either him or to M. Drouyn de Lhuys to receive and carry it to the Emperor, you will please return it to me.

Very truly yours

BIGELOW TO DURUY, THE MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

Translation

Paris, December 15, 1865.

Dear Sir:

One of my esteemed countrymen, Judge Caton of Illinois, has some specimens of American Copper Ore, which he thinks might prove an acquisition to some of the Mineralogical Cabinets of Paris. He has sent them to me with the request that I would make the most appropriate disposition of them. I venture to presume upon your Excellency's kindness so far as to ask you to receive the specimen with Judge Caton's note and to dispose of both of them as your judgment may advise.

Accept, dear Sir, assurances of the high consideration with which I have the honor to be, etc.

J. L. MOTLEY TO BIGELOW

VIENNA, 16 Dec., 1865.

My dear Sir:

I thank you very sincerely for the *Galignani's Messenger* containing the report of the Thanksgiving dinner.

. . . . . .

The whole tone of the proceedings seemed to me exactly what it ought to have been, and every American in Europe has reason to be proud of the occasion and of the manner in which it was celebrated at Paris.

I believe there is no secret as to the condition of the Austrian-Mexican contingent.

The Government itself does nothing and promises nothing towards the support of the Mexican Empire. It, however, permitted the "Emperor" Max. to levy a volunteer force out of men who had already discharged their military duty in Austria, and to the officers going out were guaranteed their respective ranks in the Austrian army after their return.

The number of this volunteer corps was originally six thousand. To fill up the vacancies by death or desertion, a supplementary convention has been nearly concluded by which *not more* than 2000 *annually* may take service in the Mexican legion.

As a matter of fact, I am informed on *unquestionable* authority that the recruiting goes on very slowly indeed. The service is unpopular, and I infer that the 2000 a year will be very hard to raise.

The paragraph in the *Patrie* was thought of sufficient consequence to be contradicted by the official papers here.

I have, of course, no *official* conversation on the subject with any one, never having received a word of instruction from our government since the time when non-intervention was expressly enjoined on me.

Max., however, will never be supported by what he can get out of his native country. The fate of Mexico depends entirely upon the United States and France.

We are expecting the text of the Message with great impatience to see what it says on this momentous question.

I remain always,

Very truly yours

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, December 18, 1865.

Sir:

I transmit to you a copy of a correspondence between Allan McLane, Esq., president of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, and this department, from which it will be seen that application has been made for negotiations with the French government for the mutual protection of the mail steamers of France and the United States in the event of war, such as have been provided in the postal convention of December 15, 1848, between the United States and Great Britain. You will be pleased to bring the matter under the consideration of M. Drouyn de Lhuys.

I am, sir, your obedient servant

ALLAN McLANE TO SEWARD

OFFICE OF THE PACIFIC MAIL STEAMSHIP COMPANY,
NEW YORK, November 29, 1865.

Sir:

I beg leave, respectfully, to refer to your letter of October 6, 1864, in which, referring to the 20th article of the postal convention between the United States and Great Britain of December 15, 1848, relative to protection to mail steamers of both nations in case of war, you state that no provision of a similar character has been adopted with France, and in your letter of October 13, 1864, you stated that "the subject will receive the consideration from this department to which it is justly entitled."

For the information of this company, permit me now to inquire whether such protection has been agreed to between the United States and France?

Very respectfully yours

J. A. ELLIS, THE BRITISH CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES, TO BIGELOW

PARIS, December 19, 1865.

Sir:

I have been instructed by the Earl of Clarendon to inform you that Her Majesty's Board of Treasury will be prepared to receive the first instalment, amounting to five hundred thousand dollars, of the Simonoseki indemnity which has been paid by the Japanese Government, and to hold it in deposit subject to future arrangements as to its distribution, and that the Board further propose that the money should be at once paid into the commissariat chest at Yokohama, in which case an equivalent amount in sterling will be available in England to be distributed among the Powers. I have accordingly been instructed to propose to you that the money should be remitted to Europe in the manner suggested by the Board of Treasury.

I have the honor to be, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO A. A. LOW

PARIS, December 20, 1865.

My dear Sir:

The bearer of this note, though personally unknown to me, is the son of Mrs. Woolley of this city, the widow of a once eminent Manchester manufacturer now deceased. Mr. Cobden took great interest in her and in her family. It was with her that he resided while in Paris negotiating the Anglo-French commercial treaty, and it was to him that I owe her acquaintance. If there is any truth in the French proverb that "the friends of our friends are our friends," it will give you pleasure to assist this young man with your counsel, of which, as a stranger in a strange city, he no doubt will stand in need.

Should it be in your power to serve Mr. Woolley in any way, it would be gratefully appreciated by the larger proportion of Mr. Cobden's friends, who esteemed his father very highly and who still feel profound sympathy for his widow and children. It would also gratify your friend and servant

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

PARIS, December 21, 1865.

My dear Mr. Seward:

I had hardly time when I sent you those resolutions to explain fully my purpose in preparing them. I supposed there would be persons in Congress in all parties clamorous for some pretty decided expression of opinion about the French occupation of Mexico before it could be certain that the necessity for such an expression existed. It seemed important that if there was to be a premature or any other kind of discussion, it should tend to the enlightenment of the European as well as of the American public. For that purpose the resolutions should contain no allegations not susceptible of absolute demonstration and no pretensions which the statesmen of any nation would dare contest. I don't think it will be necessary to present those resolutions or any others, for I am persuaded that this government is determined to get out of Mexico without any unnecessary delay, and the quieter we are the quicker they will go. I express this opinion without having seen Drouyn de Lhuys since I wrote you an account of my interview. I expect to see him this afternoon and will tell you if anything occurs to change my views. My impressions are formed not merely from what is going on in Mexico, but from the unvarying tone of all French people with whom I talk. I see no one who seems to look upon a long stay or any attempt to stay as among the possibilities. Under these circumstances, the more patient Congress is, the better. But if it should appear that the Emperor is determined to stay if he can, then it might be well for him to have a specimen of congressional eloquence upon resolutions carefully formed, by every steamer. It would worry the market to such a degree as to compel the government to come to some definite understanding with us. If it did not, let the resolutions pass, and that would, in my opinion, make short work of more mushroom Emperors than one.

But I hope Congress will not spoil their game by a rash play. A war involves many calamities, but the greatest would be the necessity of taking Mexico under our protection.

Our country has taken a prodigious extension of power and resources in every direction within a few years. It is a great Empire. Its political organization has undergone very inconsiderable improvement since our population and wealth were much less than half what they are at present. We must perfect our organization, enlarge its embrace, give it more system and delicacy. That requires time. I hope we shall not have to put it to the test which the obligation to furnish Mexico with a government would impose. I fear that Mexico would take Washington before the experiment was over.

Yours very sincerely

P.S. I open this letter to say that after what occurred this afternoon, an account of which will be found in my communication marked "Confidential" of this date, I would recommend that Congress hold itself as much in reserve as possible, occupying itself with domestic questions, until it sees exactly what attitude the Mexican question is to occupy.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Confidential

Legation of the United States,
Paris, December 21, 1865.

My dear Mr. Seward:

I hasten to give you the result of a very satisfactory conversation which I held this afternoon with the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the subject of our common relations with Mexico and with each other.

I introduced the subject by reading to him your instruction in relation to the state of irritation existing on our Mexican frontier. He remarked that complaints of a similar character against our troops had reached him from the French camp, and intimated that in cases of mutual imprudence there was need of mutual forbearance, or something to that effect. I then called his attention to your dispatch to show that I was not instructed to reproach the imperial government with the misconduct of its officers, but simply to furnish him with some

new illustration of the great and even dangerous irritability which was developing itself on the Rio Grande. He then asked me to let him take a note of the dispatch. I said I would leave it with him, and he might return it at his convenience.

His Excellency then remarked that the Count de Montholon had advised him of the departure of a special messenger from Washington with dispatches which had not yet arrived, and that he was without anything recent from the United States; then, as if desirous of avoiding the Mexican topic, alluded to the meeting of Congress and the President's Message, which he said the press seemed disposed to treat as friendly and pacific. I remarked that he expressed no opinion upon the subject himself. I said that his Excellency could have no doubt of the good disposition of the President, though unhappily the peace and friendship of our respective countries were very much at the mercy of a class of men not usually remarkable for prudence or discretion. Reminding him then of what he had repeatedly told me of the Emperor's intentions to gradually withdraw his force from Mexico, I went on to say that, without wishing to forestall any communication he might prefer to make after reading the dispatches expected from the Count de Montholon, it had occurred to me to ask his Excellency whether it would not have a tranquillizing and salutary effect on both sides of the Atlantic for his Majesty in his own time and way to name a period when his flag would be withdrawn from Mexico. I suggested that the opening of the Corps Législatif might afford a favorable occasion for such a communication.

His Excellency, after referring to some of the difficulties of their position, which had been aggravated by the unfriendly communications which had been exchanged by our officers, said to me quite confidentially that the Emperor did intend to avail himself of the opening of the Chamber, if no earlier occasion presented itself, to speak upon Mexican affairs, and that I might be sure that what he would say would be satisfactory. I thanked him for that assurance, which I told him I should communicate to you with his assent by to-morrow's mail. He said I might, and then observed that upon a recent occasion, when these matters were under consideration, the Emperor said that there was no reason whatever for any misunderstanding between the United States and France; that if

the governments could confer confidentially and freely together, it was impossible that they should not be of accord, for neither were barbarians; that his Majesty could not talk at all times nor on every occasion nor with everybody upon such subjects, but if there was any way of his comparing views with the President, he was sure they would have no difficulty in coming to a satisfactory understanding. His Excellency then said that the Emperor was ready to take any proper step to bring about such a desirable result without regard to etiquette; that he would certainly speak upon our affairs at the opening of the Chamber; that he would write to the President in person, or he would answer a letter from the President, and asked me if I thought such a correspondence could serve any good purpose or would be agreeable to the President. I replied that something might be gained in point of time by that means, and the effect might, I thought, prove salutary in other respects. He then asked whether it would be better for the Emperor to take the initiative or for the President to write first to the Emperor.

After a little reflection I told him that if the reply of the Emperor was sure to be satisfactory it would be better for the President to open the correspondence.

My reasons for this conclusion, which I partially exposed to him and which I hope you will approve, were that the Emperor could find no dignified pretext for addressing the President except one he might look up in the Message, and as an interpretation of that sort by the French government once brought us to the verge of a war, such a pretext would be ill omened, to say the best of it.

Again, the purpose of whichever letter was sent first would naturally be to enquire what the other party was proposing or was willing to do. Such an enquiry the President could address to the Emperor without prejudice to his dignity. It is not so clear that the Emperor could, if it is his purpose to make concessions, without which, of course, the correspondence would be superfluous. Now my theory is that whatever of dignity or of consideration the Emperor would lose in making such an advance would be charged against us by the French people, and in one way or another we should have to pay for it, for every nation has to bleed in some way for every gratuitous wound that it gives to the pride of another. Besides, I was not

sure that a correspondence initiated by the Emperor in a moment of peculiar embarrassment might not be attributed to motives which would prove unfavorable to the ends intended to be served.

I told M. Drouyn de Lhuys, therefore, that while I could not undertake to promise any advantages from such a correspondence, I authorized him to express to the Emperor my belief that it might lead to most auspicious results not attainable perhaps in any other way. His Excellency then requested me to suggest the matter to you, of course in the strictest confidence, and assured me that if the President addressed his Majesty we should have abundant reason to be content with his reply.

It then occurred to me to inquire what sort of a letter his Majesty would find it most convenient to reply to satisfactorily. His Excellency gave me reason to think that a letter conceived in the sense hereinafter indicated would be appropriate:

"That France and the United States are united by bonds of traditional friendship.

"That neither of these two great nations can wish to assail the interests or the dignity of the other.

"If, then, the presence of a French army on the territory of a neighboring state excites in public opinion a lively and disagreeable emotion, the cause must be looked for in a misapprehension which we ought to have it at heart to put an end to as promptly as possible, to prevent any temporary incident compromising the permanent advantages of the ancient alliance of the two countries. It is to this end I pray your Majesty by frank and friendly explications of your final intentions to dissipate the apprehensions and distrusts to which the Mexican expedition has given rise."

A note conceived in this spirit, I have reason to believe, would extract from the Emperor in reply a renunciation of all pretensions in Mexico unfriendly to the United States, and a specification of the utmost limit of his stay in Mexico if undisturbed, with perhaps such suggestions as would lead to negotiations for an earlier retirement. He will naturally be disposed to fix the remotest limit that will have any chance of toleration. It will be my duty to encourage him to make the time as short as possible.

I doubt if he would ask more than one year under any circumstances. From something that dropped from M. Drouyn de Lhuys I think the Emperor hopes that we will take his trusteeship upon some terms, so that he can retire leaving a government and order behind him, and be able to say that his mission had not been bootless. I don't think he is disposed to haggle about terms, but that he desires first and most of all to get the case in a shape for a transaction. If this letter meets with no mishap, the President may, if disposed, write by the *Australasian* on the 10th of January, so that the Emperor's reply may be on its way to Washington within a month from this and three or four weeks before the opening of the Chambers, which will occur between the 15th and 20th of February. I would recommend that the President's letter be sent by a special, if any person can be found to undertake it without having his errand announced in the public journals. The same person can bear the Emperor's reply, unless his Majesty deemed it more respectful to send it by one of his own officers.

Trusting I have acted discreetly in what I have done and that the way is opening for the deliverance of our government from an embarrassing question, I have the honor to remain, etc.

P.S. No one knows of this proposal except the Emperor, Drouyn de Lhuys and myself, nor will they know through me until the correspondence is complete. For obvious reasons I would recommend similar reticence at Washington. It will not go upon the Archives of this legation. J. B.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, December 21, 1865.

Sir:

The Message of President Johnson at the opening of Congress has been received here with almost unanimous expression of approval by the press, notwithstanding the wretched translation in which it was swathed at its birth into the French

tongue. A desire to tranquillize the public mind at a moment when news from Washington was expected with great solicitude, no doubt led many of the organs of public opinion to exaggerate a little the pacific and friendly tenor of the President's language. Every allowance made, however, for such considerations, you cannot fail to remark the unexceptionable tone with which it has been generally greeted.

It has placed our government and policy, both foreign and domestic, before the world in an attitude which challenges universal respect.

I enclose extracts from the representative journals of Paris, by which you can judge the spirit of all.

My impression is that the passage which refers to our relations with France and Mexico will involve an early change. in the relations between those two countries, or else a still graver change in the relations of France with the United States, for whatever may be the language held by the press upon the subject, it is impossible that the French Government should not infer from the President's language that the policy of our Government is not only unfavorable to but inconsistent with a long continuance of French authority in Mexico.

I am, Sir, with great respect, etc.

BIGELOW TO THURLOW WEED

Paris, December 21, 1865.

My dear Mr. Weed:

You can imagine how painfully I was shocked by the last tidings of our poor friend King. If any one deserved a peaceful death-bed and sympathizing friends to close his eyes upon this world, it was he. There was no one outside of my own kindred whose friendship I valued more highly, nor did I ever know a more faithful or disinterested patriot. I apprehended unsatisfactory results from his acceptance of that position,[1]

[1] On the expiration of his term as Senator, Preston King was appointed Collector of the Customs of the Port of New York. His selection for that position was one of the very worst for him that could possibly have been made. Though one of the most faithful and honest men that ever lived, he had never had any business or professional training. His standards for public office were very high, and when he found himself besieged for the several hundred or thousand offices which he was supposed to control, by men of most of whom he knew nothing and of the rest knew nothing to their advantage,

and if I had had an opportunity, should have advised against his taking it. A man of any pride or sensibility must be educated to the bustle and responsibility of such a place as the New York Collectorship to do the office or himself any sort of justice. King had no suitable training for it, and, besides, was disqualified by his general physical tendencies from accepting it if otherwise fitted. A man's birth into a new office with large and unfamiliar responsibilities, like his birth into the world, is a crisis attended with many dangers. No one will doubt it who has ever had the experience of it. Nor is King the first man whose brain has reeled under the burden. One memorable case occurs to me from its singular resemblance to his. John Temple, the only son of the celebrated Sir William Temple, a man of great abilities, was appointed Secretary of War by King William of Orange, shortly after his accession to the throne of England. He had scarcely been a week in his office when he drowned himself near London Bridge. He had spent the morning at his office; took a boat about noon as if to go to Greenwich; when he had gone a little way he ordered the boatman to set him ashore to finish some dispatches which he had forgot, and then went on with his voyage. Before throwing himself overboard he dropped a shilling in the boat for the waterman, and a note which ran thus:

"My folly in undertaking what I am not able to perform has done the King and Kingdom a great deal of prejudice. I wish him all happiness and abler servants than

"John Temple."

Is there not a singular resemblance between these two cases? All admitted that both were eminently fitted for their places.

King seemed to me a remarkable man in many respects. He was one of the most truthful men I ever knew. Though always engaged in political life, I never knew of his having a

all with pockets stuffed with letters and recommendations from public men whose solicitations it was difficult or painful to disregard, he was worried, became anxious to sleeplessness, and that way madness lies. He took the ferry-boat one morning to Weehawken, with his pockets, it is said, laden with weights of some kind, and when the boat reached the channel he leaped overboard and disappeared beneath the water, never to rise again in the flesh.

personal enemy, while he seemed to enjoy the unbounded confidence of all who became acquainted with him. I doubt if there was another man in the state or country who could have made free-soil democrats forget their old political hostilities and unite with the free-soil whigs in the republican organization of 1856 (an event big with incalculable blessings to the country and for which you also will have to be remembered when future biographers come to count up our country's jewels). This resulted partly from the entire confidence that the democrats had in his sagacity and in his loyalty to their principles, but especially from their confidence in him as a man. He never spoke ill of any one, he never repeated conversations unless by request of the party with whom it was held, and, what I have regretted while I have unbounded respect for the motive which prompted him to do it, he burned all letters that he received upon political affairs as soon as he had mastered their contents. So he told me himself. It was not possible that a man who took such care to guard his correspondents against their own imprudence, or from any inconvenient consequences of their faith in him, should fail to have and deserve troops of friends. I was, as you know, quite intimate with him. I think I enjoyed no moderate share of his esteem and confidence. We have corresponded for many years, and yet I do not remember to have ever received a letter from him which he or any one else would have reason to regret seeing in print. That is saying a great deal for the head and heart of a man who has played such an important part as King has done in American politics.

Do you know anything of his family? I have heard rumors connected with his origin which would explain the silence he always maintained on that subject with me, but I presume he had relations who still survive and who took an interest in his fortunes. If you know anything about them, I would be glad to be admitted to your confidence.

The Message has hit the Bull's-eye in the center over here. Europe knows now precisely where we are to be found, and yet the President has made the announcement in such a masterly way that it had to be received with unconditional praise even by the official press. They are beginning here to recognize the statesmanship as well as the soldiership of the United States.

Yours, etc.

JULES DE LASTEYRIE TO BIGELOW

Mr. Minister:

I have lived since many years at Lagrange, at a distance from Paris; I have not been able to enjoy the honor of making your acquaintance, but you will permit me to think that a grandson of General Lafayette cannot consider himself as altogether a stranger to a Minister of the United States. You will not think me, I hope, indiscreet if I ask your support and counsel in an American affair.

My cousin, M. Ferdinand de Lasteyrie, has some interests in the United States which naturally have been compromised in consequence of the war, so happily and gloriously terminated. He expects to go to the United States to regulate his affairs there. He would be glad, however, before leaving, to be able to see you and present his respects. Will you permit us both to call upon you Tuesday next, before noon, or after three o'clock, and would you be good enough to indicate the hour when we should disturb you least?

I am very glad for myself of this occasion to unite myself with the Minister of the United States, and I hope you will be good enough not to think me too familiar if, in sending you the expression of my respects, I permit myself to wish you a "Merry Christmas."

P.S. Be good enough to send me your reply to Rue de Miromesnil 33.

Lagrange, 23 Dec., 1865.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, December 26, 1865.

Sir:

The note which I enclose from the banking house of Bamberger & Co., received subsequently to a conversation held

with me yesterday upon the topic to which it refers, illustrates the inconveniences which our national securities experience in European markets for the want of a specific undertaking by the government to pay them, when they fall due, in gold.

If the Secretary of the Treasury should have anything to say in reply to Messrs. Bamberger that would tend to diminish this difficulty in the eyes of its clients, the effect would be shared by a large circle of influential capitalists, and by a still larger, if circumstances permitted me to give to it the publicity of the press.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

J. B. BAMBERGER TO BIGELOW

Translation

BANK OF CREDIT AND OF DEPOSITS OF THE LOW COUNTRIES,
RUE DROUOT No. 8, PARIS, December 26, 1865.

Sir:

Referring to the conversation which I had the honor to have with you yesterday, I have to thank you for the reception which you accorded, and for the documents which you kindly transmitted me.

Whilst no doubt can be entertained concerning the payment, in specie, of the coupons of half-yearly dividends upon the obligations of the said debt of 5-20, nothing in the text, either of the obligations or in the different acts which I have read, proves that the redemption of the same debt, either at the expiration of the twenty years or in anticipation, may not be effected in paper money, provided this paper be at that time a legal tender in the United States.

It was only because you kindly empowered me that I took the liberty to request a further explanation upon this point, if it be possible. From what I have the honor of laying before you, such an assurance, if it could be given, would certainly be an additional inducement for investing in American securities.

Accept, sir, the assurance of my most distinguished consideration.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Confidential

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, December 26, 1865.

Sir:

I was one of the guests at a dinner given by their Majesties at the Tuileries on Christmas Eve to the King and Queen of Portugal.

After dinner I had a long conversation with the Emperor, of which I will endeavor to give you the features.

His Majesty began almost abruptly with the Mexican situation; said that some years ago he felt compelled to send his army to Rome. He never proposed that it should stay there indefinitely, and finally the time came when he could withdraw it. He expected it would all be returned to France by next Autumn.

So, though for different reasons he sent an army to Mexico, he hoped also to get it away from there again soon, if nothing occurred to make it his duty, as the guardian of the honor of France, to stay there. I told him that he must by this time be satisfied that the President of the United States was resolved to do nothing to embarrass him; on the contrary, that he was anxious to show in every way how highly he prized the friendship of France. He assented to this in a general way, "but," said he, smiling a doubt, "that appointment of General Logan to the Republic of Mexico—"

I remarked that that matter had never been mentioned in any communication from my Government, which led me to attach less importance to it, perhaps, than His Majesty was disposed to do. "Besides," I added, "no one knows better than Your Majesty that it is sometimes convenient to resort to indirect methods of preventing the necessity of premature explanations."

I then went on to say that there was no disguising the fact that the people of the United States were almost unanimously of the opinion that the Government of Maximilian was not and never could be made acceptable to the Mexicans; and they

thought that four years of occupation was long enough for the experiment. I then referred to M. Rouher's declaration in May last that the army would retire within a year; said that when His Majesty gave a government to Mexico, he surely did not engage to remain there and protect it forever. ("No," the Emperor interrupted, smiling, "that would be too expensive.") I thought the world was ready even now to acquit him of any further obligation toward Mexico or Maximilian, and I could conceive of nothing that would have a more tranquillizing effect on both sides of the Atlantic than for him to fix an early period within which he should pronounce his duty discharged and withdraw his flag.

His Majesty dwelt upon the preference which the Mexicans seemed to have for brigandage as a reason for its requiring more time to establish a good government there than elsewhere, and related one or two anecdotes in illustration; said he should get away as soon as he could; that a war between the two countries could be of no possible advantage to either, that he could see, and he hoped our people and Congress would leave him free to act in his own way. I said His Majesty could need no assurance of the disposition of my government to diminish rather than aggravate the difficulties of his position—that we also had our difficulties; that we both had a people jealous of their national dignity; that our military men were especially sensitive about the presence of a foreign army in Mexico, and I hoped His Majesty would discover some method of resolving the difficulty in a way that would save the honor and dignity of both nations. He said that he was preoccupied with the question, and then, as if replying to what I had said about the sentiment of the Army, he observed, "You have a General Schofield here." I answered, "Yes." "Has he any mission of any kind?" he asked. I replied that of course a distinguished officer who for four successive years of peculiar national trial had enjoyed the intimate confidence of the government could not visit Europe without possessing a certain influence, especially with other officers of the government, not enjoyed by ordinary travellers, but he has no mission whatever to any European Court. His services have been eminent, are highly appreciated by his government, who have given him a year's leave of absence. His Majesty inquired about his rank and its relation to the highest grade, and after

some further desultory conversation upon our general situation, the interview closed.

A little later in the evening the Empress addressed me, also upon the subject of Mexico, though she began by informing me that she was near going to the United States last summer, which the doctors told her was the only remedy—that is, a voyage as long as that—for a cough with which she has been troubled more than a year. She thought she would have gone but for the cholera. "Of course," she said, "I could not run away from that." I expressed my satisfaction that she had thought of such a visit, and my regret that she had been prevented from making it. I said that our people would have regarded it as the greatest compliment paid America since the first visit of Columbus, and though I wished nothing but blessings to Her Majesty, she would pardon me if I was less anxious than I ought to be for her cure until she had tried the remedy prescribed by her physician. She said she had not given up the project yet. She then spoke of our affairs, and gave me an opportunity to remind her of what I had said we should do, at the last interview I had with Her Majesty on the occasion of my presentation as Minister Plenipotentiary. She said she must admit that I was a prophet, but she added she was nervous about what might happen on the Rio del Norte. I said she must not attach too much importance to what might be done by subordinate officers, while the conduct of the government gave such unequivocal evidences of our affection for France. "You surely," I added, "were satisfied with President Johnson's Message." "Oh, yes," she at once replied, "that was excellent, but what will Congress say? I am afraid it may say things which will create emotion here. You Americans and English people are not so easily moved as the French by what is spoken or written."

I reassured Her Majesty as far as I thought it wise to do so by reminding her of the discreet respect heretofore paid by Congress to the suggestions of the Federal Administration, which I apprehended would not diminish, and remarked that where there was such a strong desire and determination on both sides to be friends, I did not think it would be easy for any one to make us enemies. Her Majesty concluded the conversation by expressing in quite a complimentary manner her

satisfaction that my country was represented here by so good a friend of France.

I derived the impression from these conversations that the Emperor had made up his mind to seize the first available opportunity to close his accounts with Mexico and Maximilian, and was anxious that we should do nothing to render his task more difficult.

Now that a correspondence between him and the President is in the way of being opened, it is probable that at an early stage of it he will suggest the solution of the situation which no doubt has been maturing in his mind. I think he hopes to offer one that will be satisfactory to us and to himself. I think also that he will offer one satisfactory to us even though not very satisfactory to himself, if he can be permitted to act without the appearance of pressure. Whether I am correct in this impression, time will soon determine. The Corps Législatif meets on the 22nd of January instead of February as I erroneously stated in my last, when His Majesty will unquestionably announce a policy in reference to Mexico which will be designed to meet all the imaginable contingencies likely to present themselves during the winter.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

XV

THE CHROMO EMPIRE IN MEXICO AMONG THE BREAKERS

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, December 29, 1865.

Sir:

HERE is the substance of a conversation reported to me to have passed between M. Forcade, one of the accomplished writers of the *Revue des Deux-Mondes,* and M. Germigny,[1] formerly one of the Governors of the Bank of France, at present President of the Imperial Mexican Commission at Paris.

"Well," said the writer to his interlocutor, "there is no mistaking the attitude of the United States. As we have no intention of going to war with them, we shall have to make up our mind to leave Mexico."

"That is exactly what is contemplated in high quarters."

"But if the Government does that, there will no longer be any security over there for the Mexican bonds."

"Of course not."

"And in that case the holders of these bonds, who were only induced to subscribe in consequence of the moral support promised to Maximilian by France, will be completely balked and will lose everything."

"Not at all, for such a result would render the Emperor's government unpopular, and that must be avoided at any cost."

"What do you propose doing, then?"

"We have thirty millions which are invested in the French funds, which will redound to the profit of the holders of Mexican obligations."

[1] Died January, 1866.

"This compensation would be quite insufficient, for it would take these French bonds fifty years, at compound interest, to reach the amount paid out. The eventuality you mention will therefore afford no consolation to the holders of Mexican obligations for the downfall of Maximilian's throne."

"You are right, and as the Government wishes that the winding up of this affair should have no dissatisfaction behind, it will do all that circumstances require, and, as soon as the Mexican question shall be settled, it will give the holders of Mexican bonds French obligations amounting, at nearly the present rate, to the sum really paid out."

"But in that case the national debt of France will be increased some 15 millions. Will the House consent to this?"

"The House cannot refuse to stand by the Government in so serious a circumstance. For while we wish on the one hand to avoid a bloody and disastrous war, we must not on the other hand endanger the popularity of the Emperor. Besides, the House has very explicitly demanded that the Mexican expedition should be speedily brought to a close; it must therefore sanction such combinations as will enable us to realize its wishes."

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, Jan. 4, 1866.

Sir:

The reception of the diplomatic corps by the Emperor, on the first of January, passed without any incident deserving special comment. The Papal Nuncio, on behalf of himself and colleagues, tendered to their Majesties and the Prince Imperial the usual salutations of the season, to which the Emperor replied as follows:

"Every year at the same period we take a glance at the past, and then turn our thoughts towards the future; happy if we are able, as at present, to congratulate ourselves in having escaped dangers, put an end to apprehensions, and drawn

closer the ties which unite populations and kings! Happy above all if the experience of events accomplished permits us to augur for the world long days of peace and prosperity! I thank the diplomatic body for the congratulations which they have the kindness to address to me on the occasion of the New Year."

The political significance of this discourse was traced in such a shadowy outline that it entirely escaped the observation of the public till pointed out, rather tardily, this morning in the *Constitutionnel* by the faithful Paulin Limayrac.

His Majesty then addressed every member of the diplomatic corps a few words, but nothing which has been thought to possess special significance, unless his inquiry of the Turkish ambassador, if the Sultan observed New Year's day as he did, marked an absence of mind which entitled it to be considered an exception. He said to me that he hoped that the relations of France and the United States for the coming year would continue as favorable as they had been for the year just closed. I replied that no disposition was wanting on the part of my government to make them so. I then presented Colonel Hay and Mr. Pomeroy, the secretaries of this legation. The Emperor asked Colonel Hay if he had been previously engaged in the diplomatic service. The Colonel replied that he had not; that he was secretary to the late President Lincoln when named for this post. The Emperor asked if the Colonel was present at the President's death, and on learning that he was, characterized the crime of the President's assassination in suitable terms.

. . . . . .

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, January 5, 1866.

Sir:

I have received your instruction No. 331 in relation to the levying of troops in Egypt to reënforce the French Army in Mexico. I invited the attention of M. Drouyn de Lhuys yes-

terday to the reports circulating in American papers in regard to the landing of large numbers of troops at Vera Cruz, and asked if the policy of the Government had undergone any change since my last conversation upon that subject in connection with the levy of Egyptians. He replied that it had not so far as he was aware; that he believed the French force in Mexico had been undergoing a reduction rather than an increase; but, to make himself entirely sure upon the point, he would again make inquiries at the War Office, and let me know their result as soon as possible. In reply to another question of mine he said that the Government had no intention to take Egyptian troops to Mexico, but that it adhered entirely to the policy heretofore announced to me on that subject. On receiving this assurance, I did not think it my duty to read to him the instruction to our Consul-General at Alexandria which accompanied your dispatch.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Paris, Tuesday evening, Jan. 9, 1866.

My dear Sir:

I find it is the impression here among the better-informed Mexicans that Santa Anna will soon make an effort to displace Maximilian. He writes here that he has a vessel and six or seven thousand men ready for such an expedition and expects to have as many more. He also writes that he is promised the support of the United States. Great fears are apprehended for the lives and property of all who have submitted to the French-Austrian régime, from a return of Juarez, who will be compelled, they say, to satisfy the vindictive feelings of partisans, and that this apprehension will rally large numbers to the support of Santa Anna in case he should effect a landing.

M. Germigny, the President of the Mexican financial commission, told a friend of mine yesterday that he had but 300,000 francs in his chest here to the credit of Mexico. Van Praet, the private secretary of the late King of the Belgians, who has been sent on here to announce the coming to the throne of Leopold II., says a new loan must be raised. That

I think impossible, and if possible improbable. It would be madness, it seems to me, in the present temper of the public mind, to propose such a thing here. The debt to France is already 700 million francs. I am told that some six months ago Maximilian took steps to send a deputation to Juarez to invite him to accept the second position in the Empire, but that Marshal Bazaine interfered and prevented his carrying his purpose into effect.

Miramon and others here are threatening to go back to Mexico and oppose the departure of Maximilian until he gives an account of the money he has sent away or squandered.

I have your private note of the 23rd Dec., but no dispatches.

Yours very faithfully

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, January 10, 1866.

Sir:

I deemed the proclamation of the 18th of December, announcing the termination of slavery in the United States, marked an event of such importance, in the social and political history of the world, as to justify me in bringing it formally to the notice of the Emperor's government.

I accordingly addressed to M. Drouyn de Lhuys the note, a copy of which and of his reply are enclosed.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

BIGELOW TO DROUYN DE LHUYS

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, January 5, 1866.

Sir:

I have great pleasure in transmitting to your Excellency a proclamation issued by order of President Johnson, on the

18th of December last, which announces the final extinction of slavery throughout the territory of the United States.

The past history of France, as well as my personal observation during a residence of some years among the French people, authorizes me to presume that neither they nor their government can be indifferent to an event which works such an important improvement in the social and political condition of several millions of our fellow-creatures.

I profit by this occasion to renew to your Excellency the assurance of the very high consideration, etc.

DROUYN DE LHUYS TO BIGELOW

Translation

PARIS, January 8, 1866.

Sir:

You have had the kindness to communicate to me the proclamation by which President Johnson has definitely given his official sanction to the amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to the abolition of slavery over the whole extent of the federal territory.

You have justly thought, sir, that neither the government of the Emperor nor public opinion could view with indifference a measure destined to ameliorate the moral and material condition of several millions of human beings. We ourselves, several years ago, took the initiative in the suppression of slavery in our colonies. We, therefore, cannot but applaud the generous sentiment which has suggested to your government a measure so in harmony with the general progress of humanity.

Accept the assurances of the high consideration, etc.

BIGELOW TO M. GUIZOT

Translation

PARIS, January 4, 1866.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose a proclamation issued by order of the President of the United States, on the 18th of December last, which raises to the rank and privileges of freemen all persons at that date held in bondage within the territory of the United States. So great and sudden a change in the social condition of so large a number of human beings was never experienced before, I believe, as the immediate result of human legislation.

I hasten to bring this important event to the notice of your society, and to congratulate its members that the first year of its existence should have been signalized by an event so full of encouragement to the champions of universal emancipation.

I pray you to accept, sir, the assurance of my most distinguished consideration.

M. GUIZOT TO BIGELOW

Translation

VAL RICHER, January 7, 1866.

Sir:

I received the letter you did me the honor to address to me the 4th instant, communicating a copy of a proclamation published the 18th of December last by order of the President of the United States, in virtue of which the rank and rights of freemen are conferred upon all who, at that time, were slaves within the territory of the United States.

In the feeling of profound joy with which this communication inspires me, I am compelled to congratulate the people

of the United States and its government upon having been the chosen instrument of God to make the holy cause of the higher law of humanity to triumph. Whatever may be the difficulties and the trials which this measure may yet impose upon your country, the accomplishment of such a work is the greatest glory which a generation of men in their passage over the earth can achieve, and the greatest blessing it can leave to the generation to come. We are permitted to hope that the example given by Christian nations will become the public law of the world.

You are right in supposing that the society to which I have the honor to belong will surely congratulate itself that the first year of its existence has been signalized by an event at once so grand and so salutary.

Accept, sir, the assurance of my entire consideration and of my most distinguished sentiments.

DUC DE BROGLIE TO BIGELOW

Translation

PARIS, January 12, 1866.

Mr. Minister:

I have received the letter by which you have done me the honor to communicate to me the act of the Congress of the United States proclaiming the suppression of slavery throughout the whole extent of the confederation.

I beg that you will accept my cordial thanks for this favor. It is with profound satisfaction that I have learned the final success of a cause which interests in so high a degree all the friends of humanity, and to which I have been happy to dedicate the greater part of the labors of my public life.

Be kind enough, Mr. Minister, to accept the assurance of my high consideration.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, January 19, 1866.

Sir:

Recalling the communication received at this legation from the British embassy at Paris, dated December 19th, 1865, in reference to the mode of transmitting the Japanese indemnity, a copy of which was enclosed in my despatch No. 226, I have now the honor to transmit to you a *note verbale,* received from M. Drouyn de Lhuys, advising me of what appears to be a very satisfactory settlement of all the questions growing out of the convention signed at Yokohama on the 22d of October, 1864. By this note I am advised that the representatives of the treaty powers have concluded a final arrangement for the payment of the whole indemnity, a modification of the tariffs, and new guarantees for the opening of the Hiogo. The part of the telegram communicating this intelligence which fixed the time when the Hiogo was to be opened, unfortunately was not legible.

By the same note I was advised of the proposal of the British cabinet to divide the indemnity fund equally between all the powers. The liberality of this proposal places the United States under greater obligations than any of the other treaty powers, inasmuch as our equitable proportion of it was, I believe, the smallest. I did not hesitate to embrace this proposal, subject only to the conditions by which my power was limited. Subject to the same conditions, I accepted the proposal of Great Britain to deposit the first instalment of $500,000 in the English military chest at Yokohama, and its equivalent, in sterling, at the board of treasury, in London, subject to the order of the four powers. The *note verbale* of M. Drouyn de Lhuys, and mine in reply, are herewith annexed. France accepts these propositions, and Holland undoubtedly soon will do so, if she has not already. Nothing will then be wanting for the distribution of the fund but the ratification of the treaty by Congress. I hope, with the ratification, to receive your instructions as to the disposition of the money that shall be placed to the credit of the United States.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Confidential

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, January 11, 1866.

Sir:

I enclose a memorandum received last evening from M. Drouyn de Lhuys in pursuance of a promise which I have already reported to you. I called upon His Excellency this afternoon for the purpose of getting clearer ideas upon some of its points, that no time should be lost by the two governments in securing an available basis of negotiation.

I read over to him the memorandum aloud, and, as I proceeded, remarked that I presumed my government would not deny to France the sovereign right of making war, which of course belonged to all governments; that France would be singularly fortunate if the end for which she went to Mexico should be fully realized, for it always took two parties to make a war, and one must be in the wrong, and history had preserved the record of few wars in which either belligerent attained fully the ends for which he took up arms. I asked him if he could give me an idea of the "guarantees" which he hoped to obtain from Mexico. He said they did not, of course, expect to get the money owing them, but they hoped for something which they might regard as an equivalent. That, however, was a matter of negotiation between them and Mexico, but he could not very well talk with me about those guarantees now, for they must depend upon the result of pending negotiations in Mexico and were liable to be different from anything they might now be able to suggest.

I then asked what form His Excellency proposed that "the assurance" he asked from the Cabinet at Washington should take. He replied that he had as yet given no thought to that subject.

I remarked that it seemed to me desirable for obvious reasons that our governments should appear to act as independently of each other as possible in this matter; that France could hardly enter with dignity into a formal covenant with us

to make her retirement from Mexico depend upon our forbearance, neither could we covenant not to intervene without implying a disposition on our part to intervene but for such a covenant. I expressed a doubt, therefore, whether a formal covenant was consistent with the dignity of either nation, but I suggested that it would doubtless be perfectly agreeable were the Secretary of State at Washington to restate in a dispatch to me the policy of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other independent states which we have hitherto pursued and to which it is our purpose to adhere, in terms that would be perfectly satisfactory to the Emperor. A copy of such an opinion in his hands, I said, would possess all the advantages and none of the disadvantages of a formal treaty.

I also expressed my belief that you would have no objection to make such a communication if it promised to favor an early and friendly solution of the questions pending between us.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys thought well of this suggestion; said he saw no need of a treaty; he preferred the separate and independent action of the governments, and he would be prepared, he said, in conformity with that policy, to show me, when I could give him the assurance spoken of, the results of negotiations with Maximilian which were already going on quite independently of that assurance. I was glad to hear from his mouth this fact glanced at in his memorandum, for it satisfied me that notice has already gone forward to Maximilian, probably by M. Hidalgo, that he must prepare to dispense with the French flag *avant peu.*

I then asked whether it would not be possible in some way to arrest the useless and demoralizing warfare that was carried on in Mexico between Maximilian and the Juarists, at least while these negotiations were going on—that is, while the French occupation should last. He said he wished there was; that the atrocities practiced there were really too dreadful to speak of, but he did not know that he could do anything to discourage them, and asked if I had anything to suggest. I said I supposed that if the Juarists were sure that the French were intending to leave Mexico within a time which seemed reasonable to them, and that they would then have a fair chance of trying conclusions with Maximilian's party, they would be willing to leave him undisturbed by them, and that if France or Maximilian had any direct means of coming to

an understanding with Juarez it might render the situation less embarrassing to all parties.

His Excellency replied that he would be very glad if that were practicable, as it would enable them to leave the country so much the sooner, but they had no means of communicating with Juarez; and he asked me if I could suggest any mode of accomplishing what I proposed. I replied that we had relations, as he was aware, with Señor Romero, and anything that he would authorize us to say we should be most happy to say, of course, that would have a tendency to terminate this brutalizing strife.

His Excellency promised to speak of this, and also of the form of the "Assurance" which we had been discussing, to the Emperor.

I then asked His Excellency if he had heard of Santa Anna's projects of which I wrote you in my private note of the 9th instant. He seemed to be fully informed upon the subject.

My object in this conversation with M. Drouyn de Lhuys, as I have already stated, was to lose no time in getting our two governments to a point where they can begin to act in concert. How far I have succeeded I can better judge when I shall receive your reply to this account of it.

I remain, sir, etc.

DROUYN DE LHUYS TO BIGELOW

Translation

Mr. Minister:

You did me the honor to communicate to me during the month of November a letter addressed to Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, by the Attorney-General of the United States, on the subject of the decrees issued by the Emperor Maximilian concerning immigration and colonization in Mexico. This document being a commentary on domestic measures of the Mexican Government, I could only receive it as a matter of information. This is what I then took care to deliver to you, while declining to make any explanation in regard to

measures to which the Government of the Emperor was absolutely foreign. In acknowledging, therefore, according to your request, the receipt of your letter of the 22nd November last, I consider it my duty to restate the verbal answer which I then felt called upon to make.

Accept the assurances of the high consideration, etc.

Paris, 15 Jan. 1866.

BIGELOW TO DROUYN DE LHUYS

Legation of the United States,
Paris, January 16, 1866.

Sir:

I have had the honor to receive Your Excellency's communication of the 15th instant in reference to certain decrees recently promulgated in Mexico upon the subject of Emigration and Colonization. Your Excellency declines to offer any explanation of the objectionable features of one of these decrees to which I had the honor to invite Your Excellency's attention in my note of the 22d November last, upon the ground that they were domestic measures with which the Government of the Emperor had no concern.

Though the line which divides the responsibility of the Imperial Government from that of the political organization which it has planted in Mexico is somewhat indistinctly traced, I am sure my Government will learn with satisfaction that France, which was among the first to hold slavery up to the execration of mankind, declines all responsibility for an attempt, though made under the protection of its flag, to restore that institution to a country which had deliberately condemned and abolished it.

I avail myself of this occasion to renew to Your Excellency assurances of the high consideration, etc.

THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE MINISTER OF FRANCE IN MEXICO

Translation

PARIS, January 15, 1866.

I think it a duty to enter here into some developments for your complete information upon the subject to which my despatch yesterday relates.

. . . . . .

Such was the object of the convention of Miramar, which was to be the regulator of our rights and our reciprocal duties. It would have no interest now to recall the circumstances which prevent the Mexican government from henceforth fulfilling the obligations which that act imposes on it, and which threaten to cast upon us, without any of the equivalents promised, the burden of a new establishment. I will not dwell upon the remarks which abound, in this respect, in my correspondence with the legation of the Emperor, and it would seem superfluous to me now to seek out in idle discussion the causes of a situation which my duty only obliges me to state. In equity, the chances of the bilateral contracts which bound us to the Mexican government being no longer to be executed by it, we are ourselves released from the obligations we had contracted.

However, sir, we perhaps would not have thought of availing ourselves of the privilege given us by the non-execution by the Mexican government of the engagements of the treaty of Miramar to declare ourselves exonerated from ours, if our resolution in that respect were not controlled by a consideration of fact which admits no discussion. The Mexican government is powerless to furnish to us those financial resources which are indispensable to keep up our military strength; and, besides, it even calls upon us to take charge of a large part of the expenses of its internal administration. These embarrassments are not new, and at various intervals we have attempted to meet them by facilitating loans, which have placed large sums at the disposal of Mexico. To-day any such recourse to credit is admitted to be impossible. What remains to us to do, in view of the established emptiness of the Mexican treasury and of demands which its poverty casts back on us? The provisions of our budget do not furnish us any means of supplying this deficit. If Mexico cannot pay the troops which we maintain in its territory, it will be impossible for us to keep them there. As for asking from our country new credits for this object, I have already explained this to you. As I have told you, public opinion has

pronounced, with irrefutable authority, that the limit of sacrifices is reached. France will refuse to add anything to them, and the Emperor will not ask it. Far from me be the idea of misconstruing the efforts accomplished by the emperor Maximilian and by his government. The emperor has resolutely encountered the difficulties inherent to every new establishment, and which the peculiar condition in which Mexico was placed, perhaps, rendered still more arduous. His impulsion has been felt throughout; and if it has not been given to him to operate to the extent of his good intentions, and so rapidly as he conceived them, the transformation which the administration of the country calls for, incontestable results do not the less attest the activity of his initiative. In the provinces as in the capital, wherever the emperor, and the empress, so gallantly associated in the work of her august husband, have been able to make themselves personally known, their sympathetic reception by the people bears witness of their confidence—of the hopes with which they cling to the restoration of the empire. The emperor has himself proclaimed the close of the civil war, if, indeed, the resistance to his authority merited that name.

This situation, encouraging in many respects, leaves me to ask whether the well-understood interests of the emperor Maximilian are not here found to be in accord with the necessities to which we are bound to yield. Of all the reproaches heard from dissidents in the interior and adversaries abroad, the most dangerous to a government which is being established is certainly that of being sustained only by foreign force. Without question, the suffrages of Mexicans have met this imputation. It subsists, however, and it is well understood how advantageous it will be to the cause of the empire to take away this weapon from its adversaries.

At the moment when these various considerations oblige us to look to the close of our military occupation, the government of the Emperor, in its solicitude about the important work in which it took the initiative, and in its sympathy for the emperor Maximilian, was obliged to take into strict account the financial situation of Mexico. That situation is serious, but it is not desperate. With energy and courage, with firm and sustained will, the Mexican empire can triumph over the difficulties which lie in its way; but success can only be had at this price. This is the conviction we have extracted from the careful and scrupulous examination of its obligations and of its resources, and you must endeavor to impress this upon the mind of the emperor Maximilian and his government.

Accept, etc.

Drouyn de Lhuys.

A.D. 1808 — The Duc de Persigny — A.D. 1872

THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE MINISTER OF FRANCE IN MEXICO

Translation

PARIS, February 16, 1866.

Sir:

At the time I am writing this despatch to you Baron de Saillard must have reached Mexico. The instructions from the government of the Emperor are, therefore, known to you. His Majesty has himself taken care, in his speech at the opening of the legislative session, to inform the great bodies of the state of these resolutions. To-day I have only to confirm the general directions contained in my despatch of 14th and 15th January, and to recommend to you to settle, without delay, with the Mexican government the arrangements intended to realize the views of the Emperor.

The wish of his Majesty is, as you know, that the evacuation should begin toward next autumn, and be accomplished as promptly as possible. You will have an understanding with Marshal de Bazaine to fix on the successive periods in accord with the emperor Maximilian.

I cannot here develop the various considerations which must be taken into account in the conduct of this operation, some of a nature purely military and technical, and essentially in the province of the marshal commander-in-chief; others, more political in character, are remitted to your appreciations in common, enlightened by the perfect knowledge which you have of local circumstances, and the necessities which they impose.

It is equally important, also, sir, to strike the balance of the financial situation and determine the guarantees which the security of the debt due to us requires. The provisions of the treaty of Miramar not having been realized, recourse must be had to other combinations to secure the reimbursement of our advances, and at the same time to provide, in the interest of the Mexican credit, for the regular payment of the arrearages of the debts contracted by the loans of 1864 and 1865. M. Langlas will receive by this courier, from the Minister of Finance, detailed instructions, which he will communicate to you; you will also have an understanding with him, in order to assure their execution.

The government of the Emperor has thought the simplest and least onerous combination for the Mexican government would consist in placing in our hands the custom-houses of Vera Cruz and Tampico, or others which should be deemed more suitable. One-half the returns should be ours, to be applied, one portion to payments of interest, at

three per cent., on our credits, estimated on a capital of two hundred and fifty millions, and the rest as a partial guarantee of the interest due the holders of bonds of the loans of 1864 and 1865. Administered under our care, it is allowable to hope that these custom-houses would furnish still, after the previously assented-to deductions, important resources. You will, therefore, have to make with the Mexican government such necessary arrangements that this delegation be regularly conferred upon us.

These points settled, and French interests thus guarded, the government of the Emperor will none the less continue to evince, in an efficient manner, all the sympathy which inspires his Majesty for the sovereign of Mexico personally, and toward the generous task to which he has devoted himself. You will please, sir, to make, in the name of his Majesty, this assurance to the Emperor Maximilian.

Accept, etc.

DROUYN DE LHUYS.

W. HUNTER, ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE, TO BIGELOW

Unofficial

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, Jany., 1866.

Sir:

Your confidential communications to Mr. Seward of the 14th, 21st, 26th and 29th ultimo have been received, and submitted to the President. The suggestion which they make, pursuant to an understanding between M. Drouyn de Lhuys and yourself, that the President should address an autographic letter to the Emperor upon the presence of French troops in Mexico, has been favorably considered, but before determining upon the matter, it has been deemed advisable to await intelligence of the Emperor's Message to the Legislative Body upon the opening of their session. It is probable that Mr. Seward will return to Washington in the course of next week.[1]

I am, Sir, etc.

[1] Mr. Seward had sought rest and a milder climate in the Antilles for a few weeks.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, January 19, 1866.

Sir:

The Marquis de Montholon called here yesterday, and the first topic of conversation between us naturally was the hostile expedition across the Rio Grande and the capture of Bagdad, as reported in the newspapers. To an inquiry as to whether the department had any official information upon the subject, I replied in the negative. I added that such information was probably in possession of the War Department only, and I would at once apply to that department for it, with a view of communicating the same to you in order that you might make the explanations which will probably be expected by the French government. Accordingly, a copy of a letter of this date, addressed to this department by the Secretary of War, and of the papers by which it was accompanied, is herewith transmitted. From these it is apparent that the expedition referred to was not authorized and is not approved by any officer of this government, military or civil, and that orders have been given to put a stop to any recruiting in Texas for similar expeditions.

I am, sir, your obedient servant

LORD COWLEY TO BIGELOW

PARIS, January 20, 1866.

My dear Sir:

I am much obliged by your communications of to-day.

With respect to your extradition treaty with this country, could you kindly procure for me information on the following points:

Does a simple *mandat d'arrêt* issuing from a French *juge de paix* entitle the French Govt. to the extradition from the United States of a person accused of any crime provided for by treaty? If not, what are the proceedings which must be taken in the United States to enable the French authorities to claim the extradition of such a person?

Are written depositions taken in evidence with or without parole evidence?

Can any information be given as to the number of persons that have been given up to France and upon what conditions?

I have the honor to be, My dear Sir,

Your very faithful servant

LABOULAYE TO BIGELOW

Paris, January 20, 1866.

Mr. Ambassador:

The members of the French Emancipation Society have received, with emotion and sympathy, the proclamation announcing the abolition of slavery, which you instructed me to communicate to them.

In a large meeting assembled to consider the future fate of the freedom of your country, I read your letter. It transformed our gathering, in a measure, into a thanksgiving festival.

This century has witnessed the abolition of serfdom in Russia, and of slavery in the United States. That is glory enough for it.

We entertain the hope that the illustrious successor of Lincoln and the statesmen and Christians of America will know how to make citizens of those of whom they have made freemen. The civilized world expects from them the success of this grand experiment.

We shall watch the steps of its progress with the most untiring interest; and we beg you to thank the President of the United States, in the name of our committee, for the measures which he has heretofore taken, and for the noble instrument to which his name shall remain attached, as we thank you also, Mr. Ambassador, for having communicated it to us.

Please accept the expression of our high consideration.

The president of the committee:

Edward Laboulaye.

The secretary:

A Cochin, Member of the French Institute.

BIGELOW TO DR. McCLINTOCK

Confidential

PARIS, January 24, 1866.

My dear Doctor:

Thanks for your welcome letter and the encouraging news it contains of your turnip prospects. If Horace wrote so well as he did under the inspiration of his little farm, what should we not expect of you when you enter into the possession of your hundred Jersey acres?

I hope you will be pleased with the Emperor's discourse *in re* the United States. I send you a copy that you may be spared the necessity of reading it in a translation. The United States have proved a more fertile topic to his Majesty this year than ever heretofore. I think he is converted, and, like the Connecticut deacon, on his knees admits that he is a great sinner and is not ashamed to own it. My impression is that if we only give him half a chance we shall have no farther trouble with him. This Mexican business is the first grave check he has encountered, and it is doing him good—more to him, some people think, than to his dynasty. The people here are amusing themselves with a singular combination of dates through which they are trying to read its destiny.

Louis Philippe. Came to the throne in 1830

1	
7	Year of
7	birth
3	
1848	fall

1830

1	
8	Year of
0	marriage
9	
1848	fall

M. Amélie. Came to the throne in 1830

1	
7	Year of
8	birth
2	
1848	fall

Napoleon III. Came to the throne in 1852

1	
8	Year of
5	marriage
3	
1869	fall

Empress Eugénie. Came to the throne in 1852

1	
8	Year of
2	birth
6	
1869	fall

In other words and figures, the dates of the birth and of the marriage of Louis Philippe and his wife added in a single column to the date of their coming to the throne in each instance gives the date of their fall. This sort of addition gives 1869 as the lawful term of our Emperor's career as the ruler of the French. It is a curious sum in arithmetic, and among a people so superstitious as the French might have a tendency to prove itself. The Emperor, who has a superstitious vein in his character, might himself fall under its influence.

Renan told me last night that his first volume of the "Lives of the Apostles" would be out early in March.

I send you some newspaper extracts which a friend enclosed to me from London. I wish you would have me put on the list of subscribers to your Encyclopædia. Mrs. Bigelow is ill or would unite with me in kind regards to Mrs. McClintock and Mrs. Massy. Please present to your new son and his bride our cordial felicitations.

Yours very sincerely

MANSFIELD T. WALWORTH TO BIGELOW

New York, January 24, 1866.

Dear Sir:

I am the youngest son of Chancellor Walworth, and I am busily occupied in writing the Lives of the Six Chancellors of New York. The materials gathered by the late Bishop Potter of Pennsylvania for the purpose of writing the Life of Chancellor Livingston, your predecessor at the court of France, have fallen into my hands. Bancroft and many distinguished jurists of this city advise me to exhaust every source of information to render proper homage to the memories of our illustrious equity jurists.

I apply to you for assistance, not only under advice of Hon. Judge Pierrepont, but also because your name has been several times mentioned to me as one of the very few American literary men who understand and admire French literature.

During Chancellor Livingston's residence in Paris he was a great favorite of Napoleon; of Marbois; of Vivant Denon,

Member of the National Institute; of Houdon the sculptor, and M. Vincent of the French Academy of Painting. All of these were nominated by him as members of the American Academy of Arts, and I have their letters of acceptance. Lafayette was his frequent correspondent and friend. Joseph Bonaparte loved him dearly and was the guest of the family at Clermont. I have the most touching incident of his emotion when he found at Clermont the miniature of the great emperor, his brother.

In the families of these men in France must be preserved letters of the Chancellor, and anecdotes, political and social, concerning him. Perhaps valuable facts exist there regarding his steamboat experiments and intimacy with Fulton. Perhaps some friend of literature there may be willing to send me the locality and sketch of his house, the style in which he lived, and the names of his familiar dining and party friends. Any fact regarding him will not come amiss, and if any one will cause copies of letters or statements of facts to be sent to Judge Pierrepont for me, I will gladly pay the cost of the copying. I trust you will remember me in conversation, and without trouble obtain for me assistance. The Chancellor's daughter Margaret was entertained at private breakfast by Josephine Any reminiscence of her will be acceptable.

I am very respectfully yours

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, January 25, 1866.

Sir:

No reply to my private communication of the 21st ultimo has yet reached me. Consequently the discourse of the Emperor on the 22nd was pronounced without reference to anything written to me from Washington since Mr. Hunter's dispatches of the 5th instant. You will remark that the Emperor confirms publicly the intimation given me by His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs that negotiations were going on with Maximilian for the withdrawal of the French

army from Mexico. As soon as I am authorized to give the assurance that the Government of the United States will adhere to its policy of non-intervention in Mexico after the recall of the French troops, I shall expect to receive a report of the progress and actual situation of the negotiations between his Majesty and Maximilian. Till then, or until some satisfactory reason is assigned for declining to give such an assurance, this government will incline to be reserved upon that subject. My impression is that the Emperor errs in desiring to make any engagement with us a condition of his retirement from Mexico, for it is his policy to give to that act, as far as possible, the character claimed for it in his discourse of being altogether voluntary and logical. Besides, no private engagements with France could add strength to those we have already taken to the world to respect all independent nationalities.

On our part such an assurance, except it were given in the manner suggested in my Dispatch No. 240, would imply that it was necessary, an admission we can hardly make with dignity, or, I hope, with truth. I shall present these considerations to M. Drouyn de Lhuys at greater length than I have yet done. By the next mail I hope to receive something from you upon the subject which will unlock the secrets of the pending negotiations with Maximilian.

I would not be surprised if affairs had already reached a crisis in Mexico, for Maximilian has nothing wherewith to pay the army, and I doubt if the Emperor will leave it there long to be a burden upon the budget.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

United States Legation,
Paris, January 25, 1866.

Sir:

I pointed out to-day to His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs some of the objections to our giving the Imperial government a formal assurance that we would not disturb the

statu quo of Mexico upon the withdrawal of the French army from the territory. I closed by informing him that the United States in the ninety years of their existence had never attempted by arms to interfere with or modify the government of any other nation; that our first President on laying down his office made a parting request, the wisdom of which none of his successors has ever questioned, that as a government we should avoid all unnecessary responsibility for the political institutions of other countries; that when Kossuth came to America, though the cause he represented enjoyed the almost unanimous sympathy of its native-born population, he received from our government none and from our people very little of the kind of assistance for which his mission was undertaken; and, finally, that no prominent statesman in the United States had ever advocated a policy of intervention in the government of other independent states.

In view of these facts and in view of the language held by you during the last four years in your correspondence with the diplomatic representatives of the United States, I thought the Emperor would find every assurance he could require of our disposition to respect the independence and nationality of Mexico.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys replied that he would look through the correspondence—of which I promised to furnish him a complete copy for his private use—and if he could find the assurances which in some form or other he thought it the duty of the Emperor to take, he would submit them to the Emperor, and of course they would be as satisfactory as any new ones if they still stand in force and unchanged by subsequent declarations, referring here to declarations of previous administrations modified by the government since the accession of President Lincoln, I presume.

The question at issue between France and the United States is not likely to take a direction that will render this conversation very important, but in view of the possible contingencies I have thought it my duty to report it.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

BIGELOW TO LORD COWLEY

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, Jan. 26, 1866.

My Lord:

I have received your favor of the 20th instant and am happy to find myself able to give a satisfactory answer at once to some of the questions you address to me.

To procure a warrant of extradition under any of our treaties it is necessary to produce to the officer before whom the accused is arraigned, not only the *mandat d'arrêt*, but certified copies of the deposition of the witnesses upon which the warrant was granted. These copies must be attested by the oath (parole) of the person presenting them to be true copies of such originals. If the papers show that the accused has been properly *mise en accusation* in France, the warrant of extradition issues of course.

I send your lordship the two enabling acts which have been passed to give effect to our Extradition Treaties, one of which will be found in Vol. 9 of the Statutes at Large, page 302, and the other in Vol. 12, page 84. I also send the 5th volume of Howard's U. S. Supreme Court, in which your Lordship will find a report of a case under the French treaty at page 176, in which it was held that the magistrate decides the case judicially and that his decision was not liable to any interference on the part of the Executive or to review on Habeas Corpus.

In all cases that have risen under our Extradition Treaties, I believe, without an exception, the Secretary of State has sent the application to be heard before a United States Commissioner.

Since our treaty with France went into operation I doubt if there have been a dozen applications for Extradition all told. Of these, no proper case has been unsuccessful, though frequent delays have occurred, in consequence of the irregularities of papers, the French papers rarely being regular according to our mode of procedure. I should judge that about half the applications have been granted, though I have sent to Washington for precise information upon that point, which,

when received, I shall have pleasure in placing at your Lordship's disposal. It has been the policy of our courts to give vigor to the treaty upon all points within the range of its discretion, in this respect departing from the common-law rule of construing doubtful points in favor of the prisoner.

Your Lordship's, etc.

BIGELOW TO DROUYN DE LHUYS

Confidential

[*Circa* January 26, 1866.]

My dear M. Drouyn de Lhuys:

With no views of pressing the name of Mr. Tuck for presentation to their Majesties, after the intimation conveyed in your Excellency's favor of the 26th inst. that it would not be acceptable, but simply to inform myself of the etiquette of the court in such matters, I beg to ask how it became my privilege to present Mr. Nicolay, the Consul at Paris, to their Majesties on Wednesday week, and Mr. Brooks, late Vice-Consul at Paris, about a year since, if, as your Excellency states, it is not the etiquette of the Court to receive Consuls and Vice-Consuls?

It would be convenient and might become important for me to know the ground, which unfortunately is not disclosed in your Excellency's note, upon which this distinction is made. I pray your Excellency to excuse me for troubling you with such a matter and to believe me, dear Sir,

Very sincerely yours

BIGELOW TO DROUYN DE LHUYS

Legation of the United States,
Paris, January 29, 1866.

The undersigned, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at Paris, has the honor to ask

the attention of His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs to a suggestion which he is instructed to submit to the Imperial Government in reference to appeals from the decisions of French Consuls in China.

A case has recently occurred within the Consular jurisdiction of France at Ningpo which illustrates the inconveniences against which it is the purpose of this communication to invite provision. An American by the name of Butler was killed by a French subject named Pepin on board of an English steamer. The English Consul at Ningpo, where Butler died, declined jurisdiction. The French Consul at that place held an examination of Pepin, and without notifying the American Consul and, as is alleged, without affording him an opportunity of presenting any of the testimony on behalf of the prosecution, discharged the prisoner. Our Consul at Ningpo and our Consul-General and our Chargé d'Affaires at Pekin were so impressed with the irregularity of this trial and so dissatisfied with its result that the latter officer applied to Monsieur de Bellonet, the French Chargé d'Affaires at that capital, to order a new trial of Pepin. M. de Bellonet replied that he had no power to issue such an order. The following paragraph is quoted from his letter:

"The Imperial Legation does not possess the powers of an Appellate Court like the United States Legation, and the law of 1852 has conferred appellate jurisdiction to decide the validity of judgments rendered by the Consular Courts in China upon the Court at Pondicherry. The civil party must appeal to that Court if there is any doubt about the validity of the judgment or the competency of the French Consular Court."

Of course an appeal to a tribunal so distant as Pondicherry from Ningpo, in a case like this, was impracticable, and the impression remains, whether well or ill founded, in the minds of many persons in China, that justice has not been done to Pepin. To show that this impression is not altogether unreasonable, the undersigned has the honor to enclose a copy of the deposition of Butler taken *in articulo mortis,* but which the prosecution was not permitted to introduce in the examination of the prisoner, while his own testimony and that of a friend appear to have constituted the principal evidence for the defence.

Knowing that it is the policy of the Imperial, as of all Christian Governments, not merely to administer justice through its tribunals, but to satisfy the world interested that it is administered through them, the undersigned ventures to hope that the statement of the impression left upon the minds of the American authorities at Ningpo by the course pursued with Pepin may lead the Imperial Government to consider the propriety of conferring appellate jurisdiction upon its chief representative in China.

The undersigned avails himself of this occasion to renew to His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs the assurance of his most distinguished consideration.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, January 30, 1866.

Sir:

I have still nothing later from the State Department than the 5th of January. France is a prey to the wildest rumors and to a sort of solicitude which has been compared in my presence by the French people to that which prevailed in '89. This is partly owing to the ignorance of what has occurred between the two governments since the apparently critical moment at which the correspondence sent by the President to Congress closed. In spite of the pacific and friendly tone of the Emperor's discourse, the public persist in believing that the actual situation is not represented by that correspondence. To relieve this anxiety a little, the official press has announced the departure of M. Saillard to Mexico and M. Faveman to Washington with communications designed to prepare the way for the retirement of the French Army from Mexico and to satisfy President Johnson of the Emperor's loyal intentions towards the United States. You will find in the Paris correspondence of the *London Times* a curious account of Saillard's unsuccessful efforts to procure some letters of cre-

dence first from the Emperor, then the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and finally from Walewski. Though his name is not given, he is the third party referred to. This story is substantially true; at least Saillard is responsible, I suspect, for any error that may have crept into it.

To enable you to see how completely the relations of France with the United States have swallowed up all other questions, I send you a number of journals of a more or less representative character. You will be struck, no doubt, as I have been, by the fact that the propriety of our requiring the Emperor to withdraw his army from Mexico is not questioned by any of them; nor do I remember to have heard it questioned by any one with whom I have conversed. It is universally conceded that the moment the indemnity for which the Emperor professes to have gone to Mexico ceased to be attainable by arms it was his duty to leave in order not to have other motives which could not be justified assigned to his expedition.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO M. JULES DE LASTEYRIE

U. S. Legation,
Paris, January 31, 1866.

My dear Sir:

I shall send by Saturday's dispatch-bag letters of introduction for your cousin M. Ferdinand, to Senators Sumner of Boston and Morgan of New York, and Representatives Banks and Hooper of Massachusetts, enclosed in a letter to Mr. Seward. If you will please notify your cousin of the fact and tell him to call for them personally upon Mr. Seward, I think he will receive as cordial a welcome as the nature of Mr. Seward's public duties will admit of.

I am, dear Sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, February 1, 1866.

Sir:

In the Diplomatic circle last evening at the Palace, the Emperor asked me how my country people would like his speech at the opening of the Corps Législatif. I replied that I had no doubt that it would be read with general satisfaction. He then said he hoped we would soon have good news from the United States. I said I thought we might expect good news as soon as possible after your return to Washington. His Majesty asked if it was true, as the papers stated, that you would touch at Vera Cruz during your absence. I replied that I had not received a single line from Washington in reference to your trip, but that I had no reason to think it even probable that your voyage had any other purpose than recreation, which you could hardly obtain within reach of the telegraph, and that you probably thought the moment chosen the most propitious that was likely soon to offer for a brief absence.

The question of the Emperor and the way in which he attributed the question he asked to reports of newspapers, as if he did not wish to be supposed to know anything upon the subject, led me for the first time to doubt whether you may not have been to Vera Cruz, a voyage for which it is not difficult to imagine a sufficient pretext at the present moment.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, February 1, 1866.

Sir:

Mr. Beckwith has shown to me the enclosed dispatch of the 31st instant in reference to the legislative provisions to be

made for the installation, superintendence, jury, and reporting service in the American department of the Universal Exposition of 1867. I approve of his suggestions entirely upon those points and do not see how equally desirable results can be accomplished in any other way at the same expense. I hope, therefore, they may commend themselves to the approbation of the President and of Congress.

In reference to the part assigned by Mr. Beckwith to the Minister Plenipotentiary who may be residing in Paris at the time, no legislation nor regulations are necessary. His place at all public ceremonials is prescribed with sufficient distinctness by the Court, and of course he will be the medium of all communications between the two governments. I take it for granted that the Commissioner-General of the United States to reside at Paris will enjoy sufficiently the confidence of his government to be entrusted with all the other business to which the Exposition may give rise.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, February 1, 1866.

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit herewith a copy of the *Documents Diplomatiques* communicated to the Corps Législatif on Monday the 29th instant. You will learn from a note on the first page that it was originally intended, and so M. Drouyn de Lhuys stated to me this day week, to defer the publication of the correspondence relating to Mexico until the pending negotiations upon that subject should reach maturity. A subsequent note at page 134 states that, in consequence of the communication to Congress of a correspondence upon this subject by the President of the United States, it was thought best to withhold it no longer from the Corps Législatif. The dispatch on page 216 is in reply to your note addressed to the Marquis de Montholon, bearing date the 6th of December last, and gives an official version of the proposal which I had

the honor to transmit to you in my dispatch No. 240 of the 11th ult. I also invite your attention to the communication on page 223 addressed by M. Drouyn de Lhuys to the Marquis de Montholon in reference to a note addressed by me to the former on the 16th ult. It is true that M. Drouyn de Lhuys did say in conversation with me laughingly that he could have replied to me, if disposed, that France had not planted any political organization in Mexico, and that he did not believe Maximilian's decrees in reference to emigration contemplated any such purposes or results as I attributed to them, but he left me to understand that he did not think it worth while to write about it. I concluded that, if he did not think it of consequence enough to answer in writing, he did not care to have a record made of his remarks. This will explain why you first hear of this conversation through a letter to the Marquis de Montholon.

I also send by the bag to-night a bundle of journals showing the impression left upon the public mind here by the appearance of this correspondence, and of that submitted to Congress by the President. It is very easy to perceive that these publications have not been grateful to the Government.

I am, sir, etc.

JULES DE LASTEYRIE TO BIGELOW

My dear Sir:

I am profoundly grateful for the letters you have been pleased to write in behalf of my cousin Ferdinand, and I send your note in order that he may profit by your kindness immediately upon his arrival in Washington. I am grateful to you not only because of my fraternal regard for my cousin; I experience great satisfaction also in finding in the Minister of the United States the graciousness with which all Americans have overwhelmed me when they have visited my grandfather at Lagrange. You have awakened in me the best and sweetest recollections of my youth.

My wife has been gratified to learn of the amiable intention entertained by Madame Bigelow and yourself to visit Lagrange in the spring. Although French, she is on her mother's

side the niece of Charles Fox, so you see that with us you will find yourself in good American company.

Thanks also, my dear sir, for not having forgotten your amiable promise and for writing these letters so useful to my cousin, in the midst of occupations which ought to oppress you at this moment. Your kind reception has inspired me with sentiments of which I beg you to receive this expression, and also to thank with all my heart Madame Bigelow, and to offer her the homage of my respect.

Lagrange, 2 February, 1866.

JULES DE LASTEYRIE TO BIGELOW

February, 1866.

My dear Sir:

I recall perfectly the arrival in France of Mr. Livingston, whom I have often seen with my grandfather, and who was Minister of the United States in Paris after the revolution of July. I did not know him under the name of *Chancellor,* but I recall perfectly his labors as a Jurisconsult, especially in Louisiana. There can be, therefore, no mistake about the person. I have preserved a vague recollection of a very remarkable notice made in his honor by M. Mignet, Perpetual Secretary of the Academy of Moral Sciences, of which Mr. Livingston was a corresponding member. I did not wish to reply to you before assuring myself of the fact. M. Mignet has confirmed my impression, and has even sent me two volumes of notices in one of which is found the notice of Mr. Livingston. I write to-day for a copy for you to dispose of or send as you please to your American correspondent. You know how great an authority is M. Mignet in the literary world. I will make all the researches possible for information about Mr. Livingston, and if I find anything I will send it you.

Will you, in the meantime, my dear sir, accept the assurance of my esteem and my respect, and be so good as to present all my homages to Madame Bigelow?

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

PARIS, February 2, 1866.

My dear Sir:

The market for Mexican securities has completely broken down during the last three or four days. The Loan has fallen since the appearance of the *Livre Jaune* from 327 to 297, at which latter point it stood yesterday, closing, however, at 300, fall of 30 per cent.

The Comptoir Escompte also has fallen within the same period to 10 per cent. This was the agency through which the Loan was negotiated and paid to Mexico. The report prevailed yesterday at the Bourse that Maximilian's drafts had been refused here for want of funds; to this fact and the diplomatic correspondence are attributed the rapid decline of public confidence in Mexican investments, and the general depression under which the market of France labors at present.

I think by next mail I shall be able to give you some information in regard to some of the Confederate money on deposit here.

Yours very truly

P.S. The news of your arrival at St. Thomas and of your visit to Santa Anna is announced in the papers this morning.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, February 8, 1866.

Sir:.

You will find in the *Moniteur* of the 7th instant the address reported by the Senate Commission in reply to the Imperial discourse at the opening of the Corps Législatif.

The passages of chief interest to the people of the United States are the following:

"You are, Sire, the national guardian of the interests of the

Army. It is not your Majesty who, after having led it to victory, would forget its glorious service on the return of peace. Besides, is it not always the safeguard of French honor and the bulwark of order and law? It is the Army which now gives on the distant territory of Mexico an example of discipline, constancy and of all military virtues which it drops like a fruitful seed on its march.

"Your Majesty has announced that this memorable expedition to Mexico touches its term and that you are coming to an understanding with the Emperor Maximilian for the recall of your troops. That is the same as to say to satisfied France that the protection of her commercial interests will be assured in this vast and rich market, made safe by our aid.

"As to the United States, if, through any misunderstanding, the presence of the French flag on the American Continent appears to them less seasonable than it did at another very illustrious epoch of their history, the firm communications of your government have shown that it will not be imperious and menacing language that will determine us to retire. France has not the habit of marching except to her own tune. [*Very well, very well.*] But she loves to remember her ancient friendship for the United States. What you demand of them is neutrality and the rights of nations. By this they may see that a war for the so often declared purpose of protecting our country people against a faithless government does not become, because successful, a war of conquest, of domination or of propagandism."

Some of these allusions are not generally thought to have been conceived in good taste, but the excuse that is made for them is that they respond to the exigencies of a very difficult situation.

It seems a gratuitous reflection upon the tone of your correspondence with this government to say that the Emperor's course is not to be changed by the use of imperious and threatening language; the more gratuitous because it is accompanied with an implication of national ingratitude. We are again reminded of an obligation to the French flag in America at another "illustrious epoch of our history," as if we had shown signs of forgetfulness and of the ancient friendship between France and the United States, as if we had shown signs of change.

Statesmen with such faithful memories should have remembered the fate of the pitchers that went once too often to the well. Americans take pride in owing France for her services in the war for their independence and in avowing their debt. It might be inferred, however, from the frequency with which they are reminded of that debt latterly, that the statesmen of the empire wished it discharged.

Objectionable as the tone of this part of the address certainly is, I do not think we have occasion to take serious exception to it. It is almost a necessary preparation for the change in the Foreign policy of the Emperor which we expect.

The discussions which are to ensue in either house upon the addresses apropos of Mexico and the United States are expected to possess altogether exceptional interest and importance. Several of the most eminent orators of the opposition are preparing themselves for an assault, and the opinion is freely expressed that the government majority will be rudely shaken in the House of Deputies unless satisfactory assurances are given beforehand by the government of the early retirement of the army from Mexico.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO WILLIAM TORRENS M'CULLAGH TORRENS[1]

PARIS, February 8, 1866.

My dear Sir:

. . . I received the note of which you remind me, but did not answer it because I had nothing to say worth the saying. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the public demand for newspaper guidance in England to judge what chance a new journal of the kind you propose would have. There is always room for another newspaper if you have the man competent

[1] This gentleman had been at one time editor of the *London Examiner*, to which Fonblanque, one of his predecessors, had given a high reputation. He was at the time of this letter's writing a member of Parliament and wished to enlist American capital in the establishment of a new paper that would give special attention to American interests. I heard nothing more of it.

to conduct it. Without that there is never a chance. So far as the explanation of Mexican views and interests is concerned, I do not think any journal would succeed in England of which that should be its leading feature and purpose. Still less do I think much American capital could be found out of London, if in it, for such an enterprise.

Our people have come to have so much less respect than they had formerly for the opinion of foreign journals that they would be apt to regard any proposal of the kind you speak of, I think, with indifference. But upon all these points Mr. Adams could advise you much better than I can. Anything that he might suggest or countenance I would do what I could to encourage. Will your ministry last the session out? I heard Delane was sorry to leave the *Times*. Is it true?

Faithfully yours

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, February 8, 1866.

Sir:

I have received Mr. Hunter's dispatch No. 375, containing the latest intelligence from General Weitzel's command in possession of the Secretary of War at its date, and also his telegram of the 20th of January, transmitted to me through Mr. Derby, the dispatch agent at New York. I sent the telegram to M. Drouyn de Lhuys on Tuesday, and on Wednesday had occasion to call on him. His first inquiry was in regard to the late raid upon Bagdad. He said that the Emperor had asked him if he had any information, and he was obliged to say that he had nothing but what had appeared in the journals. I then proceeded to state the substance of the dispatches from General Sheridan and handed him Mr. Hunter's telegram to read. He immediately made a note of their contents, to be sent at once to the Emperor. In the course of the conversation to which my communication gave rise, His Excellency said

they did not quite know what to make of what had taken place at Bagdad, and recalled a remark made to me on a previous occasion that if we meant to make war he hoped we would do so openly and squarely. I immediately interrupted him and begged him not to pursue that line of remark farther; that the intelligence in our possession did not warrant any apprehension of such a catastrophe, and that I did not think anything was to be gained by our discussing its contingent probabilities. "Well," he said, smiling, "if you do not wish to talk of it, we will drop it." I gave no reason for refusing to follow him into such a strain of speculation, though I had good ones.

I could scarcely listen to such remarks without admitting by implication that my Government had possibly fallen short of its duty. In the next place, I was not ready to be placed in a position either to admit or deny the right of the French Government to take our government to task for political events occurring on Mexican soil, over which France claims no territorial sovereignty. I was, also, prepared to testify my confidence in the peaceful and loyal disposition of my Government towards France by treating the possibilities of war as too remote to merit discussion.

The following day I was again at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, when M. Drouyn de Lhuys read to me a dispatch he had just received from the Marquis de Montholon, giving the result of his interview with Mr. Hunter after the dispatches from General Sheridan to General Grant in reference to the pillage of Bagdad had reached the State Department. A copy of that dispatch appears in the *Moniteur* this morning. That and the abstract of my communications upon the same subject, which appeared in some of the papers yesterday, have given the situation a much less serious aspect than it presented to the French public before.

We hear to-day of your arrival, on the 20th ult., at Havana, and that General Crawford has been arrested.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, February 9, 1866.

Sir:

A meeting was held in this city on the last Wednesday evening in January for the relief of the freedmen of the United States. M. Laboulaye, the president of the French Emancipation Society, presided and spoke. Speeches were also made by the Prince de Broglie, and Messrs. Franck and Cochin of the Institute; by MM. Grandpierre and Dhombres, Protestant clergymen, and by Mr. Chamerovzow, an agent of the British Abolition Society. I have the honor to send you a copy of the *Revue des Cours Littéraires,* containing a full account of their speeches.

Though, for obvious reasons, I had no agency in promoting this appeal to the charities of France, I esteem it my duty to direct your attention to the response, so honorable to both countries, which it awakened.

I am, sir, etc.

Synopsis—Translation

The second meeting for the abolition of slavery in the United States and Cuba took place in Paris in January, 1866.

M. Laboulaye, the president. The first meeting in favor of the enfranchised slaves of North America was held here on the 3d of November. We invited, without distinction of religion or politics, all friends of America and of liberty. The hall filled at once; more were excluded than could be admitted. A second meeting was called for. We seized eagerly the opportunity to be useful to the blacks without offence to the whites. We have an army of speakers, who will talk to you as long as you will listen. As for the ladies' committee, which collects subscriptions, I have not spoken to them; but I think myself safe in saying that you will earlier weary of giving than they of receiving. It is for you to sustain the honor of France.

I am rejoiced at this fresh meeting—at all meetings which appeal to

the conscience of the public. They teach men moderation and mutual respect, as results can only be safely secured by modifications of opinions, the results of which are the triumphs of what is true and real. That is my first point.

You know that the subscriptions are taken up by the women of France, tired of hearing what the women of England and America were doing. They have determined to mix in public affairs. These ladies, not yet used to great public occasions, leave to me to tell you what has become of their money.

The amount of subscription since May 1, 1865, has been 57,000 francs, from which three remittances of money and clothing have been made.

These remittances of clothing were admitted duty-free in the United States, and the vessels carried them freight-free. They were sent to New York, to the society established by General Sherman. To increase these contributions gentlemen may sacrifice some selfish luxury; ladies may reduce the amplification of their crinoline. This is my second point. I pass to the third. I read one letter from a Masonic lodge. I have many others. All desire to coöperate with us. Solidarity is the phrase; and the influence of the day in discoveries, in politics, in morals—all the world vibrates to the same thought and feeling. The question of American freedom is not an American question; it is a question of the whole human race, and interests all civilization. Freedom cannot be exalted in one country without being exalted in all countries. This liberty, extended through America, is therefore of great interest to us.

M. Franck. We are assisting at the grandest spectacle which must fix the attention and rest in the memory of our generation. Four millions of slaves enfranchised by a single law, in a single day, at the end of a war of four years, sustained with indomitable energy, and for the perpetuity and indefinite extension of slavery: what event of our age is comparable to this? Four millions of rejected human beings at once restored to the paternal home. Yes; these poor downtrodden negroes are human beings, formed in the image which we bear. They are such as we; they are our brothers.

The speaker then dwelt at some length on the means to be taken for the advancement of the negro race in the social relations by education, equal rights, guarantees, etc.

Prince de Broglie. Passing by the generalities which have been enlarged upon, I fain would point to some difficulties or new facilities, some complications or some resulting aids, for bringing about the social condition which America undertakes, after a gigantic struggle, to present to Europe, to the world. The problem of transition from slavery to freedom, to civilization, is not new, nor has the Old World anything to reproach the New World with, perhaps. Ages ago slavery

existed here, under aspects more revolting. The problem referred to has been more than once solved. Transition from servitude to liberty is not new. The only new thing is the collective character and the suddenness of the act of emancipation. In ancient time slavery never perished by simultaneous and sudden action. Henri Martin, with all his patient search amid the dust of antiquity, has nowhere discovered in history a supreme decree resembling that this day laid before this meeting. Full of novelty as it is, this spectacle of collective emancipation of the negroes in America is also full of grandeur. Even in the suddenness of the action there is a grandeur to which no generous spirit can be insensible.

There is a touching grandeur in looking upon a whole nation rising in its strength in one day, and at all risks, at the risk of great bloodshed, of great social convulsions, to break up such traditions, such prejudices, such interests, in order to yield public homage of respect and repentance to a moral principle too long despised—to an imprescriptible right too long trampled under foot. There is in this a greatness to which no human heart can be insensible.

But if the spectacle is grand, the danger is great also, great for the masters, great for the slaves, great for society in general. The speaker then recurs to ancient slavery, its characteristics and modifications in old times and different countries, and, in fine, concludes that, independently of the moral causes referred to, abolition in the United States had become an imperious necessity growing out of the social condition of the country. Do you desire a striking proof of this necessity? It is worthy of notice, from the moment of emancipation, more than a year ago, what question do the American journals discuss, and Congress also, as to the condition of the freed blacks? Nothing but the right of suffrage. All other things are left to time and circumstance, as with the white race. The only question made as to these new men is, shall they exercise the right of suffrage, which is not merely an appanage of liberty, but a quota part of sovereignty, a fraction of supreme power, which may elevate them to all the functions which follow the right of suffrage, and possibly throw into their hands the practical administration of the government? That is the question under discussion. I don't express an opinion whether Congress ought not to stop short of the universal application of a principle in the interest of the social well-being of the blacks themselves. I don't decide, but I know that all principles, even the most absolute, must admit of exceptions; and the simple fact that the question is raised characterizes the discussion of the great problem, which brings into contrast and antagonism the two poles of civilization and barbarism, universal suffrage and slavery, thus placed face to face, in proximity never anticipated. [*Cheers.*] Thus it often happens; the analogies of the physical world interpret the phenomena of the moral

world. The United States are now about to accomplish a moral prodigy equal to the physical prodigies they have accomplished; and to this prodigy you are here to give your feeble aid. In the spirit of the sentiments which dictated her institutions, America will find her rule of action. Two sentiments inspired them, and alone can sustain them. the energetic living sentiment of human brotherhood, and equally energetic faith in the possibility of elevating human beings by religion, morality, and freedom. You are now called to aid in an act of human fraternization, and in proving the possibility of elevating humanity, however steeped in degradation, in a great act of confidence in the vitalizing power of liberty. [*Applause.*]

M. Grandpierre. The wretchedness in behalf of which respected citizens of the United States have asked our aid must be very great. Those who know somewhat of Americans, know they freely give the cordial hand-grip of good will; but to reach out the hand to beg is not their way. It is their noble pride to suffice to themselves, instead of reliance on others. Individuals take the initiative. Individuals found colleges, sustain universities, build churches, support the clergy. So they practice a liberality unknown to us on this side the water. In 1853 Mr. Lawrence of Boston, thinking Harvard College not well enough off, made a gift to it of $500,000 in aid of new professorships. At the same time a New York mechanic gave two millions of dollars for an establishment for the instruction of poor young mechanics of good character. Such things are continually happening. You will say, what do the children of these very liberal men think about it? I can tell you what they are apt to say. I heard it in that country. "My father made his money; he has a right to give it as he pleases. I shall follow his example." And in fact they do so. A young man of twenty-one has laid a foundation for business. He thinks of marrying. As for a dowry, he don't think of that. And you know the American expression, "Go ahead." And he goes ahead. These habits seem to us rather hard; but there is good in them, and we might turn them to profit.

There is one fact that happened in the United States some years ago which has not been enough appreciated—that is, the touching proof of sympathy given by the northern States to England at the time of the cotton crisis. It was in the hottest of the war. The United States bent under a debt of several thousand millions, daily on the increase. Many of us thought they must break down. Then the cotton crisis burst out in England Well, three or four millions of dollars were collected in the United States for the English operatives. That surely was disinterested generosity; for England manifested little sympathy for the Union.

But to return to my subject. I don't think Americans have asked our aid on this solemn occasion to get rid of their duty, but because

this enfranchisement of the negroes, at the outset an American question, is in fact universal, is the cause of humanity; and also because they are constrained by necessity to do so. Four millions of people cast by Providence on their hands, to be fed, clothed, instructed, are fed, clothed, and instructed, brought up to labor, and in knowledge are made men and Christians—I don't know any history of a parallel case. Well, is there a nation, even the French, great as that is, so liberal, so rich, so heroic, that could alone go through with such an undertaking? Let us suppose that each black costs only each day for food, clothing, lodging, instruction, twenty cents. You have four millions of francs per day, 120 millions a month, and 1,460,000,000 francs a year. And do you suppose that at the end of one year all this want will disappear by enchantment, and these four millions of blacks will have learned what is free labor, free life, and Christian morality? No. That will be only the beginning of the beginning. I know that what we can do here will be only a drop in the ocean; but let us try to do what we can.

Mr. Chamerovzow, secretary of the London Committee of Emancipation, was introduced by M. Laboulaye, and gave an outline of the history of slavery in America, as well in the Spanish as British colonies and United States, to this time, with many details thoroughly familiar to the American citizens who read the papers, and finished by expressing his own ideas:

1. That as a general rule freedmen are not only capable of sustained industry, but ask nothing better than to be employed at reasonable wages.

2. That wherever schools are established, the freedmen, old and young alike, show an aptitude and desire to learn that is quite extraordinary.

3. That the American government is making every effort possible, through the Freedmen's Bureau, to take care of the lot of these four millions of unfortunates.

4. That everywhere among them is to be found destitution and misery, the consequence of the social disorganization prevalent through the wide territory over which they are scattered; and this must last a long time, because of the ill will of their old masters against their heretofore slaves.

5. That the northern people, by establishing aid societies and similar associations, have nobly seconded the efforts of the government, and are entitled to our sympathy.

M. Auguste Cochin. After what has been said, I wish to draw your attention to the reasons for hoping that slavery will soon be abolished in Brazil and Cuba. Their condition rests on the Emperor of Brazil and Queen of Spain. It is too late this evening to speak of Brazil. I will confine myself to Cuba.

Public opinion in that island has been much awakened by emancipation in Jamaica and other islands, and now lately in the United States.

Cuba is in a very favorable condition; for there are about one million of whites and free colored, and only about three hundred thousand slaves. The white and free colored population are already habituated to field labor, and the relations between the white and free colored population are of the best kind. Cuba has offered to give up slavery for the equivalent of free civil government. The corruptions of colonial functionaries are the cause of difficulty and delay. The question must be solved at Madrid.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, February 9, 1866.

Sir:

On the 2nd instant M. Malespine, the Managing Director of the *Opinion Nationale,* called upon me to say that he had learned through a friend of long standing, who had been a sort of agent of the late so-called Confederate States, that there was a large sum of money now on deposit in Europe to the credit of that organization; that it was to be divided in a few days, and that the informer, for half the amount to be recovered, would give me the information necessary to prevent its distribution and to compel the payment of it to its proper owners, the government of the United States.

I objected to the proportion claimed by the informer and suggested 5 or perhaps 10 per cent. as a fair commission. M. Malespine replied that the informer was entitled to a third or thereabouts for his own share as the affair stood then, but that he had been badly treated by his associates in consequence of having taken steps to renew his allegiance to the United States, and that he wanted to punish them, especially if he could do so with substantial advantage to himself. After reflection, I concluded that I would be taking an unnecessary responsibility in declining their proposition. M. Malespine then put it in writing, and I gave him a written reply, both of which are annexed and marked respectively 1 and 2.

The following day M. Malespine returned with Col. Le Mat,

a Louisianian, who professed to be a member of the firm of Girard & Co. and to have been an acknowledged agent of the Confederates. He took the Oath of Allegiance at this Legation on the 25th of July last.

His story is briefly told in a statement which I required him to sign, and a copy of which also is annexed. The funds in question are the price received for one or more of the steamers built for the Confederates at Bordeaux by Arman and sold on their account.

As soon as I had obtained what information he could give me upon the subject, I went to Bordeaux, and in concert with our Consul at that place took measures to serve Arman with a legal notice not to pay over any funds which he had in hand or might receive for the account of the so-called Confederate States except into the hands of the competent representatives of the Government of the United States.

There the matter rests for the present.

It is the impression of Le Mat that Arman is quite as willing to pay the money to us as to his old customers. If so, I shall probably hear from him soon, as he is constantly in Paris in attendance upon the Corps Législatif, of which he is a member.

I shall be happy to learn that the steps I have taken thus far to secure this fund, if it exists, meet with your approval.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

BIGELOW TO MALESPINE

Paris, February 2, 1866.

Sir:

You may say to your friend of whom you spoke this morning that I shall consider him entitled to one-half of any sum of money deposited in Europe to the credit of the late Confederate Government of the United States, so-called, that through his agency I am put in possession of. I will be happy to see him to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock if perfectly convenient.

Yours respectfully

COLONEL A. LE MAT TO BIGELOW

PARIS, February 3, 1866.

Mr. Minister:

The price of the war steamers built at Bordeaux for the account of the so-called Confederate States by M. Arman of Bordeaux and afterwards sold by him to the Prussian Government, amounting to some two and a half million of francs, will be divided in a few days between Messrs. le Baron Sellière, banker of Paris, Ganthesin, *négociant,* Girard et Cie., consisting of Messrs. Girard, de Leon and Le Mat, and Captain Bullock. About 100,000 francs have already been paid in to Arman at Bordeaux, and the rest of the price will be paid over tomorrow or next day.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, February 9, 1866.

Sir:

It is reported to me that M. Hidalgo, the diplomatic representative of the Archduke Maximilian at this Court, who went to Mexico in December last, is not to return, but will be replaced by M. Castillo, the Archduke's Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs. This report, if true, leads to the supposition that the relations between the Emperor of France and his Mexican protégé have undergone a change. M. Hidalgo was a great favorite of the Empress of France, and it is not likely that a more acceptable representative to this Court will be sent.

M. Castillo has held the post of Consul at Magellan and San Blas, First Secretary of the Treasury under the liberal government, and Second Secretary under the present political organization, from which he was promoted to a post of financial confidence in the household of the Archduke, which he holds with the temporary duties of Minister of Foreign Affairs superadded.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SANFORD

PARIS, February 9, 1866.

My dear Sir:

. . . I send you my copy of the *Livre Jaune,* not having at this moment any other. I will replace it one of these days.

The Bagdad affair had a very serious look to the government here, and they began to trace analogies between the occurrences reported and what occurred just before the Mexican War of 1846-7. I happened, however, to receive some dispatches from Sheridan to Grant, which I showed to Drouyn de Lhuys in time to prevent an explosion. Subsequently a dispatch from Montholon was received to the same effect, which appears in the *Moniteur* this morning. Plain sailing again now for a time. I mourn Seward's absence very much at this moment. It delays everything. Troplong's address will produce a bad effect in America. I do not disguise my dissatisfaction with it.

Hidalgo, I hear, is not coming back. That would look as if the two Emperors were not getting on well together, for it is unlikely that another person could be selected more acceptable here.

Yours truly

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Private

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, 10 Feby., 1866.

My dear Sir:

Your dispatch of January 25th, No. 247, has been received. We do not understand the Emperor to insist upon making what, upon grounds of punctilio alone, would be an impracticable engagement with us, a condition of his retirement from Mexico. Leaving him free to interpret his proceedings for himself, we consider his proposition to us definite and unconditional.

Faithfully yours

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Private

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, 10 Feby., 1866.

My dear Sir:

I have just received your dispatch of Jany. 25th, No. 251. You surmise correctly as to the point of punctilio which is supposed to arise out of the Imperial communication and speech. It would be unfortunate if two great states should be prepared to agree upon an important principle, but should suffer a common disappointment by the interposition of a wretched question of etiquette. I am doing the best I can.

Faithfully yours

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, February 12, 1866.

Sir:

The discussion of that portion of the Senate address which related to the United States was disposed of on Saturday without debate. The paragraph relating to Mexico was voted after a brief speech from Marshal Forey, a report of which will be found in the *Moniteur* of the 11th instant. The part which the Marshal took in planting the Imperial flag in Mexico makes him its natural protector everywhere. He proved, however, rather more imperialist than the Emperor himself. He said that, instead of diminishing the French force in Mexico, it should rather be increased in order to hasten the moment when the withdrawal of the French flag would be possible. When he had closed, the Minister of State took occasion to say that the policy of the Government as given in the discourse from the throne would not be modified by anything that had fallen from the marshal. There is either a difference of opin-

ion among the intimate counsellors of His Majesty in regard to what is to be accomplished before the withdrawal of the French troops from Mexico, or there is a difference of opinion in the means necessary for its accomplishment. Time will soon disclose which.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

BIGELOW TO DROUYN DE LHUYS

Feb. 10, 1866.

My dear Sir:

If you see no objection, I would recommend that my letter of the 7th instant and your reply of the 8th should appear in the *Moniteur* before the public discussion, by the press or otherwise, of your despatch to the Marquis de Montholon, to which they refer, extends farther.

Should you approve of this suggestion, I would recommend, subject to your approval, an introduction something like this:

"The following correspondence between the Minister of the United States at Paris and His Excellency M. Drouyn de Lhuys, designed to throw light upon the subject of a communication from His Excellency to M. le Marquis de Montholon has been handed us for publication."

Excuse this suggestion, which is made subject entirely to your superior judgment and responsibility.

I am, dear sir, very faithfully yours

DROUYN DE LHUYS TO BIGELOW

Translation

Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
Paris, 12 Feb., 1866.

My dear Mr. Bigelow:

The Mexican question being now under discussion before our Chambers, I ought to leave to the Minister of State,

charged with representing the government in that body, the care of making such communications and publications as he will judge expedient. I have no objection, however, to the insertion of your despatch and of my reply in the journals of the United States.

Yours very sincerely

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, February 12, 1866.

Sir:

In view of the pretexts assigned for the harsh decrees of the *soi-disant* emperor of Mexico against republican prisoners captured in war, I have the honor to invite your attention to the enclosed copy of a letter from Marshal Bazaine to General Riva Palacio, general-in-chief of the republican army of the centre, which appears in some of the Paris journals.

In this communication the marshal not only assents to an exchange of prisoners, with all its political and belligerent implications, but he speaks in the strongest terms of the humane treatment which the imperial prisoners had experienced at his hands. "I am unwilling to terminate this letter," he says, "without thanking you for the excellent dispositions and benevolent sentiments which you have always shown towards our prisoners."

This calls to mind the speech of Marshal Forey, delivered in the Senate, of the 18th of March last, in which he justified the shooting of Porfirio Diaz, the defender of Oajaca, by Marshal Bazaine, declaring that he was the chief of brigands, and that all the Juarist generals ought to be treated in the same way.

The cause of Juarez seems to have gained in dignity since then, for now the imperial government treats its officers as belligerents and commends their humanity.

As the Minister of Foreign Affairs persists in denying that the republicans of Mexico merit the title of belligerents, I propose to send him a copy of this letter of Marshal Bazaine, with an inquiry as to its authenticity.

I am, sir, etc.

Translation

EXPEDITIONARY CORPS OF MEXICO,
OFFICE OF THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF,
MEXICO, November 16, 1865.

General:

I have received your letter sent by Captain Minon. I am pleased with the humane feelings you express, and by which you are actuated on this occasion. Desirous of aiding you in this good resolution, I will do all I can to bring about a proper agreement. For this purpose I have the honor to inform you that I have given orders for the exchange of prisoners, to take place at the village of Aculco, on the 2d of December, from 8 to 10 in the morning. In this exchange I place at your disposal:

1. General Canto and all the officers taken prisoners with him by Colonel Potier;
2. All the officers taken prisoners at Tacambaro by Colonel Vandersmissen;
3. All the officers taken prisoners at Amatlan by Colonel Mendez;
4. All the soldiers in prison at Morelia;
5. And, at your request, Generals Tapia and Ramirez, captured at Apaca and confined in Puebla.

All the prisoners in Morelia will be delivered to you on the 2d of December.

I give my word of honor to release General Tapia and General Ramirez at Puebla, and give them a safe-conduct, to go where they please, as soon as I am informed that the exchange has taken place.

I have appointed Captain Bocarmé, of the Belgian regiment, to preside at the exchange of the prisoners. He will be escorted to the village of Aculco by Captain Salgado, with a company of fifty or sixty infantry and a company of Mexican cavalry.

I wish to convince you, general, of my good will on this occasion, and I cannot conclude without thanking you for the kind intentions and benevolent sentiments you have always shown towards your prisoners.

Accept the assurance of my very distinguished consideration.

BAZAINE, *Marshal of France.*

General RIVA PALACIO.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, February 15, 1866.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose copies of a note which I addressed to his Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the 12th instant, and of his reply, in reference to the authenticity of the letter purporting to have been written by Marshal Bazaine to the commander-in-chief of the Juarist army of the centre, enclosed with my despatch to you of the same date, No. 271.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO DROUYN DE LHUYS

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, February 12, 1866.

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency a copy of the *Opinion Nationale* of the 11th instant, for the purpose of directing your Excellency's attention to a communication which appears in its columns, purporting to have been written by Marshal Bazaine, commander-in-chief of the French army in Mexico.

If perfectly convenient, will your Excellency have the goodness to inform me whether there is any room for questioning the authenticity of that communication?

I have the honor to be, very truly, etc.

DROUYN DE LHUYS TO BIGELOW

Translation

PARIS, February 13, 1866.

Sir:

I have received your request for information with which you honored me yesterday, about the authenticity of a letter of Marshal Bazaine, but I am not able to furnish you the information required.

Accept the assurances of the high consideration, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Private

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, 14th Feby., 1866.

My dear Sir:

I give you now at the earliest possible moment a confidential reply to your confidential note of December 14th on the subject of Mexican affairs.

What I write is approved by the President. The Congress of the United States is sufficiently imbued with the conviction of the necessity of governmental action on the subject of the French intervention.

What has recently been written by me on that subject to M. Drouyn de Lhuys is marked by a degree of decision which Congress will approve, while I trust it is expressed in a manner that ought to be deemed conciliatory and respectful. I shall look with much solicitude to the reply which now may be expected from France. If it be unsatisfactory by reason of dilatoriness or what may seem to be an evasion, it will be a subject of addition to the concern which we now feel and which is sufficiently painful.

I am, Sir, Faithfully your friend

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, February 15, 1866.

Sir:

I found occasion to-day to say to M. Drouyn de Lhuys that when I took the liberty of interrupting some remarks he was making this day week, in view of the contingency of a war with the United States, Marshal Forey had not made his speech on the senatorial address in reply to the discourse from the throne. A perusal of that speech had led me to fear I had been guilty of a neglect of duty in not sooner bringing to his Excellency's attention an instruction which I had been waiting some weeks for a propitious moment to present him. I then briefly stated the subject of your instruction No. 336, in reference to a provision for the mutual protection of the mail steamers of France and the United States in the event of war, and went on to say that while nothing was further from our thoughts or wishes than a war, yet it seemed only ordinary prudence to provide against a class of dangers to which the commerce of maritime nations was always more or less exposed.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys said he had no idea of the nature of the convention, referred to in your despatch, between the United States and England, and then exclaimed, "How things move! When we made our convention with you no one dreamed that such a provision could ever become necessary between France and the United States." "Very true," I said, "but capital is very vigilant, and scents danger from afar; besides," I added, "when I see what an alarm has been created by the unfounded reports from Bagdad, repetitions of which were to be expected at intervals so long as the French army remained in Mexico, I thought it prudent at least for both nations to give to their commerce the benefit of such a convention as we had with England." I then handed him a copy of the letter of Mr. McLane of the 8th of October, 1864, and of the 20th article of our postal convention with England, for his information. His Excellency said he would submit the subject to his colleagues, but expressed no opinion about it himself. I attribute his silence to the circumstances under which I submitted it to his notice.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, February 15, 1866.

Sir:

I learn from an unofficial source that Gregorio Barandiran, the Diplomatic representative of the Archduke Maximilian at Vienna, formerly Secretary of Legation under Señor Robbs at Washington, is now at Paris for money to fit out 10,000 Austrians, who, he says, are ready to embark from Trieste for Mexico. The Mexican Commissioner informed him that there was no money in his hands. I am not sure of learning the result of the Minister's suit here, as the money, if furnished, must come through indirect and concealed channels.

I was at first disposed to speak of the report to M. Drouyn de Lhuys, but upon reflection concluded that the material difficulties of embarking any portion of this Austrian levy would be sufficient to detain them at least until you could have time to determine:

1st. Whether it was the policy of our government to oppose their departure, and

2nd. Whether, if it were, you preferred to address your objections to this court or to the Austrians.

If it is the purpose of the Emperor of France to replace his troops and flag with the troops of other European nations under the Mexican flag, we shall not have made much progress in restoring the government with which we hold diplomatic relations in Mexico. On the other hand, if we oppose the embarkation of those men, we deprive Mexico of 10,000 German Colonists, who would prove an important acquisition to the country, it being improbable that any except the officers would ever return.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Private

PARIS, February 15, 1866.

My dear Sir:

I am most happy to hear of your return. I hope to hear *from* you by the next mail. I did not present the subject of a convention for the protection of mail steamers against war to M. Drouyn de Lhuys until to-day, fearing that it might have a little of the air of a menace in the actual situation of our affairs; but there has been so much of late emanating from official quarters that was offensive in a greater or less degree that I thought the time had come when your instruction would furnish me an opportunity of administering a civil retort. The offensive things that I refer to are the Senate Address, Marshal Forey's speech, and the comments on both by the official press. Though all originate, I believe, in a desire to facilitate the retreat of the Emperor, there is a way of saying that you won't be bullied that amounts to bullying. The Empress is said to feel very much outraged at the desperate fortunes of her Mexican pet, and even broke into the council-room one day and burst into tears over the prospect of abandoning him.

My interview with Drouyn de Lhuys was very brief, and when I proposed the war convention, he was evidently afraid to trust himself to speak. He made no allusion to the notes which have passed between us since our last interview, copies of which go forward in my dispatch this week. I think he feels uneasy at having no reply to his proposal for a correspondence between the President and the Emperor. He fears from the silence of the Department that something more serious may be brewing in the United States than I have led him to apprehend. That in part explains, no doubt, the very dignified tone taken by the government and the official press towards us lately.

Yours very sincerely

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, February 15, 1866.

Sir:

Referring to my despatch No. 268, with its enclosures, I have the honor to inform you that on the 10th instant I addressed to His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs a note of which and of his reply received on the 13th instant I enclose copies. As I deem it impolitic at present to do anything that would increase the embarrassment of the Government, so fully confessed in the note of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and which it is not our interest to aggravate, I concluded to give it the benefit of my forbearance. The correspondence cannot reach here from the United States in time to interfere with the debate on the address, and before that is concluded the question at issue between the two countries may have passed into a new phase, which will render the publication of our correspondence here rather a matter of personal than of public concern.

I am, sir, etc.

MOTLEY TO BIGELOW

Private

VIENNA, 20 Feb., 1866.

My dear Sir:

Your favor of 16th Feb. was duly received. I am glad to inform you that instead of "10,000 Austrian volunteers now ready at Trieste to accept service under Maximilian in Mexico" there is *not one* Austrian soldier at present ready for that service in Trieste or anywhere else.

There is no mystery whatever in this matter, so far as Austria is concerned.

Max. has the permission of his brother to levy volunteers (from such men as have served their time in the Austrian

army) to the amount of 2,000 men each year for the coming four years in order to fill the gaps in the original number sent. It will not be permitted to send more than 2,000 in one year.

This is the purport of the additional article to the convention of Miramar. Count Mensdorff, who is truth and frankness itself, told me all this some six weeks ago, and I duly communicated it to Mr. Seward.

Since receiving your note I have again verified the facts, and I can assure you that it will be very difficult to find the first two thousand men this year, even if the money to equip and transport them should be forthcoming.

Seward has given me no instructions on this matter for a long time, having assured me, if there was any change in the position of the U. S. Govt., he would let me know.

I am therefore still under prohibition to go into any *official discussions* with the govt. here. If you can get the French out you may be very sure that there will never be Austrians enough found to sustain Max. if the natives don't want him in.

At present any public protest on the part of our govt. to Austria that if volunteers go hence to Max. others might go from the U. S. for the Republ. govt. would be premature. It would have the effect of embarrassing your friend L. N. in his intentions (if he has them) of withdrawing the French troops.

When the French are gone such a protest might be very wholesome.

I suppose if they are not gone within the next 18 months it will be because we shall have given in. As that seems to me impossible, the game must be played out and the result reached before more than two or three thousand Austrians can possibly reach Mexico.

I suppose that either the French evacuation or war with the U. S. must be very soon decided upon.

I shall be inexpressibly obliged to you if you could send me a copy of Seward's reply to the French proposition when you receive it. To show you how entirely in the dark I am kept I will state that the *printed* Diplomatic Correspondence for *1864* (excepting the English volumes) has not yet been sent me.

I am much grieved to hear of Mrs. Bigelow's illness. My wife joins me in sincerest wishes for her entire recovery, as well as in kindest regards and remembrances to both.

Always most sincerely yrs.

JOHN HAY TO CUSHMAN, UNITED STATES CONSUL AT ROME

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, Feb. 20, 1866.

My dear Sir:

The letters sent by you from Rome will be forwarded to the United States.

I think it proper to inform you, however, that it was the intention of the Minister of the United States that you should send to this Legation, to be posted with our dispatches, only your own official and personal correspondence.

If I may judge of the source of the letters you have sent from their address, it is one which certainly has little right to ask any deviation from the rules of the service in its favor. If private citizens have no right to use the government mails for private business, still less have they who affect on all occasions to regard the American name as a shame and a reproach.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Confidential

UNITED STATES LEGATION,
PARIS, February 22, 1866.

Sir:

I have received your instruction No. 380, marked "Confidential," and called yesterday upon M. Drouyn de Lhuys to deliver to him its enclosure. As I handed it to him I stated that it was similar in its origin and external appearance to a package I had handed him several weeks ago, and that I was instructed to request His Excellency to make a similar disposition of it. He opened the envelope in my presence, and when he had read the contents said he would deliver it to the Emperor, though he did not understand why Mr. Seward chose that form of communication, and then added, "That will be the last one that we shall receive." This was expressed with a sardonic sort of smile, which of course, from my ignorance of

the contents of the document, I was unable to interpret. I do not know that this answer was worth reporting, but you will, and I thought it my duty to give you the benefit of my ignorance.

I am, sir, etc.

This was, I presume, a reply by Mr. Seward to a note that was presumably addressed by the Emperor to President Johnson. If the Emperor addressed such a letter to Johnson and kept a copy, it was probably burned with the Tuileries palace in the revolution of 1871. There is no trace of either the Emperor's letter or the reply, if he received any, at Washington, as I was assured by the late Secretary of State, Mr. Hay.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Paris, February 23, 1866.

My dear Sir:

The papers by this mail will carry you the intelligence of the abrupt prorogation of the Prussian Parliament. The Count von Goltz was sent for last week by his King and is still in Berlin. There are rumors here of an Austro-French combination against Prussia. I mention them only because they acquire a certain importance from the remark made by the Count to me the other day deprecatory of any humiliation of the Emperor, lest he should indemnify himself by a general assault upon European crockery—Prussian more especially. The Russian Ambassador has also gone home under a special summons; a mysterious war having broken out between the Maronites and the Turks, which threatens to weaken the Sultan seriously. Cardinal Antonelli proclaims from the Vatican to the faithful the unsoundness of the doctrine of *Non-intervention,* while the generally disturbed state of Europe justifies the apprehension that great changes in Europe are impending, over which our treatment of the Mexican question is destined to exert great influence.

I met M. Berryer at the Princesse de Metternich's reception last evening and mentioned to him the news I had but just received of the closing of the Prussian chamber. He said, "You" (meaning the Americans) "are the cause of this." To my question, whence our responsibility, he responded: "You have invested the people with new power; they have shown in the United States so much capacity to fight, so much wisdom and moderation in victory, etc., etc., that you have inspired the people of Europe with a new sense of their capability and rights." This reflection and this admission, too, from the most intellectual legitimist in Europe confirms me in the opinion I formed long ago that we had but to wait for our example to ripen, to convert all Europe, save those directly and personally interested in preserving the present order of things, to sound notions of popular sovereignty.

Since I began this letter I have talked with the Prussian Chargé, who has just told me about the events which took place yesterday at Berlin. He thinks it imports nothing grave; that the present Parliament expires by its own term in the Fall, and the government has only a little anticipated the event. A new Parliament cannot be worse and may be better.

Yours very truly

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

United States Legation,
Paris, February 23, 1866.

Sir:

The *Moniteur* of this morning contains a decree announcing the appointment of the Prince Imperial as honorary president of the Exposition Universelle of 1867. This event, following as it does the somewhat abrupt departure of Prince Napoleon from France last week, goes to show that the recent visit of the latter to Paris was not attended with all the harmonizing influences attributed to it. The Emperor has in this appointment given his cousin a painful rebuke and at the same time taken a step intended to make the genius of all nations indirectly tributary to the support of his dynasty. It may be a question whether in doing this, and in placing an infant of six years at

the head of an Exposition of the art and industry of the world, he has not abated a little of that respect which was due from him to the foreign powers whose participation in the Exposition he has invited.

I am, sir, etc.

SENATOR MORGAN TO BIGELOW

United States Senate Chamber,
Washington, Feb. 25, 1866.

Dear Mr. Bigelow:

Mr. Seward is away, and I do not know what he will say to your application, if you make one, for leave of absence. I desire much to see you and confer upon many matters of public interest in Europe and elsewhere, and I do not know that there can be any objection on the part of the State Department or the President to your leaving your post for a few summer months. But I can tell you what I would do, or rather what I would not do. I would not make the application unless it amounts to a matter of considerable importance with you. Sanford has done so, also Webb, who comes to the Senate every day or two, and tells People he wants the Govt. to change its policy in relation to Representatives at foreign courts, conforming thereto with England, which changes its ministry every two years. I am not sure that Congress will make Laws in accordance with the General's wishes, or that the Executive and State Department will quite concur in the General's plans. Of course you have long since heard of your unanimous confirmation by the Senate. We are in the midst of a political struggle; no one knows how it will end. Part of us are following Andy and part are following Thaddeus. Both are plucky men, but Andy has the inside track. Do let me say that there is the most entire satisfaction with you in every way—Government, Representatives, and People. *No* one thinks of changing or disturbing you, for it would be a very great misfortune to the country to have you disturbed. Please make my kindest regards to Mrs. Bigelow, and believe me cordially and truly yours

P. S. Will write you again as soon as I see Govr. Seward.

BIGELOW TO SANFORD

PARIS, February 27, 1866.

My dear Sir:

The reply to Montholon has come. I presume that you have received a copy of it. Mr. Seward assumes that the Emperor means to be understood as proposing to withdraw, and, while he declines to give any assurance that he will not intervene in Mexico, refers to the past history and traditions of the country as a just basis for his own expectation and conviction that France will have nothing to apprehend from us. He then remarks that he expects soon something definitive as to the time when the troops will move.

It is written in a very kind and considerate tone and suits me exactly.

I think it will bring things to a focus now soon.

Yours very sincerely

Thiers, hitherto no friend of ours, was obliged to pay a compliment yesterday to the power of free institutions in the United States. Our example commences to leaven the ruling classes here. Berryer the other night said that our example had revealed to the people of Europe a new power. Here are the heads of the two shades of the divine right to rule brought to confess that there is a power in popular government that no other possesses. If we wait awhile there will be but two political parties, office-holders and democrats.

Yours very sincerely

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, February 28, 1866.

My dear Sir:

I think I expressed to you in one of my letters last summer my conviction that our national example for the last four

years would sow the whole world with the seed of popular sovereignty, and that we had but to allow this seed time to ripen, to convert the ruling classes of the more civilized states to a tolerably fair appreciation of democracy. By the last mail I gave you the substance of a conversation with Berryer in which he admitted that we had revealed to the people of Europe a hitherto unsuspected power. Day before yesterday I heard an equally important confession from M. Thiers in the Chambers. He was setting forth the obligations of the world to the principles of freedom evolved by the revolution of 1789, but now withheld from the French, who gave them to the world, though more or less enjoyed elsewhere. In the course of his remarks he said: "God forbid that I should now say which are the free nations and which are not, but I will cite two which are incontestably free. One is a republic and the other a monarchy, for God has not willed one should be less free than under a republic."

"*Loud Voices.* It is true.

"*M. Thiers.* You have named them. It is England and the United States. And yet with these two great nations how many things which do not seem to belong to true liberty! In America what rudeness of manners and gentlemen, what abandonment of the citizen whom they have wished to make free, but so free that he is obliged most of the time to protect himself. And besides this, what interference in private affairs with freedmen's bureaus placing themselves between the freed black and his master. And yet in spite of this, gentlemen, America is free because there they only do what the nation wills. And what greatness, what energy, what devotion, what immensity of sacrifices; for, gentlemen, these things nations do for themselves, but never for a master."

This remark, to my surprise, was followed by quite general applause.

When it is considered that Thiers has been no friend of the United States since 1831, since General Jackson made his administration pay up the indemnity for losses sustained by our commerce from French vessels of war, that he has always been identified with the party holding rather extreme notions of the divine right of Sovereigns, and that he has never indulged himself in a word of sympathy for us in our struggle for the preservation of the Union, simply because he never felt any,

this language is noteworthy. Here are the two shades of European legitimacy invoking the example and principles of American democracy against the prevailing policy of Europe.

If the logic of transatlantic events has already reached the understanding of such men as Berryer and Thiers, it will not be long before it is comprehended by all those whom it most concerns, and our example will again prove to Europe what it proved in 1787, only many times repeated in force.

I hope the fruits of the lesson will be less bloody; they will not be less important.

Yours very sincerely, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Paris, February 28, 1866.

My dear Sir:

I think I told you that the *Constitutionnel* was the only journal which up to last Saturday had commented upon the selection of the Prince Imperial for the Presidency of the Exposition. That statement is as true to-day as it was when I made it.

Truly yours

A. DE GASPARIN TO BIGELOW

Translation

Au Rivage near Geneva,
Switzerland, February, 1866.

Sir:

Would you have the kindness to include this letter in your first envoy?

I take the liberty of again insisting to Mr. Seward that he shall not permit the American policy to leave the moderate and pacific way which it has pursued with so much success up to this time. Moderation will finish the Mexican business and will secure the evacuation; I am convinced of it.

I regret that the *Journal des Débats* in publishing a part of my letter to Mr. Johnson has cut out all which expressed my cordial approbation of the acts of the President. I commended the acts which diminish the army, reëstablish general liberties, secure the public debt, but I regret profoundly that provision for negro suffrage in the South has not yet been embraced in Mr. Johnson's plan. My regret is shared by all the friends who have sustained you during your war.

Accept, sir, the new assurance of my high esteem and my devotion.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, March 2, 1866.

Sir:

I have just now received your despatch of February 9, No. 269. In that paper you have communicated to us the proceedings which you adopted in regard to the temporary occupation of Bagdad. Those proceedings are entirely approved. All of the information which has been received from General Sheridan subsequently to the writing of Mr. Hunter's despatch No. 375 corroborates and confirms the view of the transaction at Bagdad which was given to you in the last-mentioned paper. We trust that no occasion will arise in the future for misapprehension on that subject.

I am, sir, etc.

XVI

PRESIDENT JOHNSON DECLINES A CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE EMPEROR ABOUT MEXICAN AFFAIRS

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, 5th March, 1866.

My dear Bigelow:

YOUR private note of the 15th is here. You have done well in choosing the occasion for the postal matter.

The Yellow Book produced irritation here, and it threatened to break out in legislative quarters.

The committees now are made confidentially acquainted with my reply, and the whole matter rests until we have something offered.

I did not notice the suggestion of correspondence between the President and the Emperor. It is not doubted that it was kindly made and in good faith. But such a correspondence would be a departure, on our part without precedent, from habits which have grown up with our national growth.

Do not suffer yourself to be alarmed by the vehemence of partisan excitement here upon domestic questions. They will, I think, pass away without great public detriment. The country has become entirely peaceful, and loyalty is returning in regions where it was, but a short time ago, thought impossible forever.

Faithfully yours

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Private

PARIS, March 6, 1866.

My dear Mr. Seward:

The discussion of that portion of the address which relates to Mexico and the United States has been adjourned upon the pretext that the government was awaiting the receipt of Maximilian's reply to the Emperor's special Messenger in regard to the negotiations referred to in his opening discourse. I have reason to believe that an answer has been received from Maximilian. M. Fould admitted the fact to a friend, who told me that Maximilian was not only willing but very desirous that the flag of France should be retired, but he wanted some 10,000 French troops left there, and money to pay and feed them furnished by France. Fould objects to sending a single cent more money to Mexico upon any terms.

Barrès, the editor of the *Estafette,* says that it is now settled at the Palace that Marshal Bazaine and his army will be withdrawn from Mexico by or before the 14th of January next, but that Vera Cruz, Mazatlan, Acapulco, and all the principal ports will be occupied by the French until their debt is secured in some way. This is, I suspect, the plan which is in contemplation. Hence the prominence given by M. Drouyn de Lhuys, by the officious press here and by official people in conversation, to your admission of the right of France to go armed into Mexico for a redress of grievances. The Emperor proposes to plant himself on that admission, in which he is also sustained by the example of England and Spain, who originally went that far; to withdraw his troops from the interior and wait for something to occur that will enable him to retire from Mexico altogether and without dishonor. This expedient would at least carry him over this and the next session of the Corps Législatif and give him the two years from last January which M. Drouyn de Lhuys said would be the *maximum* of time they would require to get out of Mexico.

Yours very sincerely

P.S. The government treats your dispatch as satisfactory in the extreme.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, March 6, 1866.

Sir:

On the 2nd of March, in the Corps Législatif, the President, Count Walewski, after reading the paragraph of the address to the Throne relative to Mexico, gave the floor to M. Rouher, Minister of State, who asked in behalf of the Government that the paragraph should be voted without discussion, alleging that, considering the present state of diplomatic negotiations already initiated with the Emperor Maximilian, the discussion of Mexican questions was at that time inopportune. This proposition was adopted, but not without a spirited debate, in the course of which M. Rouher repeated, in language rather more emphatic than the Government has formerly used, that the French army was soon to be withdrawn from Mexico, and in addition gave positive assurances that a future opportunity would be afforded for the thorough examination of the Mexican question in all its aspects. The paragraph was then adopted and the amendment of the minority rejected, the members of the opposition protesting that the opinion of the assembly was not to be prejudiced by this merely formal vote.

I transmit a copy of the paragraph adopted, the amendment of the opposition, and an extract from the remarks of M. Rouher.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.[1]

Translations

[Enclosure 1 to Despatch 282]

Our expedition to Mexico approaches its close. The country has received this assurance with satisfaction. Led to Mexico by the imperious duty of protecting our countrymen against odious acts of violence, and to obtain the redress of legitimate grievances, our soldiers and our sailors have worthily fulfilled the task which your Majesty has confided to their devotion. This expedition has attested once more in those distant lands the disinterestedness and the power

of France. The people of the United States, who have long known the loyalty of our policy and the traditional sympathies by which it is inspired, have no cause to take umbrage at the presence of our troops upon Mexican soil. To wish to subordinate their recall to any other convenience than our own, would be to attack our rights and our honor. You have these in charge, Sire, and the Legislative Body knows that you will watch over them with a solicitude worthy of France and of your name.

(Paragraph of the address to the Throne, adopted March 2, 1866.)

[Enclosure 2 to Despatch 282]

We condemned the expedition to Mexico, at its outset, in calling attention to the embarrassments and sacrifices which it would impose upon France.

Last year the return of our soldiers was solemnly announced; we regret that it should have encountered a delay not justified by French interests.

The country has not forgotten the early declarations of the Government in regard to the causes of the Expedition; it is astonished to see our army devoted to-day to the defence of a foreign throne.

(Amendment proposed by M. Bethmont, Garnier-Pagès, Jules Favre, Pelletan, Duc de Mannier, Picard, Glais-Bizoin, Javal and others. Rejected March 2, 1866.)

[Enclosure 3 to Despatch 282]

But the speech from the Throne expressed to you a thought, that of the early close of our Expedition; it declared that the expedition approached its termination. That thought is the common thought of the Government and the Corps Législatif, and here I have not to distinguish between the majority and the opposition, it is the thought of the public opinion. This thought is expressed in the project of the address.

Is there a certain shade of difference? Be it so! Let it be reserved.

What objection should there be, then, gentlemen, that the commission and the Corps Législatif should express their sentiments immediately upon this great theme of the early (*prochain*) return of our troops from the shores of the Atlantic and of Mexico, making all reserves in regard to the conduct of the Expedition, its results, and its relations with the United States, for a later discussion?

(Extract from the remarks of M. Rouher, Minister of State, in the Legislative Body on the 2nd of March.)

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, March 5, 1866.

Sir:

Your despatch of the 7th ultimo, and its accompaniments, relative to the communication which M. Laboulaye, the active president of the French Committee of Emancipation, has addressed to you upon the subject of the President's proclamation announcing the abolition of slavery in the United States, have been received. In reply to M. Laboulaye, I will thank you to inform him that the congratulations of the society upon the auspicious event are gratefully received and highly appreciated; that this government entertains no apprehensions for the future of a race physically qualified to obtain for itself, by industry and application, prosperity and happiness, under our free and equal constitution of government; and, therefore, we feel assured that this desirable result will be peacefully and creditably accomplished.

I am, sir, etc.

DANO, THE MINISTER OF FRANCE IN MEXICO, TO DROUYN DE LHUYS

Translation

MEXICO, March 9, 1866.

Mr. Minister:

I am in receipt of the despatches your Excellency has done me the honor to address to me, dated 14th and 15th January.

I am going to state positively that the well-settled purpose of the Emperor is that the evacuation commence towards the coming autumn; and that I am at the disposal of the Emperor Maximilian to settle this point formally, in conformity with the instructions I have received, but that, meantime, Marshal Bazaine is taking measures to guarantee, as far as possible, all the interests involved.

Your Excellency already knows the intentions of the commander-

in-chief of the expeditionary corps. The evacuation, commenced in November next, will be finished in the autumn of 1867; that is to say, will be entirely accomplished in eighteen months.

Accept, etc., etc.,

DANO.

BIGELOW TO J. DE LASTEYRIE

18 RUE DU CENTRE,
March 9, 1866.

My dear Sir:

The Livingston of whom Mr. Walworth desires information was the brother of the Livingston whose genius was so finely appreciated by M. Mignet. Both were Ministers of the United States to France, but the one inquired about was Robert, who was sent out to Paris as Minister by President Jefferson in 1801. He resided here three years. He accomplished the purchase of Louisiana from France. His brother Edward, the jurist, to whom you refer in your note, was appointed Minister to France by President Jackson in 1833. I can hardly hope that you or any of your contemporaries have any memorials of the elder brother, unless you find them, possibly, among the remains of your grandfather. When he was last in America, in 1824, he was fêted by Robert Livingston, the Chancellor, whose château on the Hudson River was immediately opposite my father's residence, and I well remember the gay appearance of the river, all covered with vessels loaded with the people from hundreds of miles in every direction, flocking to pay their respects or to gratify a patriotic curiosity.

If you should, with these new data, discover any sources of information that may be profitably explored, I will thank you to let me hear of them.

I remain, sir, with great respect, etc.

BIGELOW TO E. D. MORGAN

PARIS, March 11, 1866.

My dear Friend:

I received your kind favor of the 25th February only this morning. It gave me the first intimation I had received that my confirmation was unanimous. I need not say that the information was very grateful to me. It is not of great importance that I go home this summer, unless it be to qualify myself the better to represent our country abroad. It would afford me inexpressible pleasure to see my family and some of my friends, and I should have great satisfaction in talking with some of your Conscript fathers about public affairs, but I would not think of going out if there was any doubt as to the expediency or policy of such a step. I shall be obliged, however, to go away from Paris this summer for a time. My health is beginning to suffer from long confinement here; and there is no rest for me in Paris. I wish you would come over when Congress rises, with Mrs. Morgan, and take a run down into the Pyrenees or over into Switzerland with Jenny and myself. Or, if the ladies prefer quiet and social enjoyment, we can leave them somewhere from whence you and I can make our trip.

It seems to me that the breach between the President and Congress was unnecessary and unwise on the part of some parties; it would not become me to undertake to guess whom. There is only one substantial good that I can see likely to come of it. The Southern States may be encouraged by it to abandon the attitude of reserve they were disposed to maintain towards the federal government, and the process of reconciliation thus receive a new impulse. If so, perhaps the broken bones will be well earned. This rupture will have an unfavorable effect upon the evacuating movement in Mexico, however. The President's speech on the night of the 22nd is copied by all the official papers in Europe, and the *Moniteur* even, which barely mentioned the other message, gave the speech in defense of it entire. It delights the government here to see any evidence of discord between Congress and the President, for they know that the foreign policy of a discordant government is always weak. They are buying up or trying to

buy up the Paris correspondents of the American press, from which I infer that the same influence may be felt by journalists at home. It is to be presumed, therefore, that every effort will be made to increase and aggravate the existing dissensions between Congress and the President as far as such a result can be effected by the indirect agencies of foreign governments.

We are not out of the woods yet; we cannot yet afford to quarrel with ourselves or other people for amusement. Our friends on this side of the Atlantic are warmer friends perhaps, but our enemies are more jealous of us than they were during the war and will lose no opportunity of wounding us. They will rely mainly now upon corruption of the sources of public opinion and influence. I wish, therefore, the President had found means to plough around that stump instead of running smack into it. I fear he will find himself obliged to replace his old friends with new ones whose service will be much more expensive. However, he surveys the whole ground, and therefore must be presumed to know best. It seems to me at this distance that if he had left his policy to rest upon Mr. Seward's speech it would have been just as strong with the country, and a place for repentance would have been left for Stevens and his friends, who now have no alternative but war or disgrace. However, God moves in a mysterious way his wonders to perform.

I see by the telegram to-night that gold is down 2% since the last steamer. The country seems satisfied with what is going on, and the country is always right.

My wife, who has been ill, has entirely recovered. We are in the season here and nearly dead with its fatigues. I long for the time to come when I can once more go to bed betimes and dine with my family quietly.

Very sincerely, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Paris, March 15, 1866.

My dear Mr. Seward:

Efforts have been made to subsidize the Paris correspondents of the American press to the support of imperial views

in Mexico. It is probable, therefore, that similar influences will be brought to bear upon the directors of public opinion at home.

I have not been to call officially upon Drouyn de Lhuys since his receipt of your last note to Montholon. Great care has been taken to prevent the character and contents of the note from transpiring. The government even makes a secret of it to the members of the diplomatic corps. I do not. The Paris correspondent of the *Indépendance Belge* writes 13th March: "The report runs that the reply of the American government arrived this morning to the French government, and that it was *médiocrement satisfaisante*. But this rumor is yet vague."

This is the first intimation of discontent that has been published. The government takes courage from the discord in Congress, which they misunderstand.

I am, dear Sir, etc.

MONTALEMBERT TO BIGELOW

Paris, March 18, 1866.
Rue du Bac.

My dear Sir:

I cannot refrain from calling your attention to a document quoted in the speech of M. Jerome David (*Moniteur* of March 18, page 311, column 1), purporting to be a proclamation or circular of General Grant and bearing the date of *February 17, 1866*. There must be evidently some mistake in the date or in the text of the circular, but as the document is brought forward by several other enemies of American freedom such as the *Monde* in its number of this morning, page 3, column 4, I trust you will think it worth your while to have it contradicted or explained.

I am sure you will forgive my thus trespassing on your attention, in consideration of my sincere devotion to the honor and welfare of the United States. And I remain with great respect, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Confidential

Department of State,
Washington, 20 March, 1866.

My dear Sir:

Your letter of the 6th inst. has just been received. The plan which you suppose to have been framed by the French Government for evacuating the interior of Mexico without relinquishing the ports of the country would seem to be evasive. Evasion at such a stage of the business as the present would not be particularly pleasing to our Government and people. A practical astronomer may well wait for a change in the attitude of a planet before attempting to discuss the new phase which it is expected to present.

It is more pertinent at the present time to have some explanation of the continually recurring reports of the departure of new troops from French camps and stations in Europe and Africa to Mexico. They continually ask in the United States: "How can it be that France is actually sincere in promising to withdraw from Mexico, while she is all the time transporting new troops there?" Can you informally, and without making a new and collateral issue, obtain some satisfaction for us on this point?

I am, my dear Sir, Yours very truly

BIGELOW TO MONTALEMBERT

15 Rue du Centre,
March 20, 1866.

My dear Count:

I have no reason to question the authenticity of the order of General Grant, as cited by Jerome David. The state of Virginia is still under martial law. The journalists referred

to assail not only the present federal administration but the principle of a federal government. They daily commit the treasonable offence of inciting hostilities against the Union, and as such are amenable to the military tribunals which their perverse disloyalty has thus far prevented the President from suspending in some of the late insurgent states. The analogy, therefore, which M. Jerome David professes to have established between the regulations of the press in Virginia and in France does not exist.

I have not seen the *Monde,* but I doubt if it has said anything which I should think it my duty to correct. Time corrects the misrepresentations of the press with reasonable promptitude. It has done so much for us in that way, and done it so well, during the past four years that I am more and more disposed to leave the malice of our enemies and the indiscretion of our friends alike to its discipline.

I had proposed to pay my respects in person to yourself and to Madame the Countess to-morrow evening, but I am just now in the hands of the Doctor with a cold and forbidden to go out for two or three days. I hope to be more fortunate another week.

Meantime, I remain, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, March 22, 1866.

Sir:

There is reason to fear that a war between Austria and Prussia is imminent. The Count de Goltz, who has recently been to Berlin, said to me, the day after his return, that there was "great danger." He said to me yesterday that it was difficult to define the *casus belli,* if there was any, for no correspondence had passed between the two Governments in more than a month, though he did not seem to consider the chances of a collision had diminished. I infer from what he said that if a mere alarm of war should suffice to withdraw attention from domestic questions, there would be less danger of an

actual war. The Count thinks France is disposed to observe a friendly neutrality towards Prussia, though there is evidently some uneasiness felt at Berlin in regard to the nature of the equivalents which France might require for any territorial changes that should result from a conflict. When Drouyn de Lhuys was asked the other day by some one if the Emperor would maintain a friendly attitude towards Prussia, he replied that he would, though he could not promise that the friendship would be *platonic*.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Confidential

Department of State,
Washington, 19 March, 1866.

My dear Sir:

Your private note of the 28th of February has just been received. Should it happen to fall in your way to meet the Prince Napoleon, I will thank you to express to him assurances of the great respect which I entertain for him.

I shall never forget willingly the many kindly offices he rendered to our country in the time of its peril, nor can I entertain a doubt that if his opinions had prevailed in Europe they would have prevented many existing embarrassments.

I am, my dear Sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Confidential

Legation of the United States,
Paris, March 22, 1866.

Dear Sir:

The *Moniteur* of the 21st instant announces that a Military Convention was signed at Vienna on the 15th between the

Austrian Government and the representatives of Maximilian, supplementary to a convention of the same nature which had been previously concluded between the same parties. The purpose of this engagement, says the *Moniteur,* is to ensure the enrollments necessary to keep full the Austrian Corps in Mexico.

In another journal, which I regret that at this moment I am unable to lay my hand upon, I have seen it stated that a line of steamers is to be started from Trieste to Vera Cruz, to ply regularly from the 1st of April next. The *Constitutionnel* of the 21st contains also the following paragraph:

"We learn from the *Fremdenblatt* of Vienna that the enlistments for Mexico will begin immediately; that the funds had been received from Paris two months since. 'In general,' adds the Vienna journal, 'our volunteers in Mexico seem to have made very fair savings, as Colonel Leiser has himself received more than 300,000 francs to be sent to their friends in Austria: this proves that their wages are paid regularly and that prices are not as high in Mexico as has been represented.' "

The Emperor, I am told, has been trying to encourage the offer of a new Mexican loan, but hitherto, owing to the obstinate resistance of M. Fould, the project has remained in abeyance, though it is not abandoned.

The Paris correspondent of the *London Post* stated a few days since that Hidalgo, who is expected here in a few days, would bring the Convention signed by Maximilian providing for the withdrawal of the French troops from Mexico. The paragraph was generally copied, but finally received a qualified contradiction in two or three of the *officious* journals, which stated that what Hidalgo would bring could not be known till he came, and that when he left, M. Saillard had not had time to communicate with Maximilian, etc.

The information of the *Post's* correspondent came from Fould, but the Government, which on this subject may be in a certain sense distinguished from the Minister of Finance, wishing to keep the Corps Législatif ignorant as long as possible of what may be passing between the Foreign Office and Maximilian, desire the impression to prevail that nothing important is expected from Mexico until the return of Saillard. At least, such is the theory of the *Post's* correspondent.

I will not attempt to speculate upon the bearing of all these facts upon ourselves until I have talked with M. Drouyn de Lhuys, whom I expected to have seen to-day, but he did not receive. I presume the Consul at Trieste and Mr. Motley will inform you of the objects had in view in the establishment of a line of steamers from Trieste to Vera Cruz. They certainly can hardly be of a commercial character.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, March 22, 1866.

Sir:

I enclose a communication which I have received from Mr. Beckwith in reference to the operations of a Mr. Charles B. Norton, who styles himself Colonel of Staff and Commissioner of the State of New York to the Universal Exposition of 1867. It is easy to see from the government letter which he has been publishing here, a copy of which accompanies Mr. Beckwith's communication, that he has not a very nice sense of official propriety. I presume Governor Fenton had no idea that any serious responsibility for the issue of such a commission as he gave to Mr. Norton could attach to any one, but it is apparent, from the sort of partnership which has already been thus publicly advertised between Mr. Norton and the parties to whom his letter is addressed, that the Governor was mistaken.

It is an unpleasant subject to write about, but I think if Governor Fenton were aware of the false position which the state was made to occupy by Mr. Norton here, he would lose no time in withdrawing his commission. It would be well also, I think, to let the fact transpire as widely as possible that the invitation from the French Government was addressed to the Federal Government, and that no person not accredited to the Imperial Commissioners by the Federal Government can have any official status near them. Neither can persons otherwise commissioned be of any service to the parties that send or employ them; for the articles for Exposition pass into the hands

and under the control of the Imperial Commission before they enter the Exposition, and they remain under such control so long as they are on exhibition.

If some person could state these facts verbally to Governor Fenton, perhaps he would withdraw Mr. Norton's commission and assign such reasons for the step as would give rise to no unprofitable newspaper discussion of the subject.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

N. M. BECKWITH TO BIGELOW

Paris, March 22, 1866.

Dear Sir:

The exhibition, like other large movements, affords opportunities for speculators, and they pursue their fortunes in many ways, but always governed, of course, by a lively zeal for the public interest.

Among them are a number of new journals. They undertook at first to guide the Imperial Commission and to speak for them; but they were all disavowed by the Imperial Commission and compelled each of them to publish the disavowal, which left them no resort but the interests of exhibitors.

These journals came into existence and will go out of existence with the exhibition; they have no circulation and are not likely to obtain much during their ephemeral career. Their *personnel* is composed chiefly of scribes who have fallen out of the employment of the established press and of other employments; their statistical and scientific articles are such as might be hastily drawn from Dictionaries and documents more or less out of date; at all events, the articles are defective in knowledge of their subjects, inaccurate in facts, and so behind in information that they can serve only to misinform their readers.

Such journals cannot live on the French people; but they calculate on the support of foreign exhibitors, and expect to obtain from them high prices for advertisements of their products and for editorial notices of them, for which strangers may be induced to pay heavily, especially if they are made afraid of depreciative editorials which may otherwise appear.

But the less obvious feature of the speculation is that the journals themselves are to be made subservient to the more private schemes in which many of their editors are embarked, which depend for success upon drawing into them exhibitors with their products and their money.

I am unavoidably familiar with their plans because they come to me for support, and endeavor to recommend themselves to me by frank disclosures and offers meant to be tempting and persuasive.

I have only to leave them to the fate of their own merits, and, considering the interest of the exhibition, to avoid their enmity, if possible, I give them such information as they or any one has a right to ask for and as I wish to make known.

But I refuse them permission to speak in my name. And I prohibit them from representing themselves as the organs of the United States Government or the U. S. Exhibition or U. S. Commissioner, a permission for which they are most anxious. I have no authority to grant such permission and should consider it a mistake to use it if I had it.

They are in a hostile attitude towards the Imperial Commission, but are restrained from direct attacks upon it by the censorship of the press, and they are therefore the more desirous of obtaining the degree of protection which would be afforded by the authorizations alluded to.

But if such authorizations were given the responsibility would attach to the Commissioners giving them and thus bring them at once into collision with the Imperial Commission. This being the situation, I regret to find in one of the journals the advertisement herewith enclosed, signed "Charles B. Norton, Colonel d'État Major, Commissaire de l'État de New York près la Commission Impériale, etc."

Mr. Norton states in his advertisement that "by virtue of the power he holds he authorizes that journal to take the title of official organ of the Commission of the State of New York, etc.," and the paragraph which follows this announcement indicates the consideration for this, and the association of Mr. Norton with the *entrepôt* speculation therein alluded to and the part he is to take in it.

The authorization, if it has the legal validity which it implies, makes the authority from which it emanates responsible (under the present régime of the press) for the publications

which appear in the journals, and Mr. Norton professes to have the authority requisite for this purpose, in support of which he exhibits a Commission from the Governor of the State of New York, the precise intent and meaning of which are not readily understood in France.

Your knowledge of the situation will suggest to you at once that an official sanction to a journal in France is a grave step for any official to take. The matter cannot rest where it is, but it will be the subject of investigation by the authorities, and, in the end, of reclamations, to both of which you will be called upon officially for response.

Mr. Norton is a stranger in Paris, unacquainted with the laws of the country, and I believe he must be unacquainted with the standing of some of the individuals with whom he appears to be associated in this speculation.

However this may be, it is not desirable to be called upon to state in effect that Mr. Norton is "Commissioner" without a Commission to execute, that the State of New York as such does not propose to make an exhibition in Paris, that no concession of ground for that purpose has been asked nor received, that Mr. Norton as a Commissioner has nothing to exhibit, and that he has not been recognized by the Imperial Commission and consequently has no official status; also that the *entrepôt* speculation is incompatible with the duties of Commissioner, and that the authorization he has given to the press will not be accepted, but will be disavowed by his government.

These being the simple facts, I do not see how they can be withheld when called for, as they will be.

But they are so contrary to the purport of the advertisement that the bare statement of them will produce a public scandal, and this will be augmented by the jealous rivalries of the press, greatly to our detriment in the work of the exhibition.

It is not possible for a public functionary to use his trust for the interest of private speculations, his own or those of others, without incurring censure; nor is it possible for him in France to give official authority to the press without involving his government in the acceptance or the denial of the responsibilities, legal, pecuniary, and political, which such authorizations carry with them.

I wish to avoid saying anything unnecessary to the preju-

dice of Mr. Norton or of his operations. But there ought to be no difficulty in conducting the exhibition in a manner to afford no just grounds of censure, and howsoever legitimate in a commercial sense may be or may not be the operations proposed in the advertisement, they are a departure from the duties of a Commissioner, and I desire to avert the imputations against the U. S. Commission which must arise from operations of this kind pursued by any one connected with it, or pretending to be connected with it.

I therefore solicit your attention to the subject and beg you to consider what steps may be properly taken to put a stop to improprieties of this kind.

The Commission issued by Governor Fenton could not have been intended for the purpose to which it is applied, and it is impossible that the Governor could feel satisfied with its being used in a manner to cause embarrassment instead of benefiting the Exhibition.

Very truly yours

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, March 23, 1866.

Sir:

I have already acknowledged the receipt of your instruction No. 341 in reference to the appellate jurisdiction of French Consuls in China, apropos of the alleged murder of an American named Butler by a Frenchman named Pepin in Chinese waters. I have the honor to enclose a note which I addressed His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs upon the subject, and his reply. His Excellency insists upon the fairness of the trial of the alleged murderer, and that the facilities for appeal from the decisions of a French Consul in China have never been criticised before. I have not replied to this communication, for I have no reason to suppose that anything I am authorized to say would lead this government to change the view it has adopted upon this subject.

I regarded your instruction rather in the light of a sugges-

tion to the French Government for the future, than as a complaint requiring satisfaction for what had passed, and under that impression I have concluded to leave it with you to determine whether the correspondence shall be prosecuted further.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

WILLIAM H. RUSSELL TO BIGELOW

18 Sumner Place, S.W.,
March 24, 1866.

My dear Bigelow:

I don't think we will have much trouble with the Reform bill, but this Fenian business is very awkward. We are obliged to make Ireland a sort of Maryland or Poland, and the obligation ought to teach us charity towards others. Fenianism will do an immense service. We will force this British Parlt. to attend to the wants of the Irish people, for the country cannot continue to govern Ireland for the benefit of a few who rely on English money for power and support against their own tenants and people. It must afford Seward great fun to play off the Fenians against the Southern sympathizers, and to have such a speedy and very effectual revenge. If any overt act be attempted against Canada, then no doubt our Govt. will vindicate its rights. The Fenians had one good chance, and they lost it. They should have attacked Canada in winter, while there were lots of discontented men not yet settled down to occupation over the states. Now you are harassed with your tremendous struggle between the President and the Republicans. I can fancy how your feelings go in the case and shall not hurt your official susceptibility by asking you. We have old Bayard[1] of Maryland a member of the Garrick. He says, "Liberty is gone in America forever." Perhaps he is going over to look for it in Ireland. Pray send us a line, dear friend.

Ever yours very truly, with kindest regards to Mrs. Bigelow

[1] Probably James A. Bayard, father of Thomas F. Bayard, subsequently Secretary of State.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, March 17, 1866.

Sir:

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 9th of February, No. 265, together with its accompaniment, containing a full account of the speeches recently made at a meeting held in Paris, having for its object the relief of the freedmen in this country.

It is with a feeling of grateful regard that I observe the interest which the eminent speakers manifested on that occasion for the welfare of the United States, and for the condition and elevation of the freedmen.

I am, sir, your obedient servant

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, March 25, 1866.

Sir:

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of 4th March, No. 281, in relation to four French salt-makers, who ask this government to relinquish its claim upon 20,000 francs, deposited in April, 1863, with a notary at Montpellier, as security for the wages to be earned by them under a contract made with the general commission of subsistence of the late treasonable organization which styled itself the Confederate States of America, for the construction and operating of salt works in Alabama. These men appear to have been engaged in France by an engineer in the rebel service, and to have been brought to this country for the purpose of rendering such essential aid to the maintenance of the insurrection.

The contract thus made was as hostile and, perhaps, as injurious to the United States as if it had been for the manufacture of gunpowder. The application is, in effect, that this

government shall pay these men for their efforts to destroy it; or, at least, facilitate their payment by relinquishing its claim to the fund in question—a claim which the holder of the funds deems too serious to be disregarded, notwithstanding his sympathy for the alleged distress of these workmen.

The United States cannot indulge their compassion to the extent of giving any aid whatever to their enemies, foreign or domestic, in obtaining remuneration for an enterprise directed to the subversion of their government.

The fund in question is stated by the agent of the notary to be held by him under a pledge "not to deliver it to the said workmen except upon a certificate from the confederate government that they had fulfilled their obligations."

This is strong evidence, if not absolutely conclusive, that it came from the treasury of the insurgents, and now of right belongs to the United States. You are, therefore, instructed to apprise the notary, M. Grasset, that we insist upon the claim, and to take such measures as may occur to you to complete the necessary evidence, in case he manifests a disposition to resist it.

I am, sir, your obedient servant

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Confidential

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, March 25, 1866.

My dear Sir:

Col. Boyer of the staff of Marshal Bazaine is now in Paris. He came on with dispatches from the Marshal and is accompanied by M. Barrès, long resident in Mexico and editor of the *Estafette*. The latter gentleman comes as the representative of the French population in Mexico, who are dissatisfied with Maximilian. He has had several interviews with the Emperor and represents that the French residents want Maximilian sent away, that they find his rule intolerable. He represents the Emperor as furious with Maximilian for his ineptness, his extravagance and folly, but that he cannot send

him away. M. Barrès, however, represents the Emperor to have sent orders to Marshal Bazaine to act according to his judgment without reference to the Emperor, which Barrès hopes and expects will result in the abdication of Maximilian and the formation of a new government out of material in Mexico. This is what he and all who, by their former friendship with Maximilian, have compromised themselves with Juarez desire should take place.

Madame Escondes, wife of a leading Mexican, writes to her husband, who is here, what you may not have yet learned: that the English, Belgian, Spanish and Italian Ministers have left Mexico, or at the time of her writing were about leaving. She also writes that Maximilian was about going to Yucatan to have a reconciliation with his wife, with whom his relations have not been satisfactory for a long time. His *entourage* in the City of Mexico is notoriously of a character to disgust a virtuous wife.

I have this gossip from a sufficiently reliable source to justify me in sending it to you for what it is worth.

Yours very truly

BIGELOW TO WILLIAM H. RUSSELL

Paris, March 27, 1866.

My dear Russell:

Jenny had the typhoid fever some weeks ago, but she has long been well of that and has almost got another attack. At this season she gets no rest day or night, and if she worries through alive I shall feel as much relieved as I have no doubt the Empress did, after visiting the cholera hospitals, at finding she brought none of the disease away with her. I have been about half sick some three or four weeks, but as most of my friends here have been in the same condition, I have not made any appeals for sympathy.

The reaction of British Emigrants, which is now manifesting itself under the name of Fenianism, is without a parallel in history. You have for many years been sending annually an army of from 200,000 to 300,000 British subjects to Amer-

ica. They have now become numerous and compact enough to make their opinions to be more felt all the way across the Atlantic than they could make them felt when they were within twelve or fifteen hours' ride of London; more even now, when they have repudiated their allegiance and taken up their abode in a foreign land 3500 miles distant, than their fellow-countrymen who have remained behind in Ireland. The Emerald Isle, it will soon be discovered, has gained more political power and influence in parliament through those who have abandoned the country than through those who have remained faithful to the crown. I think it would not be difficult to name a time when your parliament was more disposed to give a candid hearing to the grievances of Ireland than since they found a champion in Fenianism. *Cela doit donner à réfléchir,* as we say in France. I fear you have not seen the worst of Fenianism yet. Pretty nearly every Irishman is a Fenian at heart. You are not altogether free from the taint yourself; and every Irishman's Fenian proclivities become more pronounced as the chances of accomplishing anything appear to improve. They do improve to some extent every day, and they will continue to improve just so long as England looks to putting out the fire only by stamping on it. Unless some comprehensive system of remedial legislation is presented for discussion by the public to distract the attention of the Irish people and divide them, you will find yourself making more Fenians than you cure. There are now more than half a million of Irish-born people in the United States, ninety-nine per cent. of whom are Fenians at heart, that is, ready to see England brought to grief and Ireland independent. Most of these half million are in regular correspondence with relatives in Ireland. There is no way, therefore, of stopping their influence except by making the political and social condition of the people in Ireland nearly or quite as satisfactory as that of the Irish in America. Parliament will therefore have to apply the remedy. Dragoons only make matters worse. If you had your enemy all in Ireland, the Cromwellian treatment would serve, but you have not.

The rupture between the President and the protectionist section of the old abolition party was inevitable. The President must be the centre of whatever force he represents. When the Southern States went out of the Union the political

centre of the Union was somewhere between Philadelphia and Boston. Now that the Southern States are again beginning to be felt in the Confederacy, the political centre has necessarily gone much farther South, and as a matter of course the Northern Section is so much farther from the centre than it was. New England and Pennsylvania would like the South to come back converted to their views of slavery and protective tariffs. But they will not come that way. "Then," says New England and Pennsylvania, "they should not come at all." The President, however, knows they must come, and naturally desires to turn them to as good account as possible. As this rupture was inevitable, so will its consequences be natural and in no respect serious. It may result in obstructing legislation for a time until the country has passed upon the questions at issue, but that will do no harm.

Very truly yours

MOTLEY TO BIGELOW

VIENNA, March 27, 1866.

My dear Bigelow:

Your favor of the 22nd March is received.

I suspect that a letter of mine to you of 20th Feb. last must have failed to reach you.

Otherwise the scrap which you send from the *Moniteur* could scarcely have seemed a novelty.

In that note I mentioned the details of the convention between this government and that of Maximilian, which have long been agreed upon, although not signed until the 15th this month.

I informed Mr. Seward of it on the 8th January last.

Subsequently and a good while ago I gave him the details.

In my note to you just alluded to, I stated, in answer to your mention of a report in Paris "that there were 10,000 Austrian volunteers then ready to accept service under Maximilian in Mexico," that there was not one volunteer yet ready in Trieste or in any other Austrian port.

They are now beginning, and I think it possible that 1,000 may be sent before the summer.

The supplementary convention fixes the maximum at 2,000 volunteers a year (of men who have discharged their full term of duty in the Austrian service).

As none went in 1865, they will probably be allowed to send 4,000 this year—if they can get them and pay for their wages, equipment and transportation.

As our government has long known all about this from my despatches and don't trouble itself about it, I infer that they don't think it important. Nor do I. So far as Austria is concerned, we may allow 100,000 American volunteers to be recruited for the Republican government of Mexico to-morrow, and she could not interfere.

I wish I were as well informed as to what is going on between France, our government and Maximilian as I am as to the matters here.[1] If you could give me from time to time any extracts from new despatches from Washington or Paris, I should be sincerely obliged. Copies ought to be sent to me from the State Department, but this has not been the case; and I can hardly ask you to furnish me with copies, as I know you have enough to do for all your legation without this additional work. I shall be always most happy to inform you of what is going on here in regard to Mexico or anything else, and I think you may rely more on what I say than on the French newspapers or their extracts from Austrian ones.

As for the line of steamers you mention, I know that the Austrian Consul at New York, much connected with importing merchants, has long had a scheme of getting up a line of direct steamers between Trieste and New York. Since the Max. dynasty was invented he has been in Vera Cruz (I have heard) and wishes them to stop there too. The project is moonshine, I suppose, and of very little consequence to the world at large anyway. I am glad to see that the French papers are trying to make the public believe that Austria is bolstering up Max. It is not the case, but it looks as if they were trying to excuse his being left in the lurch by France. When the French go —if they ever do go—he will stand or fall on his own merits.

[1] And yet recruiting Austrian troops for Mexico was known in Paris and Washington before it was known at our Vienna Embassy.

6,000 Austrian volunteers (the whole original number to be kept complete) will hardly save him.

With our united regard to Mrs. Bigelow and yourself, I am, always

Sincerely yours

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, March 30, 1866.

Sir:

I have received your instruction numbered 418, marked "Private and Confidential," and to-day read such portions of it as concerned him to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. When I had finished His Excellency remarked that he had no intention to criticise your mode of communication with his government, in the remark which provoked your explanation; that, as the paper was handed to him by me,[1] it was natural that he should speak of the manner in which it came to him, as he could not speak of the matter, it being confidential. He thought you were perfectly authorized to take the course you selected, for he would take the same if he should have occasion to. He requested me to communicate the substance of this explanation to you.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

BIGELOW TO MOTLEY

PARIS, March 30, 1866.

My dear Sir:

I have your favor of the 27th. You attached more importance than I did to what I wrote in my note of the 22nd. I merely cut those pieces from the papers that you might see

[1] Referring to the reply to the Emperor's letter sent by President Johnson.

what they were publishing here; willing to take for my trouble the chance that they might interest you.

A duplicate copy of Mr. Seward's last dispatch to M. Drouyn de Lhuys gives me opportunity of responding at once to the suggestion with which your note concludes. You need not return this dispatch; all I will require is that you will hold it subject to my order, when, if ever, required.

Truly yours

Count Goltz, who has just returned from Berlin, thinks there is danger of a collision with Austria. The journals under the inspiration of the foreign office take the same view latterly.

Yours

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Private

Department of State,
Washington, 31 March, 1866.

My dear Sir:

I have your private letter which is without date, but which, I suppose, was written about the middle of the month.

Persons who suppose the policy of the Government in regard to the French intervention in Mexico is likely to be disturbed by political dissensions of a domestic nature occurring here, will probably discover their mistake as soon as that expectation comes home to the knowledge of the American Congress and people.

As yet I have heard nothing from the French Government in reply to my note to the Marquis de Montholon on the Mexican question. I shall wait a little longer before recurring to the subject.

I am, my dear Sir, etc.

JOHN BIGELOW TO BANCROFT

[*Circa*, April, 1866.]

My dear Mr. Bancroft:

I have to thank you for your note of the 8th of May and its enclosure. I marvel that Lord Russell should have exposed himself to such a reply. The silence of the English journalists, who content themselves with copying the correspondence without note or comment for the most part, ought to be to you a satisfactory commentary upon the view taken of the subject in England. I sent your enclosure to Prévost-Paradol, one of the collaborateurs of the *Débats,* the day I received it, but thus far, I believe, no Paris journal has referred to the subject. Public attention is entirely engrossed with the presages of war. The U. S. and Mexico, lately such absorbing topics here, are quite forgotten already. The Emperor means to withdraw from Mexico within the time specified. He has been trying to hand Maximilian over to his brother to nurse, but, Austria not coveting the charge, the Imperial fledgling will be permitted "to go out with the tide." The necessity of submitting to such a defeat of all his plans has been a severe mortification to the Emperor, nor are the French people well pleased to see him thus humiliated by a foreign power. I hope, therefore, that our press and Congress will show as much forbearance as possible and be ready to profit by the first opportunity to revive the good feelings which this Republican discipline has temporarily chilled.

War here is, I think, inevitable. The conference which is about to take place is not supposed, by any one that I have seen, to be the harbinger of peace. The fact is, Europe is going to war as people sometimes go to the brandy-bottle to get rid of their own domestic troubles, and with a prospect of about the same success. I cannot say that I should regret a war, much as I deplore the necessity for it. Europe is so much in debt that every war or the means of carrying it on are now purchased by continually increasing concessions to the people. Anything, therefore, that threatens rapidly to increase the financial exigencies of European governments may be regarded as democratic and wholesome in its tendency.

I foresee no other agencies at work that are likely to effect so rapid a deracination of those feudal prejudices from which the people are suffering. Still the unwilling victims, Prussia, Italy and France, as you may have observed, are all at variance with their respective parliaments and afraid to give them their confidence. They are the three countries that want war to rally the national pride to their support and thus enable them to put down the rising middle class, who are beginning to learn the value and use of political rights. It is but a repetition of the old familiar story of the crown rallying the people against the nobles, for now wealth and industry in Europe begins to represent the power formerly held by the nobility and the church.

Please present our kind regards to Mrs. Bancroft.

Yours very truly

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, April 6, 1866.

Sir:

The *Moniteur* of yesterday morning announced that, as a sequence to communications exchanged between "M. Dano, Minister of Finance, His Excellency Marshal Bazaine and the Mexican Government, the Emperor has decided that the French troops shall evacuate Mexico in three detachments—the first to leave in November, 1866, the second in March, 1867, and the third in November, 1867."

At M. Drouyn de Lhuys' reception yesterday afternoon I remarked that I supposed the paragraph in the *Moniteur* might be regarded as an official statement of the result of Baron Saillard's mission. He said it might, and then added that it was substantially what he had prefigured to me in our conversation last Fall. He went on to say that the seasons for the debarking of the troops were selected from climatic and sanitary considerations. I, of course, made no comments whatever. I asked if it was true, as reported, that Baron Sail-

lard had visited Washington. He said, not that he was aware of. He had been only to New York.

It is to be remarked that, by the terms of this statement in the *Moniteur,* it was the Government of Mexico and not the Emperor Maximilian which was a party to the exchange of communications, while it was the Emperor of France who had decided, not in consequence of any negotiations or convention, but after this exchange of communications, to recall his troops. This, taken in connection with the fact, referred to by M. Drouyn de Lhuys, that the announcement in the *Moniteur* is almost in terms what he foreshadowed to me months ago as the probable course of the Emperor, goes far to authorize the inference:

(1) That the Emperor may have found it necessary to make a distinction between Maximilian and the Government of Mexico, which he is not in the habit of making between himself and the Government of France, and

(2) That he has decided upon the withdrawal of his troops without much reference to the convenience or pleasure of Maximilian.

As you have been in a measure prepared for this proposition through my correspondence, it is not likely to take you by surprise, though I apprehend neither Congress nor the country expected the Emperor would move so leisurely. It is no longer doubtful that, in fixing a term for the occupation of Mexico by his troops, the consolidation of the Government of Maximilian has entered largely into the calculations of the Emperor. In fact, the official journals, of which I enclose some extracts, do not hesitate to avow it. The *Constitutionnel* reminds the public of its frequent declaration "that what the Government of the Emperor protects is always well protected." *La France* says that "the delay in the recall of the troops leaves Maximilian the time necessary to organize defensive forces and to consolidate the order of things which the will of the Mexican people has instituted;" etc.

La Patrie says: "The Government of the Emperor Maximilian has now before it all the time necessary to complete the reorganization of the civil and military administration of the provinces." "Two interests," it says, "were to be secured—the interest of France, represented by the consolidation of a regular government charged to indemnify us for all our sacri-

fices; and the interest of Maximilian, represented by the maintenance of order and the durable triumphs of the principles upon which the Empire was founded. These two interests are respected and served by the conditions announced to us in the *Moniteur*. France gives to the consolidation of the Mexican Empire, for nearly two years yet, a support rather moral than material, with the aid of which the Government of Maximilian will prosecute easily the dissolution of parties and the pacification of popular passions," etc.

The opposition sheets generally express the opinion that it would have been possible and therefore wiser to have closed the responsibility of France for what is doing in Mexico sooner than is contemplated by the Emperor. The *Débats* says: "Nearly two years must elapse, then, during which France, in spite of the wisest calculations, may find herself implicated in the events which may occur in Mexico and, in consequence, drawn into new complications. Without exaggerating anything, we shall not be alone in thinking two years under such circumstances a little long."

The *Temps* says: "Without denying the importance of the result announced, it will be permitted to us to say that it is less speedy than we had hoped. The official journal has favored us so long with such pleasant recitals of the consolidation of the Empire of Maximilian and of the earnest co-operation which he had received from the natives that we supposed we were upon the eve of a complete evacuation. In presence of the grave questions which agitate the world, 19 months is a long margin for our expedition, which has already lasted too long."

It is to be presumed that if this engagement of the Emperor should prove acceptable to the Government of the United States, a new Mexican loan will soon be brought forward. The discussion which is to take place in the Corps Législatif upon the budget will bring up this whole question, and no doubt an attempt will be made to represent the new Mexican Empire as consolidated and an excellent security for yet a few millions of francs.

I think it important that the view which our Government shall take of this arrangement, whether favorable or unfavorable, should be expressed promptly and in unequivocal terms. It is not desirable that the public mind of Europe should settle down to false conclusions in regard to the attitude we shall

occupy towards Mexico during the remainder of the proposed term of French occupation. Events will be likely to occur there for which we may become more or less morally responsible to foreign nations according as we shall act upon the receipt of this intelligence. Maximilian will make an effort to recruit in Austria, Juarez may attempt to do the same in the United States. Maximilian will try to borrow money in Paris, and Juarez will probably try to borrow money in New York. It will depend upon the reception given to this announcement in the *Moniteur* whether soldiers enlist and bankers lend their money to either of the parties through a misapprehension of the sentiment of the American people.

I am, sir, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

WASHINGTON, April 9th, 1866.

My dear Bigelow:

I thank you for your kind note of the 22nd of March. It looks as if some of our Union friends are preparing a bridge upon which they may expect to see the Southern states and their old Democratic allies come together once more into political ascendancy. Nevertheless there is yet time for reason.

Very truly yours

BIGELOW TO UNITED STATES CONSULS IN FRANCE

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, April 9, 1866.

Sir:

Information has reached this Legation that a Pamphlet entitled "Lois pour encourager l'émigration, pour la protection des passagers," etc., has been received at several of the United States Consulates for distribution in France. I am advised by the Minister of Foreign Affairs that there are such objections

to the distribution in France of any pamphlet designed to stimulate emigration as to constrain the Minister of the Interior to withhold his authorization for their colportage. I have therefore to request, in case any of the pamphlets in question or others of a similar character have been sent you for distribution, that you will put none of them in circulation until you receive further instruction from the Department of State.

Your obedient servant,

JOHN BIGELOW.

To the Consul of the United States at Paris.

A similar letter was sent to the consuls at Havre, Marseilles, Lyons, Bordeaux, La Rochelle and Nantes.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, April 10, 1866.

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit a copy of a communication received at this legation on the 28th ultimo from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and marked enclosure No. 1, in reference to certain steps taken by the consul at Marseilles for the distribution of a pamphlet entitled "Lois pour encourager l'émigration, pour la protection des passagers, et pour garantir un asile aux colonisateurs actuels," etc.

I immediately addressed the consul a communication, of which enclosure No. 2 is a copy, and in a few days received in reply enclosures Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

After a careful perusal of these documents, I addressed a communication, of which enclosure No. 8 is a copy, to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. I made no comment upon the reasons assigned by the Minister of the Interior for refusing the application of our consul:

First, because it was apparent from the whole tenor of the despatch that this government does not look with favor upon any efforts to induce emigration from France; and

Secondly, because it was specially requested by my predecessor, Mr. Mason, as I have discovered in the course of my researches in the archives, to prohibit contracts being made in France with emigrants going to the United States, on account of the fraudulent abuses to which the practice often subjected them.

I think the recent political reaction of the emigrant population from Ireland against the mother country has had its influence in determining this government to guard itself against a similar inconvenience. I the more incline to this opinion from the gratuitous rigor with which naturalized Americans of French origin have, in repeated instances, been treated by the authorities here, under the pretext that they were liable to military service. I shall soon have occasion to invite your attention to a correspondence which has passed between this legation and the Minister of Foreign Affairs upon this subject.

The brilliant reports which emigrants bring back from the country of their adoption, and which personal vanity often tempts them to exaggerate, have a very unsettling influence upon the minds of ignorant peasants, to whom they are generally addressed. It is not strange, therefore, that the police soon find some pretext for removing these eloquent apostles of democracy from the reach of those likely to be rendered discontented by their revelations.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

DE LHUYS TO BIGELOW

Translation

PARIS, March 27, 1866.

Sir:

I have just received from the Minister of the Interior communication of a pamphlet which the consul of the United States at Marseilles has recently addressed to the senator charged with the administration of the Bouches-du-Rhône, and

which is entitled "Laws for encouraging emigration, for the protection of passengers," etc. The consul of the United States at Marseilles has, at the same time, inquired of M. Maupas whether there was anything which would hinder him, in conformity with the desire of his government, from making free distribution of this pamphlet in places, dependencies of his consulate.

I need not point out to you, sir, the irregularity of the step taken in this matter by the consul of the United States at Marseilles. It is, in fact, through the medium of your legation and my department that his request should have reached the Department of the Interior, and it is in order to avoid departure from diplomatic usages that the Marquis de La Valette begs me to bring to your knowledge the course of which this business has seemed to him to be susceptible.

As to what concerns the purpose itself of the communication of the consul of the United States at Marseilles, the Minister of the Interior, after having examined the pamphlet remitted to M. Maupas, as well as the manuscript analysis accompanying it, found that there would be inconveniences in authorizing the distribution through the departments of the empire of documents which, like those, present the character of an appeal in favor of emigration. The French administration has always been opposed to the sending of addresses among the native-born operatives; besides, in deviating now from this line of conduct in favor of an undertaking of emigration to the United States, it would create a precedent of which emigration agencies belonging to other nationalities might avail themselves. The Minister of the Interior adds that, as a consequence of the authorization which might be given for the circulation of the pamphlet in question, this distribution would be carried out under the cloak of an administrative stamping, and it would be to be feared that emigrants, misapprehending the significance of this formality, might see in it a sort of guarantee of the advantages which should be offered to them.

For these reasons the Marquis de La Valette does not think he could authorize the senator charged with the administration of the Bouches-du-Rhône to accede to the request of the consul of the United States at Marseilles.

Receive, sir, the assurances of the high consideration with which I have the honor to be, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Private

PARIS, April 12, 1866.

My dear Sir:

The prospects of a war in Germany have increased every day since my last. I cannot resist the impression that there will be a collision. The markets of Europe are very unsettled by the alarm already created, and if everything goes well with us there will naturally be a great movement of money and men to the United States this summer.

Our securities are likely to look better even to European eyes than any other public securities in the world at the price before July next.

I hope Mr. McCulloch will have his sickle ready for the harvest.

Jake Thompson is here, talking the most loyal language possible, I am told. I have not seen him.

Yours very sincerely

BIGELOW TO DROUYN DE LHUYS

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, April 5, 1866.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's favor of the 27th ultimo, relating to the steps taken by the late consul of the United States at Marseilles for the distribution of a pamphlet entitled "Lois pour encourager l'émigration, pour la protection des passagers," etc. Your Excellency directs my attention to the irregularity on the part of the consul in addressing his inquiries to the senator charged with the administration of the Bouches-du-Rhône, Monsieur de Maupas, instead of addressing them to your Excellency, through the representative of his government resident at Paris. In reference to the subject-matter of the consul's inquiry, your

Excellency informs me that the imperial government has always discouraged appeals in favor of emigration addressed to native workmen, and that the consul's application has been declined.

As to the irregularity of the consul in addressing himself to the senator charged with the administration of the Bouches-du-Rhône, permit me to remark in his justification that his application included a request to be informed what formalities would be necessary to secure the privilege of distributing the pamphlet in question. Had Monsieur de Maupas invited the consul to make his application to your Excellency through the diplomatic representative of his government, such a reply would have been strictly responsive to the consul's inquiry. I mention this merely to justify the expression of my own conviction that the late consul at Marseilles had no intention to so far depart from the wishes of his government as to attempt to bring the advantages of emigration to the United States before the people of France in an irregular way.

I shall not fail to take note of and communicate to my government the objection raised by his Excellency the Minister of the Interior to the diffusion of information designed to encourage emigration from France.

I avail myself of this opportunity, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, April 13, 1866.

Sir:

In the month of August, 1865, application was made to this legation for its interference in behalf of George Schneider and J. Baptiste Cochener, naturalized citizens of the United States, who were thrown into prison to await the result of an inquest in regard to their liability to military service in France. I have the honor to transmit copies of a communication which in each case I addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. They are numbered, respectively, 1 and 2. To these communications I received a reply, of which enclosure No. 3 is a copy.

In March of this year I received another appeal from a man named Frank Pierre, who was in the service of the New England Glass Company of Boston, and who represented himself to have been the victim of brutal treatment from the authorities of his native place, which he had just revisited after an absence of sixteen years. I spoke of the matter to M. Drouyn de Lhuys, who requested me to make a written representation of the case, when he promised to give the subject prompt attention. Thereupon I sent him the annexed communication, numbered 4.

The following day I had occasion to address the Minister of Foreign Affairs the annexed communication, No. 5, in behalf of still another naturalized citizen, who had appealed to me from prison for protection against conscription.

To these communications I received in reply two notes, of which copies, numbered respectively 6 and 7, are annexed.

Meantime Frank Pierre called upon me and gave me full details of his treatment and of his liberation. I made up my mind that if naturalized citizens of the United States, on their arrival in France, were subject to such brutalities without the knowledge of the government, it was my duty to take such notice of them as should leave the government no such excuse for their repetition; and if, on the other hand, they were in accordance with government instructions, it was proper that the government should be required to avow it, that we may take such steps for the protection of our adopted citizens as circumstances and our national dignity may prescribe. It is certain, at least, that our adopted citizens of French origin should be notified, before leaving America, of the indignities to which they expose themselves by returning to France, unless this government is prepared to recognize in an American passport presumptive evidence of nationality, sufficiently strong, at least, to protect its bearers from imprisonment.

Under the influence of these considerations, I addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs to-day a protest, of which enclosure No. 8 is a copy, thereby reserving to our government the right to reopen the subject, if it shall ever see fit to do so.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

BIGELOW TO DROUYN DE LHUYS

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, August 10, 1865.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose a communication received from M. Charles Adam, notary at Marmoutier, Bas-Rhin, to which I beg your Excellency's attention.

M. Adam represents that a native of that canton named George Schneider left his native village with a passport at the age of seventeen years and went to the United States, where he became a naturalized citizen, and whence, after a residence of some thirteen or fourteen years, three of which were spent in the military service of his adopted country, he returned to France in July last.

M. Adam further represents that, in his absence, Schneider was conscripted, and, consequently, upon his return to France he was arrested, his naturalization papers taken from him, and he was thrown into prison at Strasbourg, where he is now lying.

I beg your Excellency will take an early opportunity of satisfying yourself of the correctness of these allegations, and, if established, that no time may be lost in restoring to Schneider the privileges and immunities to which he may be entitled in France as a citizen of the United States, including the naturalization papers of which he is alleged to have been deprived.

I beg your Excellency will accept assurances, etc.

BIGELOW TO DROUYN DE LHUYS

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, August 11, 1865.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose a communication which reached the United States consulate at Paris, duly forwarded by the French military authorities, from Mr. Jean Baptiste Cochener,

now in confinement in the military prison at Metz, to which I beg your Excellency's attention.

Mr. Cochener represents that he is a native of Uni, in the department of the Meuse; that he left France at the age of seventeen years, and went to the United States, where he became a naturalized citizen, and whence, after a residence of some fourteen years, he returned to France in July last, at the request of his dying mother, leaving his four children in the United States, where he intended shortly to return. He further represents that he has all the papers requisite to establish the fact of his being a citizen of the United States, but that, on being denounced as not having submitted to the conscription, he was arrested at Van Couleur and thrown into the military prison of Metz, where he is awaiting judgment.

I beg your Excellency will take an early opportunity of satisfying yourself of the correctness of these allegations, and, if established, that no time may be lost in restoring to Cochener the privileges and immunities to which he may be entitled in France as a citizen of the United States.

I beg your Excellency will accept assurances, etc.

DROUYN DE LHUYS TO BIGELOW

Translation

PARIS, August 14, 1865.

Sir:

I have received the two despatches which you have done me the honor to address to me on dates of 10th and 11th of this month, and subject of Messrs. George Schneider and Jean Baptiste Cochener, lately arrested in France as refractories, although after having become naturalized Americans, and who ask you to have them set at liberty.

This is not the first time that questions of this kind are presented, and my predecessor has already had occasion to make known to Mr. Faulkner, especially by a letter of July 5, 1860, relative to Mr. Zeiter, that in a matter so serious as that of

military recruiting, where an extensive public interest may be complicated with the rights of individuals, it becomes incumbent to invest with the surest guarantees the decision to be arrived at, and to restrict the interference of the administration within the straitest limits. Thus the law of March 21, 1832, which governs the matter, has reserved the appreciation of questions of nationality to the courts, before which Messrs. Schneider and Cochener will have to present their reclamations.

This delegation of jurisdiction should not, moreover, awaken the susceptibilities of foreign countries, because it constitutes the best guarantee of impartiality which can be offered to those having rights, as can be proved in case of need by the decision rendered in 1860 in favor of Mr. Zeiter by the court at Wissembourg. Nevertheless, I hasten to communicate, by way of information to the Marshal Minister of War, the reclamations of Messrs. Schneider and Cochener.

Accept the assurances of the high consideration, etc.

BIGELOW TO DROUYN DE LHUYS

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, March 27, 1866.

Sir:

I am sorry to be compelled to invite your Excellency's attention to another case of imprisonment of an American citizen in France, upon the pretext of his liability to military service.

From information derived through different sources, I am advised that François Pierre, a naturalized citizen of the United States, whither he was taken by his parents sixteen years ago, when but sixteen years of age, has been arrested as a conscript at Sarreguemines, deprived of his passport and naturalization papers, and thrown into prison at Metz. From the evidence furnished me of the character of this person, I do not permit myself for an instant to suspect him of having incurred this degradation through any violation of the laws of France; neither can I understand why an American citizen travelling under the usual passport of his government

should be subjected to indignities which ought only to be visited upon criminals.

I trust your Excellency will find it convenient to give to Pierre's case your early attention, that neither his imprisonment nor his separation from his family and his affairs may be unnecessarily prolonged.

I am sure it would be a satisfaction to my government, also, to know upon what pretext Americans, armed with the presumptive evidences of their nationality, should be imprisoned while the authenticity of those evidences is being tested. This is the third case I have had occasion to bring to your Excellency's attention within the last seven months of American naturalized citizens seized, stripped of their naturalization papers and passports, and thrown into prison.

The two other cases, one of a Mr. Schneider and the other of a Mr. Cochener, were the subjects of communications to your Excellency, dated respectively the 10th and 11th of August last. Your Excellency replied that the law of 21st March, 1832, committed the decision of nationality to the tribunals to which the parties in question should address themselves. Since then I have been favored with no information of the fate of these men. No charges of crime against them have been communicated to me, neither has the news of their liberation, if they have been liberated, transpired at this legation. I am far from supposing that there has been in either of these instances any deliberate intention on the part of the French authorities to treat with disrespect the protections of my government, but I fear from what has occurred, and is frequently occurring, that such protections do not possess the value in France that in the United States they are supposed to possess. They are supposed with us to furnish presumptive evidence of nationality; in France it appears that, practically, they do not. I would be glad to know if such is the view taken by the imperial government. If it is, I would wish to be authorized to correct the grave misapprehension which exists upon the subject in the United States; and if it is not, it would gratify me to be assured that measures were to be taken to prevent a repetition of mistakes similar to those with which it is so often my unwelcome duty to trouble your Excellency.

I pray your Excellency to accept renewed assurances, etc.

DROUYN DE LHUYS TO BIGELOW

Translation

PARIS, March 29, 1866.

Sir:

You have done me the honor to write to me under date of 27th of this month, on the subject of the arrest and imprisonment of the person called François Pierre, claiming the quality of naturalized American citizen.

I hastened to write to the Minister of War to beg him to give me precise information on this affair, and I shall have the honor to answer you as soon as I shall have received it.

As for Messrs. Schneider and Cochener, an order of no cause has taken place in favor of the second for the reason that he was a naturalized foreigner more than five years, and in consequence the offence of refractoriness which was charged against him was covered by limitation of time.

As for Mr. Schneider, the departmental commission has pronounced his discharge, and he also has been set at liberty. I had reason to suppose the parties interested had brought these decisions to your knowledge.

Accept the assurance of the high consideration, etc.

BIGELOW TO DROUYN DE LHUYS

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, April 13, 1866.

Sir:

Recalling the communication which I had the honor to address to your Excellency on the 27th ultimo in reference to the arrest and imprisonment of François Pierre, a naturalized citizen of the United States, I beg now to invite your Excellency's attention to the sworn statement of Pierre, which is enclosed.

By this statement, the main facts of which your Excellency can readily verify, it would appear that Pierre has been

treated with excessive rigor, and subjected to indignities which would hardly be visited upon the most degraded criminals. The only pretext assigned for his arrest is that he was liable to military service, though he was fortified with papers which proved that he had been a citizen of the United States sixteen years, and with an American passport, which should have protected him from insult in all countries in friendly relation with the United States.

While I do not permit myself to suppose for a moment that the hardships of which I complain had their origin in any unkind feeling towards the people or government of the United States, I feel it to be my duty, in view of the frequent recurrence of such cases during my residence near his imperial Majesty, to protest, and I accordingly do hereby formally protest, against the original incarceration of François Pierre, and against all the indignities of which he was subsequently the victim.

I beg to renew to your Excellency the assurance of the high consideration, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, April 23, 1866.

Sir:

The enclosed passport purporting to have been issued by the governor of Louisiana was presented at this legation a few days since, to be viséd. Of course the application was declined, and the party to whom it belonged was informed that if he wished the protection of the United States government he must procure a passport from the United States government. He accordingly took a new passport from this legation and left his old one, on which is inscribed the visé of the Bavarian consul at New Orleans. I send it to you under the impression that you may, perhaps, think it proper to inquire by what authority a foreign consul residing in the United States visés a passport issued by a governor of a State.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, April 12, 1866.

Sir:

Last week I sent you the results of Baron Saillard's mission after it had passed through the Imperial alembic. I am now prepared to give you his impressions, as printers say, "before the proof." A friend of mine, whose name I would give you if sure that you would be the first to read it, dined with the Baron the other day, and asked him if Maximilian had any chance of ultimate success. "Not the least chance in the world," was the reply. "Has he not gained or does he not gain any friends?" "No," the Baron answered, "he has not a friend in Mexico unless he is an Austrian or Belgian." The Baron went on to say that the enterprise of Maximilian was utterly hopeless; that Mexico must be conquered and resettled. It is not government it needs, but race.

These are almost the precise words reported to me from Baron Saillard's by the gentleman to whom they were addressed, a gentleman whose name, if I thought it prudent to write it here, would leave no doubt upon your mind of the fidelity of the report.

Baron Saillard represented the foregoing as practically a repetition of the language he had used to the Emperor. The tenor of it explains in part the reserve of the press in speaking of the results of Saillard's mission, which, in view of the importance attached to it when projected, has furnished singularly little material for the newspaper gossips. The impression, which seems to be universal here, that the United States will be entirely satisfied with the Emperor's promise of retirement, coupled with the gathering storm in Germany, have no doubt contributed their share to diminish the public interest in Mexican affairs.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Confidential

PARIS, April 20, 1866.

My dear Sir:

The cloud in Germany has so completely absorbed public attention that American affairs have been scarcely mentioned here for the past fortnight. The impression is general that the paragraph in the *Moniteur* about Baron Saillard's mission had put the Mexican question to sleep for at least 18 months.

Nothing has occurred to lessen my expectations of a war in Germany. It is now conceded here that the course pursued by the Emperor amounts to a practical admission that he wants the war to take place. The Count de Goltz himself, who has the best means of knowing of any one in Paris, perhaps, told me that the Emperor would *have no objection to a localized war.*

Austria has made a proposition which Prussia will find it very difficult to accept. She has proposed to give the order for disarmament, provided Prussia would give a like order on, say, the following day. The answer to that proposal has not been made, but if it is accepted it settles nothing; it simply will give new activity to negotiations. M. de Bismarck, however, has so little faith in any promise that Austria would give on this subject, in view of the activity which prevails in all the points where military preparations would naturally be making, that it is more than an even chance that he will parry the proposition instead of accepting it. The day proposed for this disarmament to go into operation is the 25th, I believe.

A Diet to be held at Frankfort in a few days is under discussion. I cannot learn whether it will be held at all events or only upon condition the States can agree upon the proposals they will submit to it. Should that be a condition of its meeting, I have good authority for believing that there is little chance of a Diet being held.

These are all the elements of the situation which afford any prospect of peace, and it is easy to see that they are not encouraging.

In view of this unsettled state of affairs in Germany, we should be prepared to take advantage of a large demand for our securities in Europe on very favorable terms.

I am, dear Sir, etc.

SEWARD TO THE MARQUIS DE MONTHOLON

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, April 25, 1866.

Sir:

Having submitted to the President the copy of the despatch of M. Drouyn de Lhuys of the 5th of April, with which you favored me on the 21st instant, I have now to give you the views of this government thereupon.

It is with very great satisfaction that I find that the two governments of the United States and France have come to an agreement in regard to the present military intervention of France in Mexico.

This agreement I understand to be of the effect following, viz.: The French military forces in Mexico will be withdrawn from that country in three separate detachments; the one to leave in November next, and the two others to leave in March and November, 1867.

On our part all the sentiments heretofore expressed concerning the principle of non-intervention are now with cheerfulness reaffirmed. I reciprocate cordially on behalf of the United States the desire and the hope upon which M. Drouyn de Lhuys so pleasantly dwells of a cordial renewal of the traditional friendship which constitutes an important element of the life of the American people, and which, while it is full of promise to the progress of civilization, is at the same time so highly honorable to the intelligence and love of freedom of both nations.

I am well aware that so large an army as that which the French Emperor now has in Mexico could not be conveniently withdrawn in a day, or in a few days, or all at once.

I can also apprehend, as I think, that it might not be altogether expedient for the French government to designate in advance the proportions which may be expected to be given to the several detachments respectively on their embarcation. On the other hand, I think it due to the frankness and sincerity which is required by the occasion to suggest that the continuance of the intervention during the period

limited will necessarily be regarded with concern and apprehension by the masses of our people, and perhaps by Congress.

Under these circumstances our army of observation must also be continued in some proportion on the southern bank of the Rio Grande. This situation will be not altogether conformable with our national sentiments and habits. Moreover, no one can certainly reckon upon the exercise of so much prudence on the part of commanders and forces confronting each other across a boundary, as to remove all fear of unpremeditated disturbances and collisions. Therefore, the more promptly the intervention shall be brought to an end, the sooner and the more complete will be the return of the cordial good feelings which both governments so earnestly desire.

It seems to me not improbable that France, having determined upon the complete withdrawal of her forces from Mexico within the term of seventeen months, may hereafter find it convenient and consistent with her interest and honor even to abridge that term. Should this expectation be realized, it is not doubted that the Emperor will be as highly gratified as the United States with the new situation.

Accept, sir, a renewed assurance of my highest consideration.

DROUYN DE LHUYS TO BIGELOW

Translation

PARIS, April 16, 1866.

Sir:

You did me the honor to write to me the 13th of this month to call my attention to the declarations made at the United States legation in London, by Mr. François Pierre, on the subject of ill treatment of which he had to complain on occasion of his imprisonment.

I thank you for having repelled any supposition that the hardships of which Mr. Pierre may have been the subject were caused by any ill feeling in respect of the people or government of the United States. The conduct of the French authorities could not have been swayed by any such motive. It is probable that Mr. François Pierre exaggerated certain circumstances which unavoidably happen when there is a necessity to transfer from one place to another an individual under

arrest. However it may be, I send the declarations of Mr. François Pierre to the Minister of War, requesting him to order an inquiry on the subject.

I shall have the honor at an ulterior date to inform you of the result. But at this time I cannot withhold the remark that the first use Mr. François Pierre thought he should make of his liberty was to withdraw himself from the jurisdiction of the French courts, before which he was to prove the loss of his character of Frenchman by the acquisition of a new nationality.

Accept, sir, the assurance, etc.

BIGELOW TO DROUYN DE LHUYS

Legation of the United States,
Paris, April 24, 1866.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's communication of the 16th instant in reference to the arrest and imprisonment of François Pierre at Sarreguemines in March last.

Your Excellency expresses the opinion that Pierre probably exaggerated the rigors which inevitably attend the transfer of a prisoner from one place to another. I trust your Excellency's opinion is well founded, though I regret to say that I am in possession of no evidence tending to invalidate the statements of Pierre and another eye-witness of the treatment of which he complains.

Your Excellency is pleased to add that the first use that Pierre made of his liberty was "to withdraw himself from the jurisdiction of the French tribunals, before which it was his duty to establish the loss of his quality as a Frenchman by the acquisition of a new nationality." I do not know that I entirely comprehend the implication intended to be conveyed by these words of your Excellency; but if they were designed to reproach Pierre with a violation of good faith in withdrawing from France when he did, I do not hesitate to express my conviction that they do him injustice.

Pierre came to England as the agent of a New England

manufacturing company. He thought fit to profit by the opportunity to visit the place of his birth and the friends of his early youth. He arrived there on the night of the 15th of March. On the following day he was arrested and kept a prisoner until the 28th of March, when he was liberated, and his passport and naturalization papers returned to him. Then, instead of availing himself of his liberty, as your Excellency intimates, to withdraw from France, he came to Paris, where I first saw him. After a sojourn here of two days, he left for London to join his wife, whose anxieties he was naturally anxious to relieve, and to attend to the business for which he had been sent to Europe. He assures me that when his papers were returned to him he had no suspicion that there was any further question of his right to his freedom, nor did he receive any intimation from any quarter that he was expected to abide the result of any further investigation. If the fact be otherwise, and if Pierre entered into any engagement, formal or implied, to remain in France after his liberation, I should esteem it a favor if your Excellency would inform me of the nature and terms of such engagement. I am at a loss to comprehend upon what principle such terms could have been imposed, or if imposed, that Pierre, with his presumed tendency to exaggerate his grievances, should not have added this to the list.

But whether the rigors of Pierre's confinement were exaggerated or not, and whether he took refuge from his persecutors in England or not, are, I suppose, in this case, secondary questions. It is not disputed that he was arrested with ample evidence of his American citizenship upon his person, and detained a prisoner for nearly a fortnight without any charge or pretence of crime. With all the presumptive evidence of his nationality in his favor, he was treated like a felon. This is so inconsistent with the privileges which, by the comity of nations, are usually accorded to strangers fortified with the ordinary evidences of their nationality, that I venture to believe your Excellency will agree with me in thinking that a more precise definition of the authority and value of an American passport in France would have a most desirable tendency to prevent misunderstandings.

I avail myself of this occasion, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Private and Confidential

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, April 27, 1866.

Sir:

Continental affairs have so entirely absorbed public attention during the past week that the Mexican question has been quite lost sight of.

It is reported upon pretty good authority that no person is to be sent out to replace Langlais, who was Maximilian's French Minister of Finance. If true, this goes to confirm my impression that there are two governments in Mexico besides the one recognized by the United States: the one of which Maximilian is the head, and the other of which Marshal Bazaine is the head. Letters have been received here which state that Maximilian refused at first to see Baron Saillard on his arrival in Mexico, because he brought no written instructions; that finally, at the instance of Marshal Bazaine, he lent him his ears, but flatly refused his consent to the proposal for the withdrawal of the troops. On the contrary, he said it was the duty of the Emperor to send him more troops, of which he had already great need. The announcement in the *Moniteur,* therefore, about the withdrawal of the troops was made, as it purported to be made, without reference to Maximilian's wishes. It may result, as it may have been intended to result, in compelling the Archduke to abandon Mexico to France. Of that, however, no evidence has as yet transpired that I am aware of.

The subject of a new Mexican loan has been broached lately in the Council of State, not directly, but in a way to see whether it would have any chance of success; but Fould met it with such firm resistance that nothing more has been heard of it. The Minister said that his resignation was ready at any time the Emperor needed it, but he would have nothing more to do with any more Mexican loans. The Emperor was very indignant, and Fould is in disgrace. He is still, however, Minister of Finance, I presume for the reason that no one

more accommodating can be found whose appointment would command the confidence of the country.

Great anxiety is felt here now to know whether Mexico will pay her July interest. If she does not, Maximilian's affairs will be likely to come to a crisis, and how or when she can raise any money to meet her daily expenses, still less to pay interest on her debts, is a fertile subject of speculation in political and financial circles.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, April 28, 1866.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose a copy of a note, this day received from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in further reply to my last communication to him in reference to the arrest and imprisonment of François Pierre. Though his reply is far from satisfactory, I shall consider the correspondence closed, unless another case of a similar character is reported to me, which I think is not very likely to occur. In a conversation with M. Drouyn de Lhuys upon the subject, a few days since, he said he would give orders to have the inquiry into the genuineness of passports and papers henceforth made more promptly. Meantime if naturalized citizens of the United States, liable to conscription in Europe but for their naturalization, could be notified in some way to go at once, upon their arrival in France, and report at the *mairie* of the district in which their names are enrolled, producing their evidences of nationality, and ask to have their names erased from the conscription list, it would then probably be their own fault if they experience any of the rigors of which Pierre complained.

I am, sir, etc.

DROUYN DE LHUYS TO BIGELOW

Translation

PARIS, April 27, 1866.

Sir:

I hasten to answer the letter relating to François Pierre, which you did me the honor to write me on the 24th of this month.

From the information furnished me by the Minister of War, it appears that the policemen who arrested François Pierre, not being empowered to decide the question whether or not he was subject to military service, were obliged to take him before the general commanding the division of Metz. Accidents of the journey, such as damage to his papers by bad weather, being unavoidable, the department is not responsible for them.

The treatment of the plaintiff in the prisons of Bitche, Sarreguemines and Metz, of which he complains, must have been similar to that of the other convicts, and he must have wanted something more than the ordinary prison fare, which he did not get; and this is the cause of his complaint.

But these details, as you must acknowledge, are of small import; the chief point which you specify, and I agree to, is to determine what value is put upon an American passport in France.

In regard to this, you state that François Pierre, proved to be an American citizen by his papers, was arrested and treated as a criminal, without the form of a proper trial.

If that were so, I would be the first to say with you that such a proceeding is inconsistent with international customs; but the case is somewhat complicated.

The fact is, the person named François, a Frenchman by birth, was included in the quota for 1849, and as he did not respond to the summons, he has been considered as an insubordinate since the year 1850. Now, when François came back to France, he was still in insubordination, and, as guilty of that offence, he was arrested. True, he was the bearer of an American passport; and no official in France will think of disputing the respect due to it. If François had been an American by birth, or a citizen of the United States, under other

circumstances, his passport would certainly have protected him from prosecution for the offence in question; but when a person returns to his native country with foreign naturalization papers, it is not just to lay aside his nativity and admit his new nationality as protecting him, by a retroactive effect, contrary to every principle of law, against former acts, and particularly against offences of which he was guilty, a Frenchman, as in the present case. His presence in his native country obliges him to explain his case by the laws of the land; and as long as he has not done that, he is considered to have preserved his primitive citizenship.

Now, who is the competent judge of the question of nationality? The government of the Emperor has more than once had occasion to discuss that point with the United States legation. I will refer in particular to the correspondence of 1860, with Mr. Faulkner, your predecessor, in regard to Zeiter's case. In France the departments have no right to judge of cases of military recruiting; that jurisdiction being reserved by law to courts of justice. This, so far from offending foreign countries, is the best security we could offer against arbitrary decisions.

Such is the justice of our statutes, and it leaves no cause of action to the departments.

Fortunately, difficulties of this kind do not often occur; and I will promise to use all the moderation compatible with the meaning of the law in the settlement of these questions.

Accept the assurances of the high consideration, etc.

XVII

FRICTION OVER EMIGRATION PASSPORTS AND RECRUITS FOR MEXICO

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, May 1, 1866.

Sir:

I ENCLOSE herewith, for your information, copy of a letter, of the 11th ultimo, which I addressed to the Hon. William Dennison, the Postmaster-General, in reply to his inquiry for my opinion in regard to the offer of the French government of their line of steam ocean packets to convey the United States mail between New Orleans and Vera Cruz.

I am, sir, your obedient servant

SEWARD TO DENNISON

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, April 11, 1866.

Sir:

I have had the honor to receive your note of the 10th of April. By that paper I am informed that the general post department of France has advised you that the service of the French line of steam ocean packets running between Vera Cruz and Matamoras, touching at Tampico, will be extended to New Orleans on or after the 11th of April instant, and that the employment of said packets on the line from New Orleans to Vera Cruz has been tendered to your department for the transmission of such correspondence as the United States may, with advantage, forward to Mexico by that route, under an equitable ar-

rangement for the division of the postage thereon between the two governments.

You submit to me the question whether there is any political objection to the arrangement which has thus been proposed.

Having conferred with the President, I have now the honor to state that a French postal steam vessel running between the ports of Matamoras and Vera Cruz can be deemed by this government to be exercising the rights of war as a belligerent against the republic of Mexico, with which republic the United States are maintaining with constancy relations of friendship. I think, therefore, that Mexico will have ground of complaint against the United States if the arrangement proposed shall be carried into effect.

I have the honor to be, Sir, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, May 7, 1866.

Sir:

Your despatch of April 10, No. 299, has been received. It is accompanied by a copy of a note which was addressed to you, on the 27th of March last, by M. Drouyn de Lhuys, on the subject of a proposed distribution, by the United States consul at Marseilles, of copies of a publication entitled "Laws (of Congress) for encouraging immigration and protection of passengers," etc.

Your despatch is accompanied further by a copy of your reply to that communication, and by various documents which illustrate the subject of the correspondence. Your reply is approved.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys very rightly observes that the proceeding of the consul, in addressing the municipal authorities at Marseilles, was irregular, and that propriety required that he should give you information of the doubts which influenced him in opening this correspondence. On the other hand, it is very clear that the error committed by the consul was inadvertent, and entirely consistent with a just respect for the French government. We are under obligation of law and courtesy to refer the matter of emigration to the laws of France.

It appears, from the communication of M. Drouyn de Lhuys, that the Emperor thinks it would be inconvenient to authorize the distribution of publications, by the consuls of the United States, designed to show the advantages which our country offers to emigrants.

It does not so distinctly appear, from M. Drouyn de Lhuys's communication, that the laws of France authorize the government to disallow such publication. He may well, however, have understood it was unnecessary to make any statement upon that point to you, in view of your familiarity with the laws of the empire. You will, of course, inform yourself of that fact, and you will direct the consuls within the empire to refrain from any proceeding or measure, in this respect, which is objected to by the French government, in conformity with the constitution and laws of France.

The bureau of immigration here will be apprised of the instructions given to you in this despatch, and may be expected to act accordingly.

You may communicate the views herein expressed to M. Drouyn de Lhuys.

I am, sir, your obedient servant

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, May 7, 1866.

Sir:

I recur now to your two despatches of the 13th of April, Nos. 302 and 303.

In those papers you have given us an account of your intervention in the cases of George Schneider, J. Baptiste Cochener, François Pierre, and Frederick Todry, severally. Each of those persons, though a native of France, was naturalized in the United States, and two of them served in our military forces during the recent war. Each of them having returned to France, bearing a passport of this government, was arrested, cast into prison, and detained a painful period,

awaiting trial for "refractoriness" against conscription, as a crime against the civil laws of the empire.

Your despatches are accompanied with the correspondence which has taken place on this subject between yourself and M. Drouyn de Lhuys.

It is gratifying to perceive that the replies of M. Drouyn de Lhuys were made with due consideration and in a becoming and friendly spirit. It is also a source of much satisfaction that all the parties were, after considerable delays, released. You will, if opportunity offers, obtain from the several parties such statements as will enable us to present applications in their behalf, respectively, for indemnity for losses and hardships, if there shall be found sufficient merit to support such a measure.

In regard to the general subject of the dishonor in France of our passports of naturalized citizens, the President thinks it desirable that you should solicit a conference with M. Drouyn de Lhuys.

In such a conference, you may say to him that we appreciate the difficulties and the delicacy of a conflict between immunities demanded by the passport and the laws of military conscription. We have encountered the embarrassment of that conflict in our late civil war. The result of our late experience is that a foreign passport may be safely taken as furnishing presumptive evidence of a title to exemption from military service, so long, at least, as the government which grants the passport shall be found to be acting in good faith, and in conformity with the law of nations.

Second. That when a person representing himself to be an alien, and whether producing a passport or not, is conscripted, he shall be at liberty to present his claim, with evidence in its support, to a competent military tribunal, by which the case shall be heard summarily; a discharge by such military tribunal to be final. If, on the contrary, the claim of an alien is overruled by the military tribunal, then the discharge, with the facts relative to the case, shall be remitted to the Minister of State charged with the conduct of foreign affairs.

At every stage of the case the representatives of the nation whose protection is invoked are allowed to intervene. If the Department of Foreign Affairs decides the claim of alienage to be well taken, the conscript is immediately released. If, on

the contrary, the claim of alienage is denied by that department, then it becomes a subject of diplomatic discussion.

A considerable proportion of the inhabitants of the United States are foreigners, either naturalized or unnaturalized. They came to us from all the nations of Europe, as well as from American states. We raised in four years, not altogether without conscription, armies unparalleled in numerical forces, yet cases of injustice and hardship, resulting from the denial of justice on the plea of alienage, are believed to have been very rare.

You will submit to M. Drouyn de Lhuys, in a friendly manner and spirit, the question whether it may not be found practicable to make some modification of the imperial military laws, in conformity with these suggestions.

All the rigor of invention, all the resources of commerce, and all the influences of civilization, combine to stimulate intercourse between citizens and subjects of friendly states. Care ought to be taken by every government not to obstruct this intercourse unnecessarily, or to suffer occasions for the wounding of national sensibilities to arise where they can be prevented.

I feel sure that the enlightened government of France will concur in these sentiments.

I am, sir, your obedient servant

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, May 10, 1866.

Sir:

It has been reported in the Paris correspondence of some of the continental journals that a contract had been entered into with the French Transatlantic Steamship Company to transport such Austrians as may be recruited under the supplementary article of the convention of Miramar, from Trieste to Vera Cruz. As there were but three parties with which such a contract could have been entered into, Austria, Mexico and France; as Austria would not be likely to make a contract for a heavy expenditure in an enterprise in which she had no cor-

responding interest, and as, if she had, she would be more likely to employ her own transports than those of a foreign state; and finally, as Mexico is notoriously without means to fulfil her part of such a contract, I inferred that France was the only power at all likely, in the present state of affairs, to spend any money in providing troops for the occupation of Mexico. My suspicions were so much strengthened from other sources that I availed myself of the first suitable opportunity to invite the attention of M. Drouyn de Lhuys to these reports, and to ask what, if any, credit deserved to be given to them. His Excellency replied that he had seen it stated in the public prints that the Transatlantic Company had undertaken the transport of some Austrians to Mexico, about eleven or twelve hundred, he thought, but he understood that it was a private contract between Mexico and the company. He could not say positively, without inquiring, that the contract had not passed through the Ministry of Marine, but he thought it highly improbable that a step so irregular should have been taken without his knowledge. He then proceeded to take a note of the matter, and promised to let me know the result of his inquiries. Unless I have an answer shortly, it will be safe to infer that my suspicions were well grounded. Should such prove to be the case, I shall consider myself instructed by your despatches to Mr. Motley of the 19th March and 6th and 16th of April last, and by your previous despatches to our consul-general at Alexandria, in reference to the levy of Egyptian troops for Mexico, to protest against any further steps being taken to execute the contract.

I am, sir, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, May 12, 1866.

Sir:

I have just now received your confidential note of the 27th of April, which treats of the relations of the United States and France with Mexico.

On the 12th of February last I addressed a note to the Marquis de Montholon, in which, by the President's direction, I submitted for the consideration of the Emperor the views of this government concerning the state of the French intervention. On the 5th of April M. Drouyn de Lhuys replied to that communication, and gave us to understand that the Emperor would withdraw the French troops from Mexico in three parts, the first to leave that country in November, 1866, the second in March, 1867, and the third in November, 1867. On the 25th of April I had the honor to reply through the Marquis de Montholon, accepting that assurance.

The President has supposed that with the definitive conclusion of the arrangement for evacuation which was thus made in that correspondence, the anxiety prevailing in this country with regard to the French intervention in Mexico was brought to an end, and that, practically, the two governments might come at once into a condition of harmony upon that heretofore embarrassing subject. Recent events, however, not especially significant in themselves, have reawakened the concern which was thus supposed to have been put at rest. The journals published at Havana and at St. Thomas speak of the passage of steamers with 1200 fresh troops from France, by the way of those ports, to Vera Cruz. From a creditable source, also, we hear of the departure of 300 troops of the so-called "foreign legion" from St. Nazaire, on the 16th of April, for Vera Cruz.

These transactions are seized upon in the United States as showing that the determination of France to evacuate Mexico is not fixed, and that it is unsafe for this government to rely upon the assurances it has received in that respect. It becomes my duty, therefore, to inform you that, without important exceptions, the whole American people are in such a condition of disquiet with regard to the subject that it would not be a matter of surprise to the President if Congress should adopt some proceeding which might entirely change the attitude of this government in regard to the war between France and Mexico.

It is hardly necessary to refer you to the fact that although the public mind was at the moment reconciled to the acceptance of the engagement between France and this government, yet it was, nevertheless, so reconciled only by the assurance that Austria would not be regarded by us as neutral if she

should now send military forces, or permit them to be sent to Mexico, to replace the retiring French army. Nor is it necessary to say that the President confides in the loyalty of France, and does not for a moment allow himself to apprehend that the Emperor, by sending or permitting new troops to go forward to Mexico, intends the least departure from the spirit of the existing engagement. You will perceive, therefore, that there is a necessity on our part for having such explanations as will enable us to relieve the subject from all uncertainty, and so far as possible from public misapprehension, with as little delay as convenient.

You will see M. Drouyn de Lhuys, and in the first instance, at least without a formal note, ask his attention to the situation of the Mexican question, as I have herein presented it. To render your task more easy, I give a copy of this note to the Marquis de Montholon, who may perhaps write upon the subject to his government.

I am, sir, your obedient servant

MOTLEY TO BIGELOW

VIENNA, 3 May, 1866.

My dear Bigelow:

I regret very much that I should have allowed a month to slip by without thanking you for sending me Seward's despatch enclosed with your favor of the 30th March.

In reply to yours of 29th April received yesterday evening, I beg to say that I don't know what kind of transportation has been provided for the Austrian Volunteers from Trieste. I have, however, written to-day to the U. S. Consul for exact information on that point and will let you know his reply.

As he has standing instructions from me this long time to furnish me with accurate intelligence in regard to all the details of this matter, and as I have heard nothing from him of late, I infer that no definite arrangements have yet been made at Trieste.

The number of Volunteers collected is 850.

The recruiting was closed on the 30th April. They are to embark from Trieste on the 15th of this month.

Of these facts I have of course duly notified the Secretary of State at Washington.

As it will be very strange if Trieste is not soon under blockade, I think these 850 will be the last that will ever go forth from Austria to support Max and his empire.

By the way, the best *information* I can furnish you in regard to this matter is that a telegram in the Vienna papers yesterday morning states, on the authority of the *London Times,* that I am immediately to leave Vienna if a single man is shipped to Mexico from Trieste. Likewise that the Austrian envoy at Washington is to receive his walking-ticket at the same moment!!!

As I never see the *Times,* I should have remained in ignorance of these important facts had they not been good enough to telegraph it here.

We are in almost daily expectation of the explosion between Vienna, Berlin and Florence, which can't be delayed much longer, I should think.

With our united regards to Mrs. Bigelow and yourself, I am

Very sincerely yours

MOTLEY TO BIGELOW

VIENNA, 9 May, 1866.

My dear Bigelow:

It had quite escaped me for a day or two that I had not answered your enquiries about the transport of troops from Trieste.

The U. S. Consul at Trieste writes me, under date of May 5: "For several days the French merchant steamship *Tampico* has been lying in the harbor in full view of my windows, and it is generally understood that she comes hither to convey a thousand men to Vera Cruz."

I have been so pressed for time during the past few days that I neglected yesterday to communicate this.

Pray excuse my brevity to-day, and believe me

Very sincerely yours

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, May 11, 1866.

Sir:

Since I last had the honor to address you upon the subject of the political troubles in Germany, two communications have been made to the world by this Government which together have had the effect to greatly reduce the number of those who hope for the continuance of peace in Europe.

On Thursday the 4th instant, M. Rouher, the Minister of State, upon a proposition of the Government to adjust the draft for the year 1867, made the first official definition that has yet appeared of the position which the Imperial Government intends to occupy towards Germany in the pending quarrel. His speech, with the debate which followed, is enclosed. He summed up the Imperial programme in these three terms:

A Policy of peace,
Faithful neutrality,
Entire freedom of Action.

He also declared that if Italy made any attack upon Austria, it must be at her own risk and charge, a declaration which was received with loud applause from all parts of the house.

On the Sunday following, the Emperor is reported in the *Moniteur* to have used the following language in reply to a welcoming speech from the Mayor of Auxerre:

"I have, moreover, a debt of gratitude to discharge to the Department of the Yonne. It was one of the first to give me its suffrages in 1848; because it knew, like the great majority of the French nation, that its interests were mine, and that I detested, like it, those treaties of 1815 which some parties of this day wish to make the sole basis of our foreign policy."

A copy of the discourse of His Majesty and of that to which it purported to be a reply are enclosed.

The language I have quoted was promptly and universally pronounced a contribution to the elements of disorder in Germany. The Italian *rentes* fell precipitately; a general panic took possession of the Bourse; purchasers were unable to pay their differences, and the brokers themselves were in such

large numbers threatened with ruin, in consequence, that I am told a subscription of 50,000;000 francs has been raised by the syndicate to protect their credit.

The discourse is also construed into a rebuke of the majority in the Chambers for the applause bestowed upon the speech of M. Thiers, as well as a correction of the statement made by the Minister of State that in case of an attack upon Austria by Italy she would make it at her own risk and charge. There is even talk of a new Minister of State. These secondary emotions, however, will soon pass away, and France will probably accept the position which the Emperor seeks for her, and which M. Rouher terms *entière liberté d'action,* with satisfaction.

I met yesterday, in the Diplomatic Circle, the British, Russian, Prussian, and Italian Ministers, all waiting to confer with the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Chevalier Nigra informed me that there was now more serious talk of a Congress. I felt at liberty to infer from what I heard from different sources there that the possibility of a peace through a Congress was a prominent subject of discussion between these diplomatists respectively and M. Drouyn de Lhuys. I saw His Excellency after his conference with them all, and asked what were the chances of a Congress. He replied that, as the Emperor had once proposed a Congress, he could not well refuse to participate in one now, if the other powers desired it, though he treated the chances of escaping war through a Congress at this late day as not very encouraging. He allowed me to infer that the Emperor would not take part in a Congress merely for talk. If a Congress is to be held, it must be a Congress that can decide something, and as yet the great powers do not seem ready to submit to such a tribunal those questions the final decision of which, through war or otherwise, seems now to be necessary for the peace of Europe.

I have been firmly of the opinion that the Emperor desired before all things a Congress. I am still disposed to believe that his speech at Auxerre was designed to produce a state of feeling favorable to such an appeal to the statesmanship of Europe. I infer, however, from the language and manner of M. Drouyn de Lhuys yesterday after his interview with the representatives of four of the five powers most directly interested in the question, that as yet the chances of a Congress are

not encouraging. The question of war or peace will be probably determined within a week. All classes clamor for an early decision. The present state of uncertainty is almost as disastrous as flagrant war, and if war is to occur, there are many reasons why the great powers should desire to realize the supposed benefits to accrue from its decision as soon and at as small an expense as possible.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO MOTLEY

Paris, May 12, 1866.

My dear Sir:

I had reason to believe that a contract had been signed here at the Ministry of Marine with the French Transatlantic Steamship Co. for the transport of Austrians to Vera Cruz. I asked M. Drouyn de Lhuys if there was anything in it. He said he had heard or read somewhere that this Co. was engaged to take some troops to Vera Cruz from Trieste, about 1200, but he supposed it to be entirely a private contract in which the government had no participation.

He could not say positively that no such arrangement had been entered into at the Ministry of Marine, but he was not disposed to believe that such an irregular step could have been taken as that would be without his knowledge. He promised to enquire into the matter at once and let me know. If I do not hear from him in a day or two I shall conclude that I was well informed and will be then more certain in my own mind in regard to the answer Mr. Seward will get from Austria to his dispatch to you of the 16th April.

However, upon that point there can be little doubt. Seward probably had none when he wrote. It suited his convenience, however, to send his answer to the last dispatch of Drouyn de Lhuys by way of Vienna. It remains to see whether my Emperor will choose to take the hint.

Prince de Metternich, whom I met at dinner night before last, asked me if I knew anything of an instruction said to have been sent by Mr. Seward to you. I said I had just then been reading it in an American journal. He wished to know

what it was. I recapitulated its features. He had not seen it, *but had received a telegraph upon the subject from Vienna.* I offered to send him a copy, which I did the following day.

Austria is evidently surprised at being addressed so *brutalement* upon a subject with which she has tried so hard to keep innocent.

My kind regards to Mrs. Motley.

Yours very sincerely

Mr. E. G. Buffum, Paris correspondent of *N. Y. Herald,* goes to Vienna to arrange a special correspondence for his paper at your capital. He asked a letter to you. I gave him my card and a passport as bearer of dispatches. He will hand you the enclosed note. He is an amiable person and, save a proclivity for sensations, is discreet. I hope you will give him the benefit of your advice in the choice of a correspondent, as so much depends upon the character of the letters that find their way into a journal so widely read.

J. B.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, May 16, 1866.

Sir:

I translate from *La France,* of last evening, the following announcement:

"The embarcation of troops of Austrian volunteers for Mexico has been countermanded. Those enlisted have been discharged, and the majority of them have been enrolled in the army of the north."

I suppose I may consider this paragraph, in a semi-official paper, as practically answering the inquiry which I addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs on Thursday last, and as finally disposing of what threatened to become an unpleasant complication.

Apropos of our relations with Mexico, and more especially of the latest phase of them, I invite your attention to the annexed extracts from the *Mémorial Diplomatique,* semi-official, and from the *Débats,* mild opposition.

General Almonte, who was appointed to replace M. Hidalgo at this court as the representative of Mexico, has arrived.

I am, sir, etc.

Translations

From the Mémorial Diplomatique, May 13

According to an American letter published in the *Times,* the Minister of the United States at Paris recently suggested to the cabinet of the Tuileries that, for the purpose of arresting the military reprisals in Mexico, the Juarez government should be informed of the limit within which the French army of occupation should be withdrawn. M. Drouyn de Lhuys delivered this overture for the reason that the French government had no means of communication with Juarez. At length Mr. Bigelow offered for this purpose to the cabinet of the Tuileries the good offices of his government, near which is accredited the Juarist agent, Mr. Romero.

It appears, from our information, that what there may be of truth in this story relates to the steps formerly taken by the federal cabinet to induce France to demand from the Mexican government the repeal of certain decrees concerning the Juarist brigandage. These steps, and the reception which they met with from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, all this is found at length in the *Livre Jaune* of 1866; and we believe that no later incident could have changed in this regard the rule of conduct of the imperial government.

From the Mémorial Diplomatique, May 13

According to the information which reaches us from Vienna, the imperial government has had no difficulty in convincing Mr. Motley that Austria has no intention to send troops to Mexico to replace; that the volunteers in question cannot be considered as Austrian soldiers, as it is of their own accord that, after having fulfilled their military obligations in their own country, they enlist in the service of the Emperor Maximilian to form an integral portion of the Mexican army.

The proof that this incident seems to have been settled in a satisfactory manner is that the embarcation of one thousand Austrian volunteers was to take place the 10th of May instant, at Trieste, where, since the 7th, the *Tampico* has been lying at anchor—a vessel of the Transatlantic Company, on board of which they were to be transported to Vera Cruz.

From the Journal des Débats of May 14, 1866

We yesterday called attention to the despatches of Mr. Seward to the Minister of the United States at Vienna, in which the American Secretary of State protests against the sending of Austrian volunteers to Mexico, in terms whose earnestness every one can appreciate. The *Constitutionnel* thinks it can announce this morning that all difficulties are removed in the matter, and that the explanations given by the Vienna cabinet have fully satisfied the Minister of the United States, so that a first detachment of 1000 volunteers was to embark on the 10th May at Trieste, for Mexico. To tell the truth, the *Constitutionnel* knows nothing of these facts of itself, but gets them from the *Mémorial Diplomatique,* in which, for our part, we are far from having absolute confidence. It may be, after all, that Austria has not thought proper to pay attention to the protest from Washington, although she has at this moment affairs enough on hand not to seek for new ones. We shall soon know if it is true that one corps of volunteers set out three days ago for Vera Cruz, on board the *Tampico;* but even if this fact were exact, it would not be enough to prove that an understanding in regard to this question of volunteers exists at present between Austria and the United States. The very categoric language of Mr. Seward permits us to doubt this. We shall wait, therefore, until the text of the arrangements concluded between the two governments is made known to us before we believe it, by the *Constitutionnel's* leave, which indorses statements of which it has no proof except the assertions of the *Mémorial Diplomatique,* which are always to be received with caution.

BIGELOW TO EDWARDS PIERREPONT

Paris, May 17, 1866.

My dear Friend:

My regard for your wife is such that I should not feel at liberty, under ordinary circumstances, to encourage your pas-

sion for any maiden so attractive as Joan of Arc[1] is reported to have been. As she, however, has been in Heaven some four centuries more or less, I do not feel that I shall do you or Mrs. Pierrepont any harm by feeding your passion a little. Mrs. Bigelow and I attended the celebration of her fête the other day at Orléans. We naturally thought of her absent lover in America and of the profounder emotions which the event of the day would doubtless have left in his more susceptible heart if he had been with us. In looking around for something associated with the occasion that would interest you, I stumbled upon a collection of panegyrics delivered on divers similar anniversaries of Joan's deliverance of Orléans, and purchased them for you. They are rare and curious. I hope they will give you pleasure, if only as showing you that I think of you more frequently than I write to you. I have always felt angry with some one—I don't exactly know who—that I saw so little of you last summer. I scarcely less regret that you are not coming out for your family this summer.

I hear with pleasure of your growing fame and triumphs in your profession, though not without the painful reflection that the greater a man becomes to the world the less he is to his friends.

Europe is in a state of fearful fermentation, little suspecting that the leaven has come from that lately so despised republic from beyond the Atlantic. War, I think, is inevitable, or revolution. Peace is favorable to reflection, and reflection will be fatal to half the thrones in Europe.

They are again talking of a Congress. If held, which I doubt, it will be a palliative only, not a cure. The U. S. now are the envy of the world. I trust we shall continue worthy of being its example. I saw your daughter a moment yesterday, gay as a bird—all well.

Yours sincerely

[1] The late Judge Edwards Pierrepont had a special interest in the history or legend of Joan of Arc. He asked me, as he was leaving Paris, to send him anything about her that I might discover in my habitual prowling among the *bouquinistes*. This letter was written in partial compliance with that request.

F. W. SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, May 18, 1866.

Sir:

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 23d ultimo, enclosing a passport purporting to have been issued by the governor of Louisiana, which was presented at the legation in Paris to be viséd. Your proceedings in declining to recognize this instrument are, as a matter of course, approved.

The governors of the several States have been notified by circular that the granting of passports by them, or by any other State authorities, is in contravention of the Constitution and laws of the United States, and of the law of nations, and that such instruments will not be recognized by this department, or by the governments of foreign nations.

I am, sir, your obedient servant

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

PARIS, Friday, 4:30 P.M.
May 18, 1866.

My dear Sir:

I saw the Prince Napoleon to-day and profited by the occasion, the first that has offered owing to his absence from France, to give him your message of the 19th March. He desired me to thank you; said he preserved grateful recollections of all your kindness to him in America, and felt gratified with the terms in which you spoke of him and what he had tried to do. He asked me if I knew whether Maximilian meant to go or stay after the retirement of the French army from Mexico. I told him I had no information from home upon the subject, but my impression was that he would not think it prudent to remain after the withdrawal of the first detachment. "Not

five hours!" the Prince exclaimed. I also told him what Saillard had said, whom he has not yet seen but expects to see to-morrow. I asked the Prince if these *pourparlers* about a Congress were for any other purpose than to make the world believe that every effort was making to prevent war. He shrugged his shoulders, said he did not think they would amount to anything, etc., that they amounted to about as much as your going with Lincoln to Fortress Monroe to talk with Stephens and others. The Prince seemed to think war a sure thing. How far he takes his wishes for evidence I was unable to judge in our short conversation, but everything concurs in making me think that he is right.

I enclose a paragraph which I clip from the *Débats* of this morning, containing Marcy's declaration for the protection of commerce upon the high seas in time of war. I asked Nigra to-day if Italy would accept that doctrine and issue a similar declaration. He replied that he thought she would. I asked the Prince his opinion; he replied that he had no doubt of it. Count Goltz, the Prussian Minister, whom I questioned a few nights since upon that subject, said Italy would not deny herself so important a weapon with which to harass the Austrian commerce of the Adriatic and Mediterranean. It is probable that he was mistaken.

It may be worth your while to consider whether this is not a propitious moment to bring that subject forward. The two primary combatants may be considered as committed: Austria by the enclosed declaration; Prussia by the treaty with the United States signed by Franklin during the sovereignty of Frederick the Great, in which the American doctrine on that subject was first broached or rather made the subject of treaty stipulation. Italy and France and Russia are also practically committed to it. England can probably never be approached at a more propitious moment for such an engagement.

Prince Metternich asked me, about a week since, if I had seen or known anything of a reported instruction from you to Mr. Motley about the sending of Austrian troops to Mexico. I replied that I had; that I had just been reading the correspondence, explained to him its tenor, and promised to send him a paper containing it. He said he had just received a telegraph from Vienna to inquire about it. He seemed anxious.

Apropos of that subject I enclose an extract from the *Débats* of this morning which discloses the latest phase of it that has transpired here.

Yours very sincerely

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Paris, May 18, 1866.

My dear Mr. Seward:

I send you by this post the second instalment of the Imperial apology for the Emperor Bonaparte,[1] which I beg you to accept.

Permit me to profit by this occasion to congratulate you upon belonging to a race of statesmen who are compelled to look forward rather than backward nineteen centuries to find their parallels.

Ever very sincerely yours

BIGELOW TO MADAME LA MARQUISE DE BROU

Légation des États-Unis,
Paris, le 18 mai, 1866.

Madame la Marquise:

J'ai le plaisir de vous transmettre ci-joint les copies de cinq documents authentiques qui, je l'espère, vous satisferont au moins en partie, sur les différentes questions dont vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'entretenir hier.

Le Docteur Franklin est resté neuf ans en France—de 1776 à 1785—en qualité de représentant des Provinces Anglaises insurgées de l'Amérique. Pendant ce temps il a occupé une maison appartenant à Monsieur Jacques Donatien Le Ray de Chaumont, Seigneur de Chaumont, "Intendant honoraire de l'hôtel Royal des Invalides, Grand Maître aussi honoraire des eaux et forêts de France."

M. de Chaumont a rendu aux États-Unis durant la lutte de la révolution d'importants services pour lesquels il a

[1] The second volume of the Emperor's Life of Cæsar.

donné à lui ou à son fils une grande étendue de terres dans l'État de New York. Une partie de ces propriétés est encore en la possession de son petits fils, M. de Chaumont, qui est, je crois, le grand-père de Monsieur le Comte de St. Paul.

Pendant le séjour de Franklin à Passy, John Adams, Commissaire adjoint des Colonies et qui succéda au General Washington comme Président des États-Unis, l'y vint joindre. Mr. Adams éprouvant quelques scruples à ce que les commissaires restassent les hôtes de M. de Chaumont, une correspondance s'en suivit entre eux à ce sujet. J'en joins la copie.

Le fils de ce M. de Chaumont, le propriétaire et l'ami du Docteur Franklin en Amérique, bientôt après la paix était porteur d'une lettre d'introduction du Docteur Franklin au Président du Congrès Continental, dans laquelle ses propres obligations et celles de son père envers le père du porteur sont pleinement reconnues. Il donna plus tard une lettre à la même personne pour le Président Washington. Toutes deux sont jointes à la présente.

Le fils de M. de Chaumont se maria plus tard aux États-Unis. Il y est fait allusion dans une lettre ci-jointe écrite par Franklin en 1786, après son retour aux États-Unis, et dans laquelle il parle particulièrement de la future du jeune de Chaumont.

J'espère, chère Madame, que vous accepterez ces documents comme un accomplissement partiel de ma promesse d'hier de faire tout mon possible pour vous être agréable, et vous prie d'agréer les expressions de mes respectueux hommages.

GIDEON WELLES, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY, TO BIGELOW

WASHINGTON, 21 May, 1866.

My dear Sir:

Mr. Eads[1] has favored me with the perusal of your note, and his reply in relation to the proposed labor of M. Paradol. I need not assure you that it will give me great pleasure to afford that gentleman every facility should he undertake the

[1] James Buchanan Eads distinguished himself as an engineer, especially by the construction of the steel-arch bridge across the Mississippi River at St. Louis.

work, and I doubt not he will have encouragement and aid from others.

There is one gentleman, a Mr. Boynton, now getting materials for a similar work, and not unlikely there may be others who will undertake to do something, for the great events of the war, and especially the achievements of our gallant men of both the army and navy, have stimulated our countrymen to write and read, and possess themselves of accurate details of all that has occurred.

Mr. Eads had previously made mention to me of the views which both you and he had taken of the advantages of a history of the Navy during the great rebellion by a foreign author. Thus I can appreciate that the excitements, partiality and prejudices unavoidably incident to all of our own countrymen will not be experienced by such a writer.

It will give me pleasure to place before M. P., whom you compliment so highly, any documents or facts in my possession or in the Department for his proposed work.

I may congratulate you on the cessation of hostility and, I may say, on a restored union, though our radical friends insist, now that the war is over, that the Union is divided, and are persistent in excluding eleven states from their constitutional right of representation, or from any participation in the government by which they are governed.

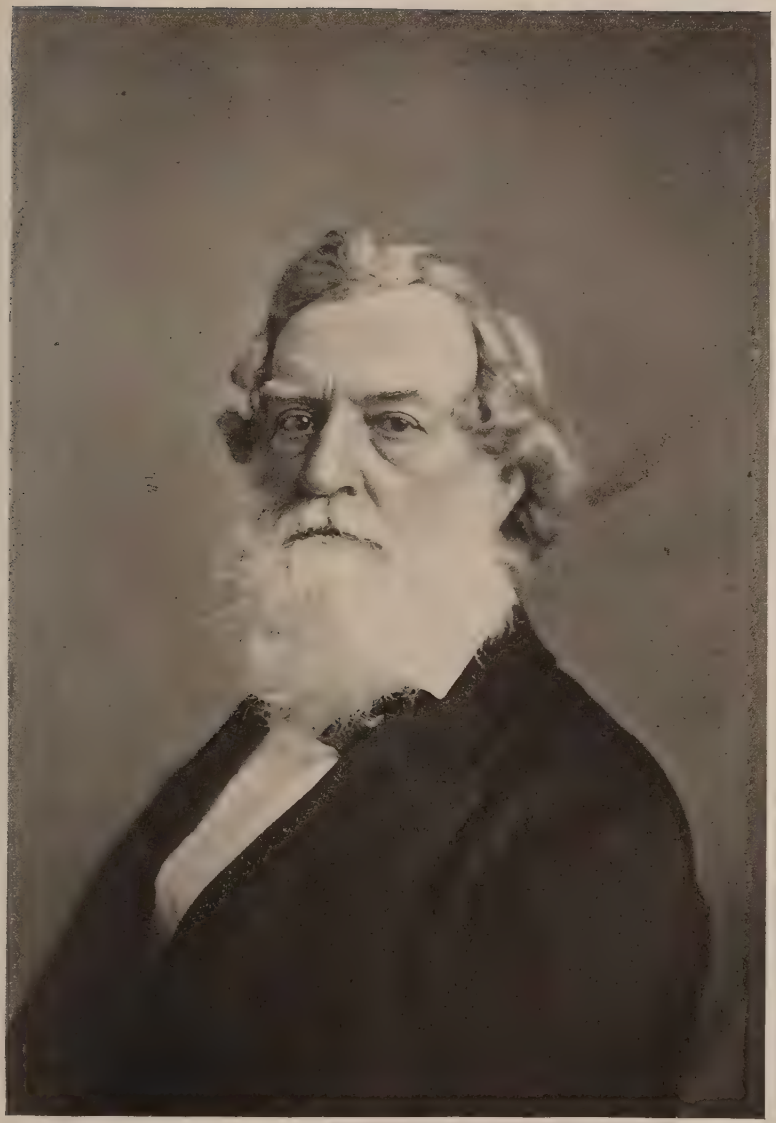
Voluntary division by secession, which was an abuse of the state-rights doctrine, having been fought down, we now have the opposite extreme, of compulsory division by the Centralists, to dispose of. I think Thad. Stevens will have no better success than John Slidell.

Make my regards acceptable to Mrs. Bigelow, whom we were happy to see last summer, and believe me,

Yours truly

On my arrival in Paris M. Paradol was one of the most effective writers for the *Journal des Débats* and quite the most finished writer of the opposition in the Paris press.

Circumstances soon made us acquainted and secured for the Union cause a powerful and hearty friend. He allowed



A.D. 1802 Gideon Welles A.D. 1878

President Lincoln's and President Johnson's Secretary of the Navy

himself to be a candidate for the Corps Législatif in 1863. He did not succeed, but on the 7th of April, 1865, he may be said to have had his revenge by being elected to the French Academy as the successor of Ampère and over his unsuccessful competitor Jules Janin. When admitted to the Academy M. Guizot made the *Adresse de Réception.*

He was an ardent friend and admirer of M. Thiers, and partly for that reason, perhaps, thought the parliamentary system of government in England the ideal for France. It was the well-known views of Paradol, Ollivier, and their friends that are presumed to have later had the preponderating influence in leading the Emperor to introduce the system of parliamentary reform of 1869. One of its most prompt and unfortunate results was Paradol's accepting service under the Emperor and the mission to the United States in 1870 at his hands.

Before he reached our shores Paradol discovered the mistake he had made. The breaking out of the Franco-Prussian War, which was to associate him in the public mind with the crimes and follies of which this war and the impending defeat of France were to be the culmination, drove him to despair and, within a month after his arrival in Washington, to suicide.

There was no more classic writer of French connected with the press of his time, nor a French writer of any time who was a more finished master of courtly irony.

Just before sailing for the United States I received from him the following letter. He killed himself within three months after it was written, and I never saw him after he accepted the mission to Washington, to my great sorrow.

Remembering that the best description of our system of government in the United States had been written by a Frenchman, and in its time the best analysis of the governmental system of Great Britain had been written by another Frenchman, I conceived the idea and indulged the hope of persuading M. Prévost-Paradol to write the history of our Civil War, and we had some conferences on the subject. Had he not already fallen a prey to the wiles of the Emperor, he would probably have given us a history of the crisis of popular sovereignty in America which would have proved as enduring a classic as the histories of Gibbon or Macaulay.

PRÉVOST-PARADOL TO BIGELOW

Paris, Wednesday, April 24, 1870.

My dear Friend:

Your letter has given me great pleasure, and I am so grateful for that token of your constant friendship, but it makes me feel the more the inconvenience and regret of your absence. I should have had so much pleasure in talking with you of our eventful future and of your own. You can easily guess that I approve your Russian treaty as far as your territorial extension is concerned, for I have always considered your possessing the whole of the North American continent as an unavoidable event and also as an event rather favorable to the interests of my own country and of mankind itself. I shall never feel any jealousy of your transatlantic greatness; quite the reverse. But I should see with regret and anxiety your siding with Russia in our European troubles, especially for the Eastern question. I hope you are still far from this meddling policy, but such is the inference many Englishmen have drawn from your Russian treaty. For the Frenchmen, not one perhaps has thought more than one moment of that affair, for this decisive reason, that we are here on the verge of that *Prussian war* which was so easy to foretell as soon as Sadowa had changed the equilibrium of Europe. You cannot imagine the anxiety of the French public, who feel the country drifting to a terrible war without having any power to interfere in the matter. The majority of the public (stupid as usual) wonder at the change of conduct of our government towards Prussia, after so many encouragements and fatal flatteries; sensible men know too well that, after the faults of the two last years, it could not be otherwise, but are anxious about the slowness and imperfections of our military preparations when Prussia is in full fighting order and just fresh from victory. Please present my duty to Mrs. Bigelow; Mrs. Paradol is not well and is now at Arcachon, near Bordeaux.

Yours very sincerely

BIGELOW TO PRÉVOST-PARADOL

15 Rue du Centre,
May 22, 1866.

My dear Sir:

I received the enclosed correspondence this morning from Mr. Bancroft. It relates to the dissatisfaction expressed in England with portions of his eulogy of Lincoln.

As no other journal in Paris will probably have a copy before to-morrow, it occurred to me that it might be welcome to the *Débats*.

I had great pleasure in running over the little volume you were good enough to send Mrs. Bigelow,[1] though most of the articles I had, of course, already seen. I have to follow your active pen to know from week to week the exact frontier of permissible government criticism. Like the Roman god Terminus, you show your faithful readers with singular accuracy the boundaries of the Empire.

To write so cleverly and so satisfactorily as you do upon all kinds of subjects, however, permit me to say, greatly weakens the cause of "unlicensed printing," of which you are so eminent a champion. What, unrestricted, produces anything superior?

Very sincerely yours

BIGELOW TO GEORGE BAKER

Legation of the United States,
Paris, May 23, 1866.

Dear Sir:

Some very kind words spoken of you to me by Colonel Hay and by your late colleague Mr. Webster, not to speak of my personal experiences, encourage me to ask a favor of you, if upon inquiry you ascertain that you can grant it.

In the works of John Adams, published by his grandson,

[1] "Essais sur les Moralistes Françaises."

Vol. VII at page 111 (one hundred and eleven), will be found a letter to the Treasury Board, dated 19 Sept., 1779, transmitting a statement of his accounts while residing as a commissioner near this Court. In that letter he speaks:

1st. Of money drawn for by Dr. Franklin and himself jointly, and of its expenditure, kept by Dr. Franklin and marked *A,* from Adams' arrival at Paris in April until the end of August.

2nd. Accounts kept by himself from October same year until the new commissioner arrived.

3d. An account marked *C,* of receipts on his private acct., and

4th. An account marked *D,* of expenses.

I am making some researches into the mode of life of Franklin while he resided at Passy, which would be greatly assisted by a copy of the 1st, 2nd, and 4th of these accounts.

Mr. A. says that Franklin never showed him the vouchers of a/c A. I suppose they were filed by F. with his. I would be glad to have copies of the accounts. If upon examination of them I find need to consult the vouchers, I can provide for that emergency afterwards. Now if there is any one about you who can be engaged to copy those accounts, supposing, as of course I do, that they are quite accessible and that the Secretary of State has no objection, which I permit myself to believe, would you have the kindness to have it done for me? It is the accounts *A, B and D* that I want. If you will have them copied and will let me know the expense of copying, etc., as well as of searching the files, which will probably be the most troublesome part of the work, I will see that you are promptly indemnified and be very grateful besides, nor do I care how quick it is done.

As one good turn deserves another, I avail myself of this opportunity to invoke your good offices in another matter. I believe Mr. E. L. Squiers frequents Washington a good deal, and if so he is likely to be more or less at the State Department. If so, you would do me a good service by reminding him of 300 francs which I paid for copying a manuscript from the Imperial library which he requested me to procure for him about a year ago. He has neither acknowledged the receipt of the manuscript nor sent me any money; a course of conduct as little creditable to his morals as to his breeding.

The Birthplace of Richard Cobden

If he should surprise you by paying you the money, please pass it to my credit until farther orders.

I know that I am taking a great liberty in troubling you with such matters, and I hope you will give Webster a good scolding for exposing you to it. He richly deserves it.

Yours very respectfully

BIGELOW TO M. LE BARON ARTAUD HAUSSMANN

Légation des États-Unis,
Paris, le 26 mai, 1866.

Cher Baron:

Pourriez vous me dire si les embellissements de Passy, soumis à Monsieur le Préfet de la Seine sont adoptés d'une manière définitive, et en ce cas, si les plans officiels pourraient m'être communiqués de manière à ce que je puisse juger jusqu'à quel point les modifications qu'ils comportent pourraient influer sur les négociations pour l'achat de la propriété de la rue Basse? Si lorsque je viendrai voir l'ancien plan de Paris que vous mentionnez dans votre dernière lettre vous pouviez me donner une réponse à ce sujet, je vous en serais fort obligé.

Vous serait-il possible aussi de me mettre à même d'obtenir une copie de "*l'arrêté du Conseil-Général de la Commune de Passy du 3 Sept. 1791,*" qui donne le nom de "Franklin" à une des rues de cette localité, avec le "Rapport des Motifs," etc., qui sans doute l'accompagne. Vous m'obligeriez infiniment.

L'intérêt que vous avez témoigné pour les recherches qui m'occupent, est mon excuse en vous dérangeant encore par ces demandes.

Agréez, mon cher Baron, l'expression de ma reconnaissance et de ma considération la plus distinguée.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, May 25, 1866.

Sir:

The following semi-official announcement appeared in *La France* last evening: "The return to France of Marshal Bazaine with the first detachment returning from Mexico is under consideration. In this case the Marshal will turn over his command to General Douai."

Should nothing occur to change the present programme, I think Bazaine will return with the first detachment of French troops in October next. I am told that the contract with the Transatlantic Steamship Company for their transport from Vera Cruz to St. Nazaire was signed on Monday last.

I have as yet received no reply from Drouyn de Lhuys to my inquiry in reference to the contract supposed to have been signed at the Ministry of Marine for the shipment of troops from Trieste to Vera Cruz. His silence leaves little room to doubt that my suspicions were correct.

In a conversation with the Minister of Marine last Tuesday evening I asked him if he expected one third of the French army of occupation would return this Fall. He thought about that proportion. I then asked how many that would leave in Mexico. He answered about 16,000. I then asked if he supposed Maximilian would dare stay after such a reduction of his force. "Why," said he, "he is all the time discontented that we are there, and wishes to get rid of us." He then added in substance that it was his [Maximilian's] affair and not the Emperor's if the force proved too small. I said I thought he would have to leave, or else draw in his lines and practically shut himself up in garrison. "No," he replied, "he will not do that." He then went on to say what Maximilian ought to have done originally and what he must do now, if he wishes to succeed. He must abandon the attempt, which he should never have made, of occupying the entire territory of Mexico; he must take possession of a few central, productive and controlling points, organize a good and effective police within those points, and render the portion under his hand safe

and prosperous. The neighboring provinces would soon, he thought, wish to share the Government which conferred such safety and prosperity.

He said the Emperor could not remove his army before November, 1867, though he might be relied upon to leave sooner than that if possible.

How brilliant were the prospects of Maximilian's consolidation of a government in Mexico, upon which the press of Paris was compelled to smile so complacently, may be inferred by a glance at the map facing page 132, Volume II, which shows by the pink color the total amount of territory occupied by the French forces, and by the blue, that remaining under the Juarez government, if under any. Mexico was then divided into twenty-two states, six territories and a federal district. French troops had control of the harbor of Vera Cruz and of the railway route to the City of Mexico, a port at Campeachy, another at Tehuantepec and another at Tampico—the whole combined hardly embracing an area equal to that of any one of the twenty-eight states and territories of the empire. But they had neither a garrison nor a soldier on its United States frontier, nor a port on its yet longer Pacific coast. Seven-eighths of the population at least, and twenty-nine thirtieths of the territory of Mexico, were never seen by any of Maximilian's soldiers. It was a remarkably small capital for Maximilian to set up business with in Mexico, as he realized to his sorrow before the expiration of the year.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, May 31, 1866.

Sir:

I have your despatch No. 459, marked "Confidential," and had proposed to discuss its contents to-day with the Minister of Foreign Affairs. His Excellency, however, had received a summons to the palace, which compelled him to terminate his reception of the diplomatic corps abruptly. He remarked,

with a smile, as I entered, that he knew what I came for—that I had a harsh message for him. "Am I not right?" he asked. I told him that I had been instructed, as he was aware, it seemed, to acquaint him with the disquiet which certain reports in regard to the transport of fresh troops from different quarters of the world, to Mexico, had occasioned in the United States, and I expressed my fear that these reports, unless met promptly by some satisfactory assurances, might develop discussion upon another theatre imperfectly informed of the actual situation and of the dispositions of the imperial government, thereby aggravating the difficulties with which both governments already had to contend. I then said that, as he was called elsewhere, I would wait upon him at any other more convenient hour that he would name. He proposed that I should call again on Saturday at 1½ P.M.; meantime he wished me to be assured, as he had assured me on several previous occasions, that the troops reported to have sailed for Vera Cruz were to replace others whose terms of service had expired, and in numbers less rather than more than were there before. He believed, also, that the orders for their shipment were given before the proposed recall of the army was announced. Upon all these points he expected to have more precise information from the Minister of War to give me on Saturday. As I was going out, his Excellency repeated what he has often said, that they were but too anxious to withdraw their troops from Mexico; that they would be withdrawn certainly not later, but probably sooner, than the time proposed.

I then took my leave without alluding to the other subjects about which I was specially instructed to confer with him.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

XVIII

THE CONFESSED DÉBÂCLE OF THE CHROMO EMPIRE

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, June 4, 1866.

Sir:

I WAITED upon His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs on Saturday last, in pursuance of a previous appointment to confer with him upon the subject-matter of your instruction No. 459, marked "Confidential." As he had been already apprised of the contents of that despatch through the French Minister residing at Washington, I was spared the necessity of restating them. He said that the Imperial Government proclaimed its intention to retire from Mexico, because it suited its convenience and interests to retire and for no other reason. When, therefore, it announced formally, not merely to the United States but to all the world, that the army would be withdrawn from Mexico within a specified term, he thought it should be deemed sufficient. The Government made its declaration in good faith and means to keep it. It means to withdraw its army within the time prescribed, and it does not intend to take one or two hundred troops in the first detachment, and one or two hundred more in the second, leaving the great body of them to the last; though it had not deemed it necessary to specify with minuteness details of this kind, which depend upon hygienic and climatic considerations of which it was the best and the only competent judge. This, His Excellency said, he wished I would say to my Government.

I asked His Excellency if I had ever intimated to him, whether in writing or orally, any suspicion of the Emperor's

intention to withdraw his army from Mexico in unequal proportions. He replied that I had not. I then asked if any other person authorized to speak in the name of my Government had done so. He said no, but he had read imputations of that kind in one of our papers. I replied in substance that the lawless were a law unto themselves, but that we had better not accept such law for ourselves, and as he asked me to communicate to my Government a formal answer to what sounded like an accusation of insincerity and bad faith on the part of the Emperor, I wanted his authority for stating that no such accusation had reached him through any official channel. He replied that he only had read it in a newspaper.

I then went on to say that the purpose of your instruction, as I understood it, was simply to obtain an explanation, which was sure to be required of you, of the shipment by France of large bodies of troops to Mexico after the purpose to withdraw her whole army had been officially proclaimed. To this His Excellency replied that since seeing me he had gotten from his colleagues of the Marine and War Departments information to the purport:

That no troops belonging to the *Corps Expéditionnaire* had been sent to Mexico this year, unless perhaps for the sake of partly replacing soldiers missing, but at any rate without augmentation of the number of standing troops;

That the shipment of troops referred to in the public prints and in your despatch was most likely that made in the transport *Rhône,* about the beginning of the year;

That the *Rhône* touched at Martinique, but not at St. Thomas, as was stated;

That she carried 915 and not 1200 soldiers;

That they belonged to the Foreign Legion and not to the Expeditionary Corps;

That they consisted of troops which had been waiting transportation a long time in France and in Algeria to join their regiments;

That no new troops had been enrolled for the Foreign Legion since the Emperor proclaimed his purpose to withdraw his flag from Mexico, and that no more, for what he knew, were intended to be enrolled.

In regard to the shipment of troops from Austria, he said that was an affair entirely between that Government and the

Mexican, with which France had nothing to do; that since I had spoken to him upon the subject he had verified his own convictions by a reference to the Ministers of War and Marine and had ascertained that no engagements of any sort had been entered into by either for the enrollment or transport of troops from Austria to Mexico. He went on further to say that it was the intention of the Government to withdraw the army entirely from Mexico within the time specified in his despatch to you, at the very latest, sooner if climatic and other controlling considerations permitted, and it was not its intention to replace these with other troops from any quarter.

At the conclusion of a long conversation of which I have given the important results, I expressed my satisfaction with His Excellency's explanations, and the pleasure I should have in communicating them to my Government.

This despatch has been submitted to M. Drouyn de Lhuys, and the foregoing version of the results of our conversation has been approved by him.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, June 1, 1866.

Sir:

M. Le Play, Commissioner-General of the Universal Exposition for 1867, called upon me to-day with the copy of the *Moniteur Universel* which I enclose, and invited my attention to the paragraph on the first page enclosed in pencil lines by him. He said the parties concerned in the publication of this paper were very bad characters who were determined in some way or another to prey upon the Imperial Commission or upon the exhibitors, and that he was very sorry to find them receiving any countenance from such a respectable source as the Governors of sovereign states. He added that he was a good deal troubled with visits from persons professing to be accredited to the Imperial Commission from State authorities, who asked a great many ques-

tions, wanted a great many documents and consumed a great deal of his time; he wished to know how he was expected to receive such people.

I informed him that the President of the United States understood that the invitation of the Imperial Commission was addressed to the Federal Government; that upon that understanding a federal representative had been named to reside in Paris, through whom and myself only could any communication pass between the Imperial Commission and the Federal Government; that any recognition, therefore, of State Commissioners, except in ordinary courtesy, would be in derogation of the authority of the Federal Commissioners and at variance with the principle prescribed to us by the regulations of the Imperial Commission in virtue of which that Commissioner was selected.

M. Le Play professed to be satisfied with my explanation and said he would manage these gentlemen as well as he could. He then asked if I was still confident that our country would be worthily represented in the exposition. I was obliged to limit myself, in reply, to an expression of my hopes and to such an explanation of the delay in the action of Congress as the great pressure of domestic questions upon its attention suggested to me.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, June 8, 1866.

Sir:

In the proceedings which under your instructions I have instituted here to recover the sums received by M. Arman for the construction of steamers for the late so-called Confederate States of America, it will become important to show by legal proof what those sums amounted to. The best proof that exists, I presume, will be found in or traceable by the correspondence of Bullock, the agent of the Confederates, in whose name the contract was made on their part; Erlanger, their

banker, who made their payments; and Slidell. Maury also, in the commencement, had something to do with them. This correspondence and Erlanger's, Bullock's and Slidell's accounts are to be found, no doubt, among the archives of the Navy and State Departments of the late Richmond organization. I think the value of this testimony in establishing the amount for which Arman is accountable to the United States would justify a careful search for it among the Confederate Archives, whether at Richmond or at Washington. Without it we shall be quite dependent upon Arman himself for the amount we may recover, as he can make offsets and reclamations which we have only very imperfect means of testing.

If there is any prospect of receiving additional proof of the nature required from the United States, I would be glad to be so assured as soon as possible, that I may keep in a position to avail the government of it when it comes.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

United States Legation,
Paris, June 14, 1866.

Sir:

In compliance with your instruction of the 1st of May, No. 444, I spoke to-day with his Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the relations of Hayti and St. Domingo, and of the recent invocation by the latter of foreign influence to secure the recognition of her independence by Hayti. I ascertained in the course of a brief conversation that M. Drouyn de Lhuys had instructed the French agents in both extremities of the island to use their influence in favor of establishing peaceful and friendly relations between the two republics before the recent circular was issued by St. Domingo, but this instruction was general in its character, and related to no specific proposal from any quarter. I gathered from what he said that it was written not long after the flight of Soulouque. I mentioned that we had received the same circular as that which had been addressed to the consul-general of France,

and I asked him whether he thought the counsel of foreign powers could contribute to the harmony of the two governments. He said, without hesitation, that he thought it could, and professed his readiness to unite with me in a note to the Haytian government. I replied that I had no instructions that would justify me in taking such a step, and if in view of what he had said my government should think it worth while to co-operate, that the separate and independent action of the governments addressed might, perhaps, be the most efficacious. He assented to the propriety of this suggestion, at the same time assuring me of his readiness to co-operate jointly or separately, and with or without pressure, to procure the recognition of the Dominican republic by Hayti, and the restoration of harmony between their respective governments.

I declined to embrace his proposal to make a joint note—first, of course, because I had no instructions that would have authorized such a step, and secondly, because I did not suppose that even in that indirect way would the United States countenance the interference of France with the political administration of any American state.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, June 14, 1866.

Sir:

The following paragraphs appeared last evening in the columns of *La France:*

"The *Presse* of Vienna publishes despatches from Paris, announcing that the emperor of Mexico demands the financial support of France, and threatens to abdicate if he does not obtain it.

"It says, also, that the French government is determined to reject the demand, and has sent instructions to Marshal Bazaine, forbidding him to call a free election in case of Maximilian's abdication.

"We leave the responsibility of this news to the *Freie Presse;* for it must be accepted with certain reserve, on account of its importance." (Translation.)

I spoke of this to M. Drouyn de Lhuys to-day, and asked if the facts warranted any such statement. He smiled and said that France did not mean to place any more money in Mexico; that they had invested all they ever meant to in that quarter. I asked about the threat of abdication imputed to Maximilian. "The *France,*" he replied, "is a little too advanced—a little rash." "Then he has not held out any such threats?" I asked. "No, not that we have heard of," was the reply; "but," he added, "while we are asking questions, what may Santa Anna be about in New York?" I replied that I had not a particle of information upon the subject, nor could I gather nourishment for a good suspicion upon the subject; that his name had not once been mentioned in my correspondence from the State Department, and I had been able to derive no distinct impressions from my private correspondence or from the press. I suggested that the name of Santa Anna had occurred to me at one time as a *tertium quid* with which, perhaps, the French government might make a transaction, in case Maximilian failed finally to make himself acceptable to the Mexican people, but as yet I saw no evidence of his having the necessary prestige among the Mexicans for such a rôle. He assented to that view of Santa Anna's position, and then the conversation on the subject of Mexico dropped.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, June 14, 1866.

Sir:

I have the honor to invite your attention to an important debate which occurred yesterday in the Corps Législatif in reference to the new attitude assumed by France towards Mexico. The budget was under discussion, and M. Jules Favre availed himself of the occasion to arraign the govern-

ment for its disastrous financiering in Mexico, and to compare the position of France, as revealed by the correspondence recently communicated to the Chambers, with that which she occupied, according to the government orators and the official press, a year ago. M. Favre concluded by inquiring of the orator for the government, M. Rouher, whether it would be safe to withdraw a part only of the French army from Mexico, and whether it would not be more prudent to withdraw them all in a body.

M. Rouher made no reply. The government declined to enter into any discussion of the subject. A sort of defence of the government was attempted by M. Jerome David, a reputed son of the late Prince Jerome Bonaparte, which relationship gave to his remarks their principal importance perhaps. He closed with a timidly phrased sort of warning to the United States not to tread upon the heels of the retiring army of occupation, which was the only part of his discourse of special significance.

A translation of the debate, from the *Moniteur,* and a copy of the Yellow Book containing the promised continuation of the correspondence on Mexican Affairs,[1] submitted a few days since to the Corps Législatif, accompany this despatch. This latter document is chiefly remarkable for the limited amount of information on the Mexican question which it adds to the stock already in possession of the public.

I remain, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, June 14, 1866.

Sir:

Events are rapidly confirming the apprehensions of an impending war in Europe which I had the honor to express to

[1] The debate in the Chambers which followed the collapse of the Mexican expedition, referred to in this note, is one that must be read by any who aspire to a correct knowledge of the history of that disastrous imperial freak. It is too long to be inserted here, but it may be found either in the *Moniteur* or in the annual reports of the State Department for 1866.

you in my communications of the 20th and 27th of April and the 11th May.

The Congress was "dropped" still-born; diplomatic relations between Austria and Prussia have been suspended; the Austrians have been compelled to evacuate Holstein, and Prussians have occupied their place, in virtual violation or negation of the provisions of the Gastein Convention, and to-day Austria is authorized by a two-third vote of the Diet to move her army, in execution of the federal authority, against Prussia. In view of these facts, therefore, it is almost needless to say that but few days can elapse before the harvest of blood will commence. I asked Prince Metternich this afternoon, before the decision of the Diet was known in Paris, whether he considered war inevitable. "Oh, yes," he replied. If the Diet should authorize federal execution, it would require seven or eight days to go through the necessary preliminaries; but if Austria should not be sustained by the Diet, the war would begin sooner. In view of the terrible struggle which is impending, what attitude France proposes to occupy towards it becomes a question, of course, of supreme importance.

To remove or at least to mitigate the uneasiness felt upon this subject by the public of France generally—very much indisposed to a war in Europe at the present time—the Emperor has written a letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs defining the position which he intends to occupy upon the questions about to be submitted to the final arbitrament of the sword. This letter was read yesterday to the Corps Législatif by the Minister of State. A copy of it, with the debate which followed it, is enclosed. The Emperor professes the intention to observe what he terms "an attentive neutrality." He disavows any purpose of territorial acquisition unless the territorial equilibrium of Europe shall be disturbed by some of the large powers, in which event the implication and, I may add, the universal expectation is that France will demand an equivalent.

The debate which followed the perusal of the Imperial letter betrayed great sensitiveness on the part of the opposition in the Corps Législatif to the somewhat unceremonious manner in which the policy of France had been marked out in so grave a matter, without consulting the popular branch of the

government. The majority of that body seemed, however, so well satisfied with what had been done that they would not allow it to be discussed.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys assured me to-day that under no conceivable circumstances would France be drawn into the quarrel, that upon that subject he had no misgivings. I remarked that I did not see any great danger of her being obliged to depart from her neutral position, unless the fortunes of war should turn against Italy. I feel authorized to infer from His Excellency's reply to this remark that Austria will not pursue any advantage she may obtain over the Italians so far as to provoke France to forsake her attitude of neutrality.

Should the Emperor not be disappointed in these expectations, he will occupy much the same position in this war that Prussia occupied in the war of 1859, in which case I fear that the friends of Italy will have no great reason to congratulate themselves upon the fate that is in store for that unfortunate country. A realization of the Emperor's favorite idea of a confederation of Italian States will probably be the most desirable result they can hope for.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys thinks the war will be soon over, that two or three battles will end it. I confess I find it difficult to share his opinion, but there is certainly a mysterious understanding between the Governments of France, Prussia and Austria which may justify his impressions. From all I see and hear, I should not be surprised if the war were to leave fewer independent States in Europe than there are at present and all the larger States of the Continent enlarged.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Personal, Private and Confidential

PARIS, June 14, 1866.

My dear Mr. Seward:

The government showed no sort of fight yesterday on the Mexican question. They deliberately stripped themselves and

let Jules Favre lay on till he was tired, and, without a murmur scarcely, put on their clothes again and went about their business. They would have been better pleased, I dare say, if Jerome David had held his tongue, but he belongs to the swarm of bastard Bonapartes rescued from obscurity by the present dynasty and is anxious to turn what little Bonaparte blood there is in him to some account.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys did not send me copies of the Yellow Book delivered to the Chambers a few days since. I asked him to-day what I had been doing that he slighted me in this way. He at first pretended it was an oversight, but at last said that he was not at all proud of that document, and he did not want to send it to me. "But," said he, "I shall be content if it is the last of my correspondence about that wretched, miserable Mexico." He repeated, when he handed me the copies, "I am not proud of that, I assure you."

He spoke with great distinctness and confidence of their ability and determination to keep clear of the impending war, and when I suggested that Austria might advance upon Italian territory, he stated to me in confidence *that they had taken securities against that.* Let me here say, that you may understand the better my dispatch on this subject, that M. Drouyn de Lhuys passes here for an Austrian and an Ultramontanist, and the compliment paid him by the Emperor in addressing to him his recent letter, the manuscript original of which he showed me with manifest pride, together with the entire satisfaction he seemed to feel in the course things were taking, inclines me to think that somebody is going to be dreadfully cheated before the millennium arrives. Almonte *sent cards* to the ambassadors instead of calling in person, as etiquette requires of ministers plenipotentiary. Prince Metternich sent the card back, so I was told to-day by the Papal Nuncio, who also informed me that he did not return the card, as his court did not hold any diplomatic relations with Mexico. I expressed my surprise at this statement, as I had read in the papers that a Concordat had been signed between the Pope and Maximilian. No, he said; that there was some negotiation, but Maximilian passed some laws against the holders of ecclesiastical property, and the negotiations were interrupted.

Mason, ex-Rebel Emissary, has gone to join his family in

Canada. Campbell, Isaac & Co. of London, brokers and the largest holders of the Confederate loan, have gone all to pieces, and their houses in town and country are advertised.

Yours very sincerely

EDWARDS PIERREPONT TO BIGELOW

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 16, 1866.

My dear Sir:

Yours of May 17th, with the pamphlets, came duly. Let me thank you and assure you that I appreciate the kind and delicate attention. I value the books immensely.

Your letter interests me greatly. I think you will have war in Europe. I have seen Gov. Seward to-day; he says all depends upon the Emperor. In the Senate yesterday Wade was violent against the Emperor, and said a word against the American Minister, which you will of course see in the *Herald*. Let me assure you it means nothing but an indecent attack upon Gov. Seward, whom Wade does not love—nothing more.

I am devoted to my profession, enjoy the contests, and am in most perfect health, and want no office, and know nothing about *politics*, and therefore will give you my opinions duly and dogmatically:

First. The Radicals are compact and persistent—have modified their program, and will carry the North.

Second. As matters now look, Andrew Johnson will not be the candidate of any party.

Third. McClellan will be run by the old Democracy. Jef. Davis has, in the book just out by Dr. Craven, indorsed little Mc. as the only general we have at the North.

Fourth. Grant and Chas. Francis Adams will be likely to run in 1868 (tho' Jef. Davis says Grant is no general).

Fifth. The Democratic Party, to which I belong, *are blind* and *cannot* see; they look through a glass and suppose they see darkly that the South are soon to rule again. All idle—the South grow weaker every day! the North will rule.

Sixth. The Autumn election will prove that the North are still determined that the South with its rebels shall not rule.

Had I room I should go on with many more confident assertions about things of which I know nothing. I have scarcely room to bid you give my best regards to Beckwith, and to assure you of one thing which I do know—namely, that I am gratefully yours

BIGELOW TO HARGREAVES

London, June 27, 1866.

My dear Friend:

The Ministers have resigned, and Derby, they say, is determined to take the helm once more. I was disappointed at the result, but when I came to talk with some of the liberal members, it was apparent that a dissolution would have been very unpopular. It will do Gladstone good, and Russell too, I think, to be turned out to grass a while on this issue, for it will compel them to ransack their arsenals for new arguments in favor of reform of which they might never have made use had they remained in place.

I was indebted to Mr. Bright for an opportunity of hearing Gladstone's speech Tuesday night, to the enjoyment of which there was but one drawback, that I was occupying a seat to which there were hundreds of natural-born Englishmen who had a better right than I had.

I have postponed my departure for France until Saturday, when I go to Cherbourg in the monitor which recently arrived at Portsmouth. We go down—that is, Johnny and I—in company with Mr. Adams and the Officers of the Admiralty, to visit the ship to-morrow, and as soon as the other guests are gone, the ship will leave. John will go with me. Mrs. Bigelow and Grace will remain a little longer, as there are no accommodations for the feminine gender. . . .

We went to the wedding of Miss Morgan yesterday. Farewell, my friend. Remember us all affectionately to your colony. We shall never forget the happy hours we passed under your roof, and we trust the good God may have you always in His holy keeping.

Very sincerely yours

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, June 30, 1866.

Sir:

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 14th of June instant, No. 338, which gives me the report of a debate in the Corps Législatif on the Mexican question, with your comments thereon. I have been exceedingly interested in the debate, but it does not seem to call for any new instruction.

We are already aware that the understanding which has now happily been reached between the United States and France on the subject of Mexican affairs is not entirely satisfactory to some sanguine persons in the United States. Your despatch shows that it is equally unsatisfactory to many sanguine men in France. If, however, as we now assume, the French government shall entirely withdraw its forces, and desist from the further intervention in Mexico, in the manner and at the times heretofore agreed upon, we may expect and trust that Mexico will thereafter relieve both France and the United States of all concern about her affairs, and resume with renovated spirit her progress toward well-organized and discreet self-government.

I am, sir, etc.

On the 16th of June I went to London to attend a wedding and to meet Gustavus V. Fox, Assistant Secretary of the United States Navy, who had arrived at Portsmouth in the monitor *Miantonomoh,* on his way to St. Petersburg, in an unofficial recognition of the presence of the Russian fleet in American waters at a time when England and France were meditating a recognition of the Confederate States. As Mr. Fox wished to take in France on his way to St. Petersburg, he invited me and my son, then a schoolboy, now Major Bigelow, to accompany him. My son and I went down with Fox and the Lords of the Admiralty to Portsmouth to see the

Miantonomoh; lunched on the steamer *Osborne,* formerly the Queen's yacht, with the Duke of Somerset, Sir Frederick Grey, Mr. Stansfield, Admiral Eden, and others whose names I have forgotten. We dined on board the *Osborne* also; visited the *Royal Sovereign* and the *Bellerophon* afterwards; got on board our monitor about nine in the evening, and sailed for Cherbourg. The next morning, thanks to our stupid pilot, we found ourselves ten miles beyond Cherbourg and in sight of Lalogue Light. The coast pilot came on board and told us how much we were astray. Captain Beaumont of the monitor had been weak enough to take a pilot recommended by the Consul at Portsmouth instead of one of the Trinity House pilots. We might easily have lost our boat and all on board had the weather been ugly. As it was, instead of getting to Cherbourg by daylight, we did not reach there until noon. Upon arriving at Paris I promptly reported to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and asked permission to present to him Mr. Fox, and also to have him presented to the Emperor. I subsequently presented Mr. Fox to the Minister of Marine, to Admiral Jurien de la Gravière and to M. Budberg, the Russian Ambassador. The following letter was, to Mr. Fox, one of the pleasant fruits of his visit there:

DROUYN DE LHUYS TO G. V. FOX

Translation

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
PARIS, 11 July, 1866.

Sir:

I have the honor to inform you that the Emperor, my august sovereign, wishing to give you a special testimony of his esteem and of his very good wishes, has this day at my suggestion conferred upon you the cross of an officer of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honor. It has been very agreeable to me to be instrumental in securing this mark of distinction for you, and I shall take measures to have the medals and diploma which are destined for you soon follow.

Receive, Sir, with my sincere felicities, assurances of my very distinguished consideration.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Private and Confidential

PARIS, July 1st, 1866.

My dear Sir:

The communication of your diplomatic correspondence to Congress has compelled the government here to submit their case also to the country, and so very unsatisfactory did it appear, without some peaceful solution visible in the distance, that M. Drouyn de Lhuys was compelled to reveal the proposals he had authorized me to make to you. They naturally wished to keep their advance back till they had your reply, but the anxiety here was so great, and such a general apprehension prevailed that the Emperor would make no concession that would meet our demands, that there was no resource but in publicity. Hence the letter to the Marquis de Montholon in reply to you, of the 9th of January, but which I suspect was not reduced to writing till some weeks later.

You will see by the papers that the liberal press is now pushing the Government to some more definite position. The debate in the Senate and Chambers will be very acrimonious unless something comes soon from the United States to relieve the situation. We have now an opportunity while consulting our own interests to win the Emperor's gratitude, and I presume you will take advantage of it. As yet he is afraid of committing himself much, lest his advances may be repulsed, and his retirement from Mexico may be demanded upon impossible conditions. If he finds we do not intend to corner and embarrass him, I am sure he will do his utmost to relieve us of his presence in Mexico at once.

I have regretted your absence from Washington during the past month very much, but I hope you have brought back, you and your family, a new stock of health, of which you all must have stood in need.

Yours very sincerely

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, July 2, 1866.

Sir:

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 14th of June, No. 336.

The President appreciates the frankness and benevolence of the sentiments which M. Drouyn de Lhuys has expressed on the subject of the republics of Hayti and St. Domingo. Had affairs in the latter republic remained unchanged, we would now have very cheerfully concurred with France and with Great Britain in recommending to the two republics the establishment of amicable relations—a measure essential to the welfare, if not the safety, of both states. The revolution, however, which has recently occurred in St. Domingo, has involved the subject in new and unforeseen difficulties. We trust that a government will be established there upon foundations which will prove permanent. In that case I shall revert anew to the subject.

I am, sir, your obedient servant

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, 2nd July, 1866.

My dear Sir:

I thank you for your very interesting private note of the 16th of June.

So far as I can judge, very few if any of the European Representatives residing here are pleased with the political prospects of Europe. I know not how much reason there is for the opinion that Prussia has been indiscreet and has endangered her own safety as well as the general safety.

I am, my dear Sir, etc.

ARTOM, CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES OF ITALY, TO BIGELOW

Translation

LEGATION OF ITALY,
PARIS, 5 July, 1866.

Mr. Minister:

M. de Parieu, vice-president of the Council of State, who has presided at the international monetary conference of which I have already spoken to you, begs me to transmit to your Excellency the annexed documents relating to the convention signed at Paris on the 23rd December, 1865, between Italy, France, Belgium and Switzerland. M. de Parieu indulges the hope of succeeding in bringing the principal states of the two continents to the adoption of a single monetary system. He believes that the Government of the United States, having adopted recently the decimal metrical system for weights and measures, will perhaps not be indisposed to take into consideration the advantages of the monetary system adopted already by France, Italy, Switzerland and Belgium. M. de Parieu does not despair of a somewhat analogous success in England. Should you think, Mr. Minister, that an interview between your Excellency and M. de Parieu might promote such a result, I should be charmed to make you mutually acquainted. I will add that M. de Parieu earnestly desires it.

Please accept, Mr. Minister, the expression of my high consideration and of my devoted sentiments.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

PARIS, July 6, 1866.

My dear Mr. Seward:

It is now about five years since I left the United States. They have been to me years of peculiar anxieties and responsibilities. The position to which, through your friendly par-

tiality, I was called at the death of Mr. Dayton, honorable as it is and far beyond my dreams or my deserts, has never ceased to be a burthen to me. So long as I could suppose that the reasons which led to my selection for this mission remained in force I did not presume to take, or to ask any one else to take, my personal tastes or convenience into consideration. I was then but too happy to have any place of duty assigned to me in which competent judges thought I might be useful. But I feel that the time is happily arrived when I may be replaced certainly without prejudice, perhaps with advantage to the country.

The only question in the management of which my experience might possibly have given me an advantage over a stranger is now practically disposed of, and it is not easy to imagine a more favorable moment than the present for the appointment of my successor.

You know it was my intention, when I left my profession, to betake myself to my books and to private life. I left them to gratify no personal inclination or aspiration, and I have never ceased to pine for the opportunity of returning to them. My health has suffered seriously from my confinement and the cares incident to my position; my children are growing up and require more of my attention than I am able to give them, and will soon be forming habits not suited to the country in which I hope they are to pass their lives. I have no longer the ambition of youth which might have found in the honors of my present position a compensation for its cares, and, in a word, I am homesick. I wish to go back to the country in which I was reared, and to those surviving friends who, of course, grow more precious to me as their numbers diminish. I need not say to you that in making this request I do not wish to do anything that will subject the President or yourself, much less the public service, to any inconvenience. I and my family owe far too much to your kindness for me to speak of my personal comfort when yours is concerned.

After much reflection, however, upon the subject, I have concluded that my stay here can no longer be a matter of special importance to any one, and in that conviction I venture to hope that the President will find it convenient to replace me by or before the 1st of December next, and that I may be advised of the acceptance of my resignation as soon as possible

and not later than the 1st of September. This is the more important as the lease of my apartment expires on the last day of December, and I must either renew my lease or take a new apartment between this and the 1st of October next. I beg, therefore, that there may be as little delay as possible in communicating to me the wishes of the President in the premises as well as your own.

I shall have but one regret in retiring from this post, exalted as it is, and that will be that it must bring to an end official relations which have been, and the recollection of which must continue to be, an inexhaustible source of pride and satisfaction.

I remain, dear Sir,

Most sincerely yours

P.S. Col. Hay is the only person who knows or will know the contents of this letter until I hear from you.

J. B.

THOMAS B. POTTER TO BIGELOW

July 6, 1866.

My dear Mr. Bigelow:

I am directed by the Committee of the Cobden Club to ask you to permit your name to be enrolled as an honorary member of this body and to inform you that the first dinner of the club is to take place on the 21st inst., at 6 o'clock, at the Star and Garter Hotel, Richmond, in the hope that you may be a guest that day.

Mr. Gladstone takes the chair on that occasion, and I enclose you a list of the members of the club. The object of the club is on the plan of the Fox Club, to promote union and accord amongst men holding the same opinion of our dear friend who is gone.

I know how sincerely Mr. Cobden respected you and by what friendly, affectionate intercourse you were linked to-

gether. It is therefore a great pleasure to me to be the medium of this communication.

I am most truly yours[1]

Very kindest regards to Mrs. Bigelow and all your belongings.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, July 11, 1866.

Sir:

Recalling my despatch No. 267 and your reply No. 407, in relation to the funds of the so-called Confederate States in the hands of M. Arman of Bordeaux and his associates, I have the honor to inform you that, at my request, M. Henri Moreau of this city, advocate, had an interview with M. Arman upon the subject; that M. Arman did not contest the right of the United States to the Confederate funds in his hands, subject to certain deductions, the principal of which was the cost of the steamer *Stonewall,* for which he pretended, I believe, to have not been paid. He promised M. Moreau to make up a statement of his account, showing the balance that would be due to the lawful claimants, in the course of a few weeks and submit it to M. Moreau. The time elapsed and the account was not produced. M. Moreau wrote again to M. Arman, and afterwards saw him, but failed to obtain the promised accounts, whereupon I have instructed Mr. Nicolay, United States Consul at Paris, to institute proceedings against Arman and his associates. Mr. Nicolay informed me this morning that he had given M. Moreau orders to proceed, and that if the case is allowed to go to trial we may expect a hearing by January next. I trust you will find these proceedings on our part consistent with your instruction No. 407 and with the best interests of the Government.

[1] The distinction of being the first American elected an honorary member of the Cobden Club was a flattering surprise.

Since this prosecution has been agitated, I received a visit from M. Potel, lawyer, of Messieurs Gautherin & Cie., the parties who claim a right to be reimbursed out of the fund in Arman's hands for certain merchandise furnished the Confederates during the years 1862–3–4.

I told M. Potel that I had no authority to recognize any claim whatever made for goods furnished to the Confederates, but if he would send me his bills, I would send them to Washington, where they would receive such consideration as they were thought to deserve. He was good enough to do so, whereby I am enabled to fix precisely the amount of claims of the parties who had attached the money in Arman's hands before the attachment on our part was laid at Bordeaux. In conformity with my promise and for the information of the department, I have the honor to enclose two letters from M. Potel, with copies of some 25 vouchers accompanying them.

M. Potel indulges the hope of negotiating for the allowance of his clients' claims. I have not deemed it my duty to discourage that expectation farther than to say that my Government denied to his clients any legal claim to indemnification from the funds in question.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, July 6, 1866.

Sir:

The war of which I announced to you the commencement scarcely three weeks since, appears to be approaching a sudden and unexpected termination. Austria, after sustaining a series of rapid and disastrous defeats from the Prussians, has withdrawn what a month ago was the only formidable obstacle to a conference by offering to cede Venetia to the Emperor of France. The following announcement of this event appeared in the *Moniteur* yesterday morning:

"An important event has just taken place. The Emperor of

Austria, having kept intact the honor of his arms in Italy, complying with the ideas expressed by the Emperor Napoleon in his letter addressed on June 11 to his Minister of Foreign Affairs, cedes Venetia to the Emperor of the French, and accepts his mediation to bring about peace between the belligerents.

"The Emperor Napoleon hastened to respond to this appeal, and immediately made an application to the kings of Prussia and Italy to procure an armistice."

Though the Austrian army seems to have been utterly demoralized by the succession of defeats which it experienced during the first days of July, and by its utter rout at Sadowa; and though the capital of the empire is thought to be in peril, the sudden surrender of Venetia to the Emperor of France has given rise to no little speculation. The result confirms an impression which I formed some weeks since, and which I think I communicated to you, that the war was a sort of feigned issue between the larger powers, to quiet certain disputed titles which have more or less disturbed the harmony of Europe since 1815, and that its end was foreseen by those who are to gain most by the result from the commencement.

It remains to be seen what answer Prussia will make to the Emperor's appeal, but it is hardly to be supposed that he will impose terms which it will not be for her interest to accept, especially when she comes to reflect that the Emperor, in case of refusal, might be disposed to throw his own sword into the balance with the swords of Austria and of Italy, thus returning the compliments paid him by Prussia in 1859, when his army threatened the Quadrilateral.

. . . . . .

I am, Sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO THOMAS B. POTTER

PARIS, July 9, 1866.

My dear Mr. Potter:

I feel highly flattered by the request you have addressed me in the name of the Cobden Club, and of course shall be

delighted to have my name placed upon the list of its honorary members.

I appreciate as highly perhaps as any foreigner can the value of Mr. Cobden's labors and of his example. He has already taken his place in history among the great benefactors of mankind. I feel it a precious privilege to have shared his friendship and shall always delight to pay homage to his memory.

I was upon the point of accepting with alacrity your invitation to the dinner at Richmond on the 21st, when it occurred to me that in doing so I might be laying myself open to the reproach of taking an unbecoming interest in your party controversies. If I were a private citizen it is not likely that my presence on such an occasion would be remarked upon, but the representative of a foreign government could hardly hope for such an immunity.

Under these circumstances I must content myself with requesting you to be the interpreter of my gratitude to the club for the compliment they have paid me.

I am always, my dear Sir,

Very sincerely yours

GUSTAVUS V. FOX TO BIGELOW

GENEVA, July 13, 1866.

Dear Sir:

We arrived safely here, and, agreeable to promise, I send you a mem. of the information which I desire from the French Imperial Govt. in conformity to my instructions. The English Govt. are preparing information in answer to a similar enquiry.

I cannot see that any objection will be made to furnishing answers to this mem., more especially as our Naval Dept. threw open to Capt. Pigeaux, now attached to the French Legation in London, every source of information, all public documents bearing upon naval affairs, and even allowed him

to go under fire in a monitor off Charleston. After I go to St. Petersburg I think I must go for a few weeks to some springs where biliousness can be cured, as that Washington climate has used up my liver; and as I leave the public service on my return and go into civil life to make a living, I must have a good liver; nevertheless I shall be back to Paris, and I will apprize you of my movements after leaving Cronstadt. The monitor leaves the Thames on the 15th inst., and I shall expect to meet her at Stettin on the 23rd and proceed directly to Cronstadt.

Just as we were finishing our dinner at M. Drouyn de Lhuys', he said, "Allow me to drink your health as well as that of an officer of the Legion of Honor, to which my sovereign has nominated you." I thanked him, but made no reply, since a compliment of this kind can neither be accepted nor refused by myself, but must be referred to Congress. Last session Congress unanimously authorized Admiral Paulding and Commodore Radford to accept similar honors from the King of Italy. I supposed he would speak to you about it, and you would mention it to me, but as you did not, I came away without speaking of it, but nevertheless I feel that I ought to tell you just what happened.

I trust Mrs. Bigelow and your family are well and that I may soon renew our acquaintance, that has given me so much pleasure, owing to the courtesies which you have extended to me.

I am, faithfully, your obedient servant

J. B.[1] begins to realize the thing, and it was for that we sent her over. Our country must have this peaceful triumph, far more satisfactory than the gauge of uncertain war.

Faithfully yours

P.S. I did not leave a card at the French Minister's after our dinner. Cause, hasty departure.

[1] John Bull.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, July 13, 1866.

Sir:

The peace which seemed so near a week ago has been receding from view ever since, and now the most sanguine scarcely expect to see the war confined to the states already engaged. It was the design of Austria, if possible, to detach Italy from her alliance with Prussia by the sacrifice of Venetia, but the King of Italy was not strong enough, even had he been weak enough to yield to the temptation. Public opinion in Italy compelled him to give his army marching orders, even at the risk of alienating France. To prevent matters getting worse, Prince Napoleon was commissioned to go to Italy and use his influence with his father-in-law and the Italians to secure their assent to an armistice. This announcement in the official press for the moment promised important results, but the day that the Prince was to leave, the Prince de Reuss arrived at the Tuileries with communications from the King of Prussia, and Prince Napoleon's visit was deferred without any explanation being given. It finally transpired that Prussia assented to the principle of an armistice, but upon the following conditions:

(1) Exclusion of Austria from the Germanic Confederation.

(2) Prussia to have exclusive command of the land and naval forces of the Confederation, and

(3) Diplomatic representation of Germany abroad.

(4) Annexation of the Duchies of the Elbe and of a portion of the territory invaded by the Prussian army.

These are conditions of a peace as well as of an armistice, and practically, therefore, a declension of an armistice pure and simple. The following military conditions were also submitted:

Prussia demands:

(1) That the Bohemian fortresses situated between the lines of the Army and the Prussian frontier shall be placed in her hands.

(2) That the Northern railroad communicating with Saxony, Bavaria and Silesia shall be given up to her.

(3) That the Southern Austrian army, already arrived at Vienna, shall be obliged to remain half-way between Vienna and the Quadrilateral.

(4) That Austria shall discontinue any sort of enrolment and levy, and that her Army Corps shall remain stationary in their present positions.

The propositions submitted by the Prince de Reuss were immediately sent to London and St. Petersburg. The questions that they raised requiring for their decision the concurrence of the great powers, the Prince Napoleon's visit to Italy was definitely abandoned. The reason for this course on the part of the Prince given in the officious press was that the advance of the Italian Army upon the Quadrilateral since the notification of the cession of Venetia to France showed that the proposed mission would be abortive. In fact, the cession of Venetia to the Emperor of France has been treated both by Prussia and Italy practically as if it had never been made. Both nations are prosecuting the war with unrelenting vigor, and it was reported in the Diplomatic Circle yesterday that it was expected that to-day the headquarters of the Prussian army would be in Vienna.

Independently of these facts, the official press of Germany leaves little hope of peace upon any basis of negotiations which Austria is yet willing to accept or perhaps that the other great powers would permit.

The following official announcement, which appeared in the *Staats-Anzeiger* of Berlin on the 11th, has been reproduced in several of the Paris journals:

"We are authorized to make the following declaration:

"Treaties existing between Prussia and Italy render impossible an armistice or the conclusion of peace with Austria without the mutual consent of Italy and Prussia. Italy is, therefore, unable to accede to Austria's wish for a one-sided peace by accepting Venetia and thus putting an end to the war. Europe knows it was no sordid love of conquest that impelled Prussia to go to war. Prussia fights for the highest national aims. She demands for herself guarantees of territorial security, and for Germany the establishment of its unity, embracing at least the majority of its States. Herein Prussia has the support of most of the patriotic Princes of Germany. . . ."

A dispatch from Berlin yesterday announces, in confirmation of the view presented by the official print, that Prussia has ordered an election for a new German Parliament upon the basis of the electoral law of 1849.

These facts, taken in connection with the conditions of an armistice which Prussia is reported to have imposed, remove whatever doubt existed before in Europe in regard to the ends for which the war was undertaken by Prussia and the conditions upon which she will entertain proposals for peace. They will be nothing less at present than:

The absorption of Northern Germany to the Main and the exclusion of Austria from the Germanic Confederation.

Italy, emboldened by the overwhelming success of her ally, also advances her pretensions. She now insists, as the condition of putting down her arms, not only upon having Venetia but the Italian Tyrol also, and that if the final transfer of Venetia be made to Italy by the Emperor of France, it shall be coupled with no stipulation about Rome.

To mark about the difference supposed to exist between the Emperor and the Kings of Prussia and Italy, I will cite an extract from an article which appeared in *La Presse* of the 11th, signed by Cucheval-Clavigny, whose sources of information upon this class of subjects are among the best. He says: "Yesterday, after the audience given by the Emperor to Prince von Reuss, a meeting was held at the Tuileries in his Majesty's presence. Prince Metternich represented Austria, and Count von Goltz and Prince von Reuss, Prussia. M. Drouyn de Lhuys communicated the views of France, and drew up a report of the proceedings of the meeting. The following are the bases of the negotiations suggested by France, and communicated to Count von Goltz and Prince Metternich, by whom they have been transmitted to Berlin and Vienna: The Germanic Confederation to be dissolved and another Confederation to be established, of which neither Prussia nor Austria should form part. No territorial concessions to be demanded of Austria. The abandonment by the latter of her rights in the Duchies, to replace the war indemnity at first demanded by Prussia; Prussia to incorporate Schleswig-Holstein, Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-Darmstadt and Brunswick. The population of the Prussian Kingdom would thereby be raised to 25,000,000. The Rhine to constitute the Western

frontier of Prussia, and the provinces between the Rhine and the Neuse to serve as indemnity to the Sovereigns dispossessed by the war. An exchange of territory to take place between Baden and Bavaria which would give the former nearly the whole of the Rhenish Palatinate. Saxony, Hanover and the Duchies of Saxe to conclude the military conventions with Prussia. The inhabitants of Landau to choose whether they shall belong to France or Baden, and the population of the valley of the Sarre to choose between France and the new Rhenish Sovereigns."

The *Moniteur* of this morning cautions writers against believing reports of official conversations. I suppose this caution was provoked by the article in *La Presse* above cited. It must therefore be read with the understanding that the facts if correctly stated were prematurely disclosed.

The paramount question now is what course will be taken by France. To assist you in forming an opinion upon this question, permit me to invite your attention to some of the symptoms already developed.

In the first place, Prince Napoleon's abandonment of his mission shows that the courts of Italy and France are upon this question in a state of hopeless disaccord. An ironclad frigate and a corvette left Toulon suddenly for Venice on the 11th. A very extensive enrolment of sailors has been ordered, and a large number of vessels are to be put in readiness for sea with the greatest expedition. A dispatch said to have been addressed in the handwriting of the Minister of Marine has recalled the ironclad fleet from Hyères, and the reports circulated in the public prints that extensive arrangements have been made to provide the French army with an improved arm designed to be equally or more destructive than the Prussian needle-gun, which for a few days carried off all the glory of the recent Prussian victories.

The officious press is already laboring to develop a war sentiment in France. As a specimen, I may cite the following extract from an article which appeared in *La France* night before last, the significance of which will be appreciated by those who are aware of the intimate relations which subsist between its conductor and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

"What are the intentions attributed to Prussia but a German Empire under the rule of Prussia?

"By remaining the only great power in the Confederation, exercising the exclusive command of the Federal Army, concentrating in her hands the diplomatic representation, she would reduce the sovereignties which still subsisted in that servitude to the state of provinces, and would make simple prefects of the kings and princes governing them. . . .

"In that day the treaties of 1815 would be destroyed, it is true; but instead of being reframed to our advantage, they would be aggravated and consolidated against us.

"After the bloody battle of Waterloo, the Prussians, who had shown as much fury in pursuing our routed army as the English had shown true courage in fighting us, came to Paris with a feeling of peculiar hatred, and as if they had already foreseen that France was the true obstacle to the realization of their ambitious hopes.

"It is not forgotten that in the intoxication of their victories they wished to deface even the monuments of ours, and that one day they wanted to blow up the bridge of Jena. They were prevented by that noble answer of Louis XVIII.: 'If they blow it up, they must blow me up with it.'

"At the Congress of Vienna, when Prussia demanded Saxony, this pretension met with the energetic opposition of England and France. And every one knows that for a moment this difficulty rose to the character of a *casus belli.*

"If in 1815 Europe would not permit Prussia to incorporate Saxony, how can Europe in 1866 allow her to absorb all Germany?

"This is not possible. Prussia, if she avows these pretensions and persists in them, will render a peace unacceptable, and she will have the full responsibility of the woes she will have provoked."

It seems to be generally supposed that the Emperor will be unwilling to see Prussia becoming so dominant in Europe as the success of her plans would leave her, independent of the wish expressed by him in his letter to Drouyn de Lhuys of the 11th June, that Austria should remain a great power in Europe.

The question then presents itself, How is France to obtain her equivalent for the aggrandizement of her two powerful neighbors so as not to lose her own relative importance?

I think the better opinion here is that France will either have

to follow the example of Prussia and through war make a pretext for enlarging her boundaries, or permit the opportunity from which so much has been expected to pass by unimproved.

There is one feature of the present situation, the bearing of which upon the present war is not quite developed, but which may change its whole character. In two months from the day after to-morrow, the Emperor is under a stipulation to have the French flag withdrawn from Rome. It is now quite certain that the moment it is gone the Italians will take possession of Rome. The King, if ever so well disposed to defend the Pope, is not ready to become a martyr for him, and if he were, it is doubtful if he could save him. Under the circumstances and in view of the attitude which France threatens to take towards Prussia and her allies, the Emperor is supposed by enlightened persons to be likely to send more troops to Rome, rather than to withdraw those now there, under the impression that such a step would have the effect of rallying the Catholics of Europe around him, and, for a time, of sensibly changing the character and direction of the war.

These speculations are based entirely upon the theory that France was not a party directly or indirectly to the Prussian movement. That, however, is not the theory which will best explain most of the facts that have occurred or that in my opinion are likely to occur. I cannot resist the suspicion that an understanding in regard to the great objects of this war existed between Prussia, France and Italy at least two months before a gun was fired, and that the war is but a necessary part of the machinery for attaining them. If that suspicion be well founded, a war upon the Rhine may furnish France with a sufficient excuse, if she desired it, for withdrawing her troops from Italy and leaving the Pope to the mercy of his people, a proceeding which would hardly be tolerated by the French, except under what would be regarded as a national necessity, but it would complete in a most thorough manner the work begun in 1859.

I conclude this dispatch with an extract from a recent number of the *Moniteur du soir* defining the present attitude of the several secondary states composing the Germanic Confederation.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

PARIS, July, 1866.

My dear Mr. Seward:

I propose in a few days to take my family to the country and to remain with them as long as I can without detriment to the public business. I have great need of a change of air and of rest. I shall not go more than a night's ride from Paris and shall always be within telegraphic communication. I feel quite at ease under these circumstances in leaving Colonel Hay in charge of the legation. I hope you will see no evidence that the public business will have suffered by my absence.

I hope to hear by the 1st of August that the President has accepted my resignation and that I may look forward to be once more a free man in the enjoyment of the enviable honors of a private station.

Hoping soon to be able to take you by the hand and to thank you for all your services to our country and your personal kindness to myself, I remain,

Very sincerely yours

BIGELOW TO G. V. FOX

PARIS, July 15, 1866.

My dear Sir:

The first I heard of your decoration was through your letter. Since that came to hand I have received a note from Drouyn de Lhuys (him personally I have not seen since the dinner) covering another addressed to you, which he requests me to forward to you. I propose to give it to Loubat. I presume it relates to the Decoration and trust, therefore, it will not be premature for me to offer you my felicitations. Such things do not go for much in our country, but they go for a great deal here, and indirectly may serve you at home as a recognition of your service in the Navy Department. It is a compliment in which you and your family may justly feel

pride, for such attentions are not bestowed inconsiderately by the Emperor.

I propose to hand your memorandum of questions to M. Drouyn de Lhuys on Thursday. I think they will keep two or three men out of mischief for the next three months if any attempt is made to answer them fully.

My family is going to Switzerland on Tuesday (to-morrow evening), and I hope to follow on Saturday. It would give me great pleasure to have you join us and give me an opportunity of co-operating with you in the emancipation of your liver. If you will write me at Paris as soon as your after plans are laid, your note will reach me in 24 hours. We shall probably be at Bex, at the foot of the Alps, en route to Chamouni. Perhaps the Lowreys would give you a rendezvous there also, and we would manage to have a good time, livers and all. I shall be glad to hear of your reception at St. Petersburg.

Yours very sincerely

BIGELOW TO EDWARDS PIERREPONT

Paris, July 16, 1866.

My dear Sir:

I send you by this mail a catalogue abounding in things relating to Joan d'Arc. It occurred to me that there might be something in the collection that would interest you. Before this no doubt you are once more in the bosom of your family on my darling Hudson, where, oh! how I wish I was myself, and where I mean to be, God willing, before long.

Remember us all to your good wife and children. My people expect to get off to Switzerland to-morrow. I shall follow *as soon as I can*—a very indefinite term in the present state of Europe.

Your chart of the situation was interesting. You surprised me by saying that McClellan still lives. I thought he already slept the sleep of the just. What you say of the South I believe is true, that its wand is broken forever.

I hope Grant will not make a blunder. At the accession of

Earl Grey to the Ministry after the resignation of Wellington, the old Duke said: "They want to place me at the head of a faction, but I say to them, I have now served my country for forty years, for twenty commanded her armies and for ten I have sat in the cabinet; and I will not now place myself at the head of a faction." As one great general can afford to take the advice of another, I hope Grant will not be insensible to the wisdom of the old Duke's example and advice. He has a great reputation which we are all interested in preserving, and he should not allow his name to be used as a candidate except upon such a unanimous call of the people as would strip the canvass of a partisan character.

Yours always and very truly

BIGELOW TO GIDEON WELLES

Private

PARIS, July 18, 1866.

My dear Mr. Welles:

Soon after writing my note to Mr. Eads to which you refer in your favor of the 21st of May, M. Paradol called upon me to say that, in view of the then threatening state of affairs in Europe and of the possible changes which might occur in France, he was unwilling to undertake anything which required him to quit his country. His friends here also would not listen to his leaving at such a crisis. He was anxious to do the work if his want of acquaintance with naval matters did not disqualify him, which he finally concluded, I think, that it did not, and said that if the opportunity were open to him later and nothing occurred in France to give him a new interest in staying here during the next few months, he would still perhaps be able to undertake the work proposed. I felt so entirely the propriety of all he said that I was obliged to say to him that I thought he had decided wisely and that at the moment his departure from France would be hardly excusable. Since the receipt of your favor of the 21st May, I had no opportunity of talking with him until day before yesterday, when he came to breakfast with me. I told him that

I had received an assurance from you that every facility for the preparation of a naval history of the present administration would be placed at his disposal if he should undertake it. He made the same reply, though obviously with greater reluctance. He thinks the present a very unsuitable moment for him to leave his country, but he said, "If this opportunity should not have been improved in a satisfactory way by some one else in the course of a year, perhaps I shall be free." I told him that I had no idea that anything would be done that would stand in his light; that the object of going at it at once was that every day persons associated with the war or in control of its official records are liable to be removed by death or by political casualties, and the difficulties of collecting his material are liable to be increased in consequence. So there the matter stands at present. I do not despair of his yet doing the work, and no matter how many Americans undertake it, I am sure that his book will have an independent value which will be rather increased than diminished by their publication.

I will thank you to state the substance of this letter to Mr. Eads when you see him, in case I do not find time to write him by this post.

The visit of the *Miantonomoh* in European waters, as you will have seen, has been an eye-opener to the Cis-Atlantics. Happening to be in London during Captain Fox's sojourn there, I accepted his invitation to cross in his ship from Portsmouth to Cherbourg and to take my first view and experience of this great novelty of naval architecture. The Captain has doubtless told you before this that the Emperor sent the Minister of Marine with a naval staff to visit her. What they thought of her has not yet transpired. She made some of the party swallow a great deal that they had written or spoken. The English also were at first speechless. Then they tried to get over the case with polite compliments rounded off with a "but" or two. But at last they have been compelled publicly to avow that the *Miantonomoh* at Chatham or Portsmouth navy-yards is like a wolf surrounded by a herd of sheep who are entirely at its mercy—that the English navy is no more formidable, in fact, to us than the navy of the Sandwich Islands. Please read the *Times* of July 17 and imagine if you can what an amount of choking it must have cost the *Thunderer* to get off such a series of admissions as is there made.

But their fleet is twice as formidable as the French, who have no guns worth speaking of for the naval service.

I think for a while at least we are safe from a foreign invasion. I wish the prospects of peace and harmony at home were as good as they are with foreign powers. It is very painful to see those that fought through the war side by side so bravely now divided and unable to agree about the uses to be made of their victory. It was to be expected that the accumulated velocity of such a war could not be suddenly arrested and that it would naturally go on for a while, as it were, upon a peace basis, but I should esteem it a grave calamity to have it last until the dissensions between the new north and the new south become chronic. This state of things must gradually lead to such a centralization of our government as I have always hoped would never be necessary. However, the people of the United States are so much wiser than any one man among them that I do not permit myself to doubt that light will yet break through, as it has so often done before in our history, from unexpected quarters, and dangers which now seem so threatening will be stripped of all their terrors.

My family are just starting for Switzerland. I had hoped to have gone with them for a while, but this war deranges the plans of all, both great and small.

Yours very sincerely

Mrs. Bigelow begs to be remembered very kindly to yourself and to Mrs. Welles, whose kindness to her she says she can never forget.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, July 20, 1866.

Sir:

Prussia has consented to a cessation of hostilities for five days, upon certain conditions, which it is supposed at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will be acceded to by Austria. If they are, peace will probably be made upon the basis of excluding Austria from the confederation and of subordinating the smaller states of northern Germany to Prussia.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys, with whom I have talked upon the subject this morning, says that in justification of the purpose of Prussia to exclude Austria may be stated the great disproportion of people of other races than the German in Austria, through whom Austria exerted an undue influence in the confederation. As to the proposed absorption of the smaller states by Prussia, that would be only to make law what was already practically the fact. Those states had joined Prussia at the first threat of war because their sympathies and interests were with Prussia.

Prince Napoleon has gone to Italy, charged by the Emperor to use his influence with that government in promoting the contemplated arrangement. No difficulty is anticipated here from that quarter, provided Prussia can be satisfied.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys persists in feeling confident that France will not be involved in the quarrel, and that the changes likely to occur in Europe are logical and will prove advantageous.

In reply to a question which I addressed him about the Papal question, he said that it was for the interest of Italy, in every point of view, to keep the capital of the church where it is; and he for his own part did not doubt that it would be kept there. I construed his language and manner to signify that nothing would be allowed to occur which would deprive the Pope of his freedom to choose between Rome and any other capital for his residence. His Excellency intimated that some stipulation would be taken from the King of Italy on that subject before peace is declared.

I have not remarked upon the change which the counsels of the Emperor seem to have undergone during the past week towards the belligerents. This day week it seemed to be the tendency of this government to strike hands with Austria. Prussia, however, showed herself so irresistible, and her enemies on the other hand so weak, that the idea of associating the fortunes of his empire more intimately with those of Austria was suddenly abandoned. I think it is now pretty well determined by this court to allow M. de Bismarck to execute the programme which he had traced out for Prussia before the war commenced. Austria, however, seems disposed to try her fortunes once more in the field, and if she should have a substantial success (which is, by the way, not anticipated by this gov-

ernment) the attitude of the belligerents to each other and to foreign powers might be materially changed.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO THE MARQUIS DE LA VALETTE

PARIS, July 21, 1866.

My dear Marquis:

Some months since an elderly gentleman of the name of Frerange called upon me and invoked my aid in procuring a position of some sort in the Ministry of the Interior. His pretext for addressing me was that he had married a sister of Henry Wheaton, an American who had placed all the world under obligations to him for his celebrated work on International Law. I replied that that would be a reason, perhaps, for my assisting him to procure a place in the United States, but that I was expressly forbidden by my instructions to solicit patronage in any form whatever from foreign governments. He gave as a reason for not asking a place in the United States that he was ignorant of our language and could not make his talents available there, and he seemed unwilling to be convinced that there was not some way in which I might interest your Excellency in his case without violating my orders. I told him that I had no acquaintance with him which would justify me in recommending him if I were free in other respects to do so. He promised to repair that difficulty. Accordingly, he came to me day before yesterday with two letters, one from a United States Senator named Anthony and another from an ex-Vice-President of the United States, both gentlemen of the highest consideration. I repeated my objection to meddling with such an application, but promised that if, upon reflection, any way of serving him occurred to me, I would profit by it. I have concluded to enclose those letters to your Excellency, that they may have what weight they deserve in favor of one who, in the brief interview I have had with him, has left impressions upon me rather favorable than otherwise.

I am, dear Marquis,

Very truly and respectfully yours

G. V. FOX TO BIGELOW

Cologne, July 21, 1866.

My dear Sir:

We have been slipping through the country between Prussians and Cholera, and now hear that it is very bad at Berlin, so we shall make for the ships direct so soon as they arrive. We picked up Loubat at Mayence, and he handed me your note and also the one from M. Drouyn de Lhuys, which is as you suspected. I enclose you a copy. I shall send it officially to Mr. Welles, and so inform the French Minister. Congress having adjourned, and my leaving the public service before they again meet, leaves me in doubt about the matter, but all I can do is to refer it to my Govt. and so inform M. D. de Lhuys.

I shall return to Switzerland as soon as I finish the Baltic, and have asked Lowrey to pick out an anti-bilious spot which I trust will be also agreeable to yourself.

We spent one whole day, ther. 100 degrees, on mule seeing sights, and my remembrance of the trip is more mule than anything else.

I have had to respond to so many foreign enquiries about our Naval affairs, and we have done it so fully and faithfully, that I don't mind keeping some of our friends at work for us. Did you read the article in the *London Times* about the monitor at Sheerness, saying that fortunately her visit was friendly, or she would have sunk every one of their ironclad fleet?

SIR HENRY BULWER TO BIGELOW

Paris, Saturday.

My dear Sir:

Will you dine with me, at Bachelor's dinner, on Sunday, tomorrow, at one-half past six? You will meet my brother.

Yours very truly

XIX

THE FOUNDATIONS LAID BY PRUSSIA OF A NEW GERMAN EMPIRE

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, August 3, 1866.

Sir:

I HAVE the honor to enclose to you, in two extracts from official journals at Berlin, what is here recognized in official quarters as substantially the preliminary conditions of a peace which was entered into on the 26th of July by Austria and Prussia. Austria assents to a dissolution of the old Germanic Confederation, and to a new organization of Germany proper, to which she shall in no political sense belong. She engages to recognize such federal union as Prussia may establish in connection with the states north of the Main, and any union among themselves which the states south of that river may enter into.

I learn that Prussia insists further that Austria shall never become a member of this latter union, though nothing of that has yet transpired in the press. This is at present one of the gravest questions which now divide the belligerents. It is difficult to see how Austria can yield to such a humiliating privation of sovereignty if she has any faculty of resistance left, while Prussia, I am told, is disposed to be very tenacious upon this point.

The manner in which the war has been conducted and in a manner terminated has been so mysterious and so unprecedented in its most important aspects as to leave the public mind of this country in a very unquiet state. No one is yet able to see how France is to reap the profit from this war which will compensate her for the great accessions of strength

resulting from it to her two most powerful continental neighbors. Without some such compensation they feel that the relative influence of France in the European system is lowered, her security gravely compromised, and the peace that may now be made not likely to be durable.

I confess I have not as yet shared these apprehensions. The Emperor of France is the author and apostle of the policy of absorbing the secondary and tertiary sovereignties by the primary ones. For purposes which nearly concern the dignity and honor of France, as the French understand those words, he wished to have the authority of some leading European power in support of it, and he now has it in Prussia. Austria will be compelled to lend her concurrence. That France will have her compensation sooner or later in the final peace, or under a future treaty, I have no doubt. Without some tolerably satisfactory assurance upon that point the war would have been prevented, an easy thing for France to have managed, or, what would be still easier, it would yet be prolonged. The more completely, however, France shall appear to have suffered by the changes wrought by the war, the more easy it will be for these "rectifications" to be conceded to France, which, in my opinion, were intended in advance to be the price of her forbearance. That no symptoms of any such arrangements have been disclosed by the press is not strange, but rather confirms me in the impression I have expressed. Savoy was not added to France till many months after the peace of Villafranca. It came to her then as a present, "not as the price of blood."

The Emperor is at Vichy, attended by the Minister of Foreign Affairs and by most of his cabinet. The Prince Napoleon also arrived there yesterday from Italy. Up to last night the negotiations for a peace between Austria and Italy were not as far advanced as between Austria and Prussia. Indeed, a battle between the Italian and Austrian troops yesterday morning was with difficulty prevented. I learned this yesterday at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The press makes no allusion to it.

My impression is that the obstacles to a peace, however, will all be overcome without more fighting of consequence. Prussia will have all she has yet asked. Italy will get Venetia without conditions, and as much more as possible; and Austria will be

reduced to a second-rate power. For such of the secondary states south of the Main as may be left independent for the present, will be reserved the privilege, if it may be called such, which Polyphemus reserved for Ulysses, of being eaten last.

I am, sir, etc.

The Prussian *Moniteur* publishes the preliminaries of peace, stipulated the 26th July, to obviate in advance, as it states in an article, the evil results which might arise from false interpretations.

"BERLIN, August 1, evening.

"The Emperor of Austria recognizes the dissolution of the Germanic Confederation, and consents to a new organization of Germany, to which Austria remains foreign. The Emperor promises to recognize the limited federal relations which the King of Prussia is to establish in the German countries north of the line of the Main, and gives also his consent to a union of the states situated south of that line; a union the national representation of which is reserved for a more definite arrangement with the confederation of the north.

"These articles correspond exactly to the French propositions of mediation recommended at Vienna the 14th July. Austria has, therefore, consented to a reorganization of Germany, without any obstacle on her part, and without herself taking part in it. The empire of Austria does not form a part of the southern union, and we cannot consider the national and natural bond of union between the north and the south of Germany as destroyed by the line of the Main."

The following is the account of the conditions for peace, published by the *Provincial Correspondence* of Berlin, known as an official organ. Most of the details here given have, however, been already received from other sources:

"According to the information at present received, the principal clauses of the preliminaries of peace appear to be the following: Austria will not suffer, with the exception of Venetia, any loss of territory; but she cedes to Prussia her part of the co-possession of Schleswig-Holstein. Saxony, which alone in the German states figures in the Austro-Prussian preliminaries of peace, preserves also her territorial integrity, with the reserve of ulterior decisions as to her position in the confederation of the north with regard to Prussia. Austria pays to Prussia 40,000,000 of thalers as cost of the war. Of this sum 15,000,000 will be deducted as Austria's share of the cost of the war in the duchies, and 5,000,000 as cost of occupation. Bohemia and Moravia will continue to be occupied by the Prussian troops until the payment of the balance (20,000,000). Austria withdraws entirely

from the union of the German states, and recognizes the formation of a restricted confederation of the states of the north under the direction of Prussia. The union of the states of the south, and the regulation of their connection with the confederation of the north, are reserved to the free understanding of these states. Austria recognizes the changes of possession to be made in northern Germany. By that is understood the measures which Prussia will take relative to the countries occupied militarily—that is to say, Hanover, Electoral Hesse, the part of Hesse-Darmstadt (Oberhessen) situated to the north of the Main, the duchy of Nassau, and Frankfort. The details are not, however, contained in the preliminaries of peace with Austria, as those leave to Prussia a free decision in that respect, stipulating that Austria will recognize what Prussia shall have done."

The same journal also says:

"France, by her mediation, has acquired great merit for herself by the satisfactory results of the work of peace up to this time obtained. The Emperor of the French accepted, in a generous and disinterested manner, with the hope of a really just and impartial pacification, the mission given to him by Austria. In the important position created for him in the negotiations, the Emperor Napoleon has not sought, neither for himself nor for France, anything but the honor and glory of causing his authority to prevail among the sovereigns in favor of an equitable peace. It has been given to him to contribute to the accomplishment of the great work which he had rigorously commenced for the establishment of a free and united Italy. In the same spirit that presided at that work he has spontaneously offered his hand to Prussia, to lay the solid and secure foundations of a united Germany. The financial situation of Prussia, favorable beyond all expectation, permits the cessation of the forced contributions levied on the country for bread, meat, and forage for the troops; henceforward such things will be paid for by the state. A loan does not appear to be necessary to cover the expenses of the war; a transitory financial measure will, perhaps, be sufficient to acquit the state obligations resulting notably from the contributions imposed on the country."

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, August 3, 1866.

Sir:

The news of the successful union of the eastern and western hemispheres by electric telegraph reached this legation on the

28th of July last, at twenty-eight minutes past five in the morning, in the following despatch from Mr. Cyrus W. Field:

Friday, 11 P.M.

His Excellency the American Minister, Paris:

The Atlantic cable is successfully laid. May it prove a blessing to all mankind.

CYRUS FIELD, Newfoundland.

On the first day of August the Paris papers contained despatches from New York of that date, announcing the recent honor conferred by the President and Congress on Grant and Sherman. I trust the umbilical cord with which the Old World is reunited to its transatlantic offspring may never transmit intelligence less welcome than this to patriotic Americans.

While joining in the chorus of congratulation with which this triumph of modern science is received by the civilized world, I deem it my duty to suggest, in view of possible abuses to which it may be subjected, that the State Department provide itself at once with a new cypher for its exclusive use in communicating with its foreign diplomatic agents. A different cypher for each of those Legations which it will have most frequent occasion to communicate with, might have its advantages. It is not likely that it would suit the purposes of the government to have its telegrams for this Legation read first by the French authorities, and yet you are well aware that nothing goes over a French telegraph wire that is not transmitted to the Minister of the Interior. The cypher of the State Department, of which no doubt copies were taken by the traitors to the Government under Buchanan's administration who had access to the archives of the State Department, has no longer any secrets, I am persuaded, to which the principal European governments have not a key.

If, as may safely be assumed, the faculty of communicating daily with its officers in Europe brings with it a necessity for doing so, to correct errors and frauds if for no other purpose, it is important that steps should be promptly taken to clothe its communications with that privacy without which, oftentimes, they would become valueless.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, August 6, 1866.

Sir:

At the request of Mr. John Slidell I have the honor to transmit the enclosed letter for his Excellency the President of the United States.

I am, sir, etc.

JOHN SLIDELL TO BIGELOW

PARIS, 6 August, 1866.

Sir:

I beg leave to request of you the favor to forward, after perusal, the accompanying letter to the President of the United States, and would be very much obliged by your acknowledgment of its reception.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, etc.

JOHN SLIDELL TO PRESIDENT JOHNSON

PARIS, August 6, 1866.

Mr. President:

I have for the last year desired to return, at least for a limited period, to the State of Louisiana, but have deferred asking permission to do so, believing that the policy which you intended to pursue towards persons situated as I am had not yet been decided on by you, or, if decided, that the time had not arrived for promulgating it. The condition of the country would now seem to authorize the hope that the day is not distant when that reserve will no longer be considered necessary.

My antecedents are known to you, and it would be a worse than useless trespass on your valuable time to recur more particularly to them. It may not, however, be improper for me to say that since the month of May, 1865, I have, without intruding my counsels on any one, invariably advised such ci-devant Confederates returning to their homes, as thought fit to ask my opinion, to accept frankly the

issue of the past struggle with all its legitimate consequences, the first of which I considered to be an unreserved submission to the authority of the government of the United States.

With this brief explanation, I solicit permission to visit the State of Louisiana, and respectfully ask to be informed on what conditions, if on any, I may be allowed to do so.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, etc.

To the
President of the United States,
Washington.

I have thought it proper to send this letter *unsealed* through the Legation of the United States at Paris.

VISCOUNT P. TREMENT TO BIGELOW

Translation

Saturday, August 4, 1866.

Dear Sir:

Have the goodness to let me know *immediately* if you can enter into relations with General Prim, who is now at Geneva. He *wants money.* In exchange he is ready, if he succeeds in Spain, to engage to abandon the island of Cuba to your government.

I await your answer by *return of mail.*

Always devoted to your government, you may count upon my zeal and my devotion.

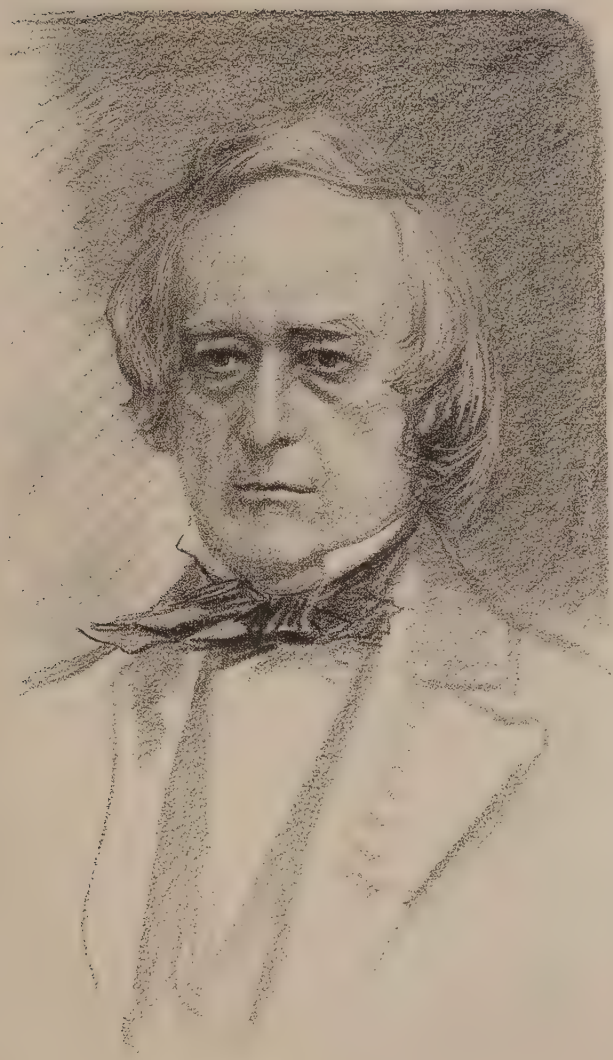
I am, dear sir, your very humble and respectful servant

P.S. Eleven million reals have been sent to Madrid to sustain the insurrection.

Juarez is victorious in Mexico.

My address:
M. Trement au grand bureau
Maison Plaintez à Carouge,
Près Genève,
Suisse.[1]

[1] See letter of same to same, October 25, 1866.



A.D. 1793 John Slidell A.D. 1871

Confederate Commissioner to France

JOHN HAY TO SEWARD

Private and Confidential

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, August 8, 1866.

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit, by request of Mr. Bigelow, a copy of a communication which he has received from the Vicomte P. Trement, a person who was formerly of some service in obtaining information in relation to the construction of vessels for the insurgents of the United States.

Mr. Bigelow has not thought proper to make any reply to this note, which is sent for what it is worth in the way of information.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

From the very commencement of the year 1866 the press of Paris spoke freely of the "evacuation of Mexico at all hazards" as the only alternative for France. St. Marc-Girardin exposed the dilemma to which the Government was reduced: either to abandon the Mexican enterprise at once or to prosecute it at their peril and at an enormous increase of financial resources. Whatever were the necessities of Maximilian, Girardin left no doubt to which of these alternatives he gave his preference. "When Napoleon I." he said, "gave Louisiana to the United States he was blamed for having sold it at the ridiculous price of thirty-four centimes the hectare, but he spared his country a century's quarrel with the United States. May the policy of Napoleon III. not be contrary to that of Napoleon I.? 'Who has land,' says the proverb, 'has war.' Here all the bad chances are united. We would have the war and not the land."

"How long," said Forcade, in the *Revue des Deux-Mondes,* "shall we prosecute this gigantic folly?"

On the 22d of January, addressing the Chambers, the Emperor said: "As I expressed to you last year the hope, our ex-

pedition draws to a close. I am arranging with the Emperor Maximilian for the recall of our troops."

Some days later, in a confidential letter to Bazaine dated January 31, he invoked as the justification of his course "circumstances stronger than his will." He concludes his letter by saying: "If perchance the Emperor Maximilian should not wish to remain in Mexico after the retirement of our troops, a junta must be convoked to organize a government, and by your influence the choice of a President of the Republic for a term of six or ten years."

This peremptory order to close accounts with Maximilian and Mexico was borne to Bazaine by M. Saillard.

Meantime Leopold of Belgium, the father of Empress Carlotta, had died; Marshal Bazaine had been obliged to draw in his lines, abandon Chihuahua and all the country north of Durango; on the coast Matamoras and Tampico were practically at the mercy of guerrillas; M. Langlais, a counsellor of state, who had been sent out by Napoleon to regulate the finances of Maximilian, and from whose efficiency great hopes were entertained by Maximilian, died; on the 1st of March a detachment of French troops at Santa Isabel was almost entirely destroyed; a Belgian mission which had come to notify Maximilian of the death of his father-in-law, the King of Belgium, was assailed on its return from the execution of its mission by a troop of bandits (the name always given to the Juarez soldiers); four Belgians were killed near Rio Frio and another mortally wounded—a melancholy commentary upon the pacification of Mexico, still harped upon by the officious press of Paris.

It was in the midst of these embarrassments that Saillard arrived with his peremptory message from the Emperor of France. Though not insensible to the perils of his position, Maximilian was not at all prepared for his abandonment by France. He was still a "prisoner of hope" to the convention of Miramar, and all the imperial promises held out to him by Napoleon before he left Europe.

Toward the end of June the determination of Napoleon became known to the Mexicans, and the Juarists shouted for joy. On the 15th of that month a convoy bound from Matamoras to Monterey, under the escort of 1600 Imperialists and 300 Aus-

trians, was carried off near Comarge by the Mexicans. Matamoras was abandoned by the Imperialists on the 23d. Desertions among the rural police and the civil functionaries of Maximilian increased, and he was threatened with defection among his own soldiers. Not being able to persuade himself that Napoleon was willing to destroy the empire he had founded, Maximilian became distrustful of Bazaine. Recriminations ensued, and finally, when the commander-in-chief was parting for San Luis de Potosi and called to take leave of the sovereign, the latter found a pretext for declining to see him. This event raised in the council of Maximilian the question whether it was not the most dignified course for him to abdicate and let the Mexicans "fry in their own juice."

In the ensuing confusion it was the privilege of the Empress Carlotta to revive for a moment the hopes of her husband and his entourage. She proposed to go herself to Paris to see the Emperor, in order to learn from his own mouth if he meant to abandon his ally and prove faithless to all his written and spoken pledges to her husband and the world; and if she found he was, to proclaim his dishonor. It was the only resource left, desperate as it was in her own eyes and crazy as it was in the eyes of every disinterested observer. The Empress left the City of Mexico on the 8th of July. She reached Vera Cruz not until the 15th, so bad were the roads. She embarked at once on board the *Impératrice Eugénie,* bound for St. Nazaire, with the Mexican flag at the fore and amid the thunders of the cannon of Fort Magellan. In bidding General Cloué, the Commandant of the fort, good-by, she said: "I leave you, but I will return again in three months."

HAY TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, August 10, 1866.

Sir:

There have recently appeared paragraphs in the journals of Paris announcing the contemplated departure from Mexico of the wife of the Archduke Maximilian. These naturally created some degree of

discussion and comment, generally unfavorable to the imperial cause in Mexico. To check this injurious line of remark, the *Mémorial Diplomatique,* the organ of the so-called Mexican empire in Paris, in its last issue published the following formal announcement:

"We are authorized to contradict, in the most formal manner, the rumor that the empress of Mexico is on her way to Europe.

"The same report was circulated at the time of her Majesty's departure for Yucatan, and it is known that the emperor Maximilian, on a solemn occasion, denounced as an infamous calumny the mere supposition that either he or his august spouse could ever be false to their duty."

The *Pays,* a journal in the same interest, published on the following day this additional denial of the same rumor:

"A journal, tormented with the desire of producing sensation news, has mentioned in reference to Mexico a completely absurd rumor started at Paris, by no one knows whom, some days ago.

"There is not one word of truth or reason in the assertion."

Yesterday, to the confusion of these positive and indignant friends, the lady in question arrived in Paris, and alighted at the Grand Hotel. She was immediately waited upon by M. Drouyn de Lhuys, who passed in her company the greater part of the afternoon.

To-day the morning papers publish the following extract from the official journal of Mexico, of the 8th July:

"The empress leaves for Europe, where she is going to treat of the affairs of Mexico and regulate different international matters. This mission, accepted by our sovereign with real patriotism, is the greatest proof of abnegation that the emperor could offer to his new country. We give this intelligence that the public may know the real object of her Majesty's absence."

The princess is accompanied by M. Martin Castillo, Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Comte del Valle, her grand chamberlain, the Comte de Bouchelles, and other officers and attendants.

The most unfavorable conclusions are deduced from this visit, especially by those who are so unfortunate as to hold large amounts of the Mexican loan. It is generally regarded as a final effort to obtain by personal influence and solicitation that indispensable aid for the Mexican empire which has been refused to its accredited diplomatic representative.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

G. N., DUC D'AYEN, TO BIGELOW

Translation

MAINTENON, 11 August, 1866.

Dear Sir:

How much I have to thank you, sir, for your kindness and for the interesting works which you have procured for me from America. They will be an interesting subject for study on my return to Paris.

I have given orders to my agent in Paris to discharge my debt to you.

I have not up to this time replied to the questions put to me in your letter of June, because I hoped to find at Maintenon, where I have only recently arrived, documents on the subject of the Marquis de Noailles. Alas! I have found nothing, all our family papers having been destroyed or dispersed during the Revolution. I can only affirm to you that the Marquis de N. was Ambassador at London in 1776, and they say that, at the time of declaration of war between France and England, the London mob tried to insult his hotel or his carriage.

The only authorities I can furnish you for the moment are: First, Encyclopédie Biographique du 19. Siècle, extract from the second category, Annals of the Peerage, article Noailles, page 199. Second, Mémoire de Lafayette (his nephew), pages 12, 13, 189.

The correspondence of M. de N. ought to be found entire in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and I do not doubt you might obtain authority to consult it. I should be very glad, for my own part, to know of what this correspondence consists, which is unknown to us. For people so *out of favor at Court* as we are, it is impossible to obtain the exceptional favor of inspecting the public archives.

I beg you, sir, again to accept my thanks and cordial regards.

M. Laboulaye has just published three volumes about the United States. I should be curious to know how you estimate them, if perchance the weight of your affairs leaves you the leisure to glance over them.

COMTE A. DE ROCHAMBEAU TO BIGELOW

Translation

Sir:

When last year I had the honor of seeing you, I believe you spoke to me of a work which I had undertaken on the Marshal de Rochambeau. The considerable materials with which I am provided for this work have taken proportions which will not permit me to finish it this year. In this way domestic affairs and travels have compelled me to interrupt it. I have resumed it with ardor and have recourse to your kindness to aid me in rendering my work as interesting as possible, as complete as it can be made. The archives of the United States ought to contain documents very curious and full of interest for the history of that celebrated conflict in which Marshal de Rochambeau participated. I should be very grateful to you if you could procure me the means of having copies made of the documents most remarkable and most useful for the history of my grandfather.

Naturally I should charge myself with all the expense of copying, of sending, etc., that would be incurred. Will you then, Mr. Minister, be good enough to tell me what it will be possible for you to do for me in this sense? I shall be very grateful to you for it. I profit by this occasion to offer you some of my last archæological publications, and permit me to recommend to you more particularly my Monographie de Thoré, where you will find a view of the Château de Rochambeau, and some details which perhaps will interest you.

If you think these volumes could have any interest in the United States, whether for a public library or an archives society, I should be charmed to dispose in their favor of some copies that I have yet on hand, and to offer them to the valiant republic which the Marshal Rochambeau aided by his courage and his ripe experience and constant sympathy.

Will you be so good, Mr. Minister, as to place at the feet of Madame Bigelow my respectful homage, and accept the assurances of my esteem and regard?

At the Château de Rochambeau, near Vendôme (Loir-et-Cher),
11 August, 1866.

HAY TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, August 17, 1866.

Sir:

According to a suggestion of Mr. Bigelow, who is spending some days with his family at Ems, I called yesterday upon the Minister of Foreign Affairs. I spoke to his Excellency of the reports which were currently published in the journals of Paris in reference to the visit of the Princess Charlotte to France—these reports stating that the stay of Maximilian in Mexico had become conditional upon a modification of the course of action adopted by the French government, and announced in his Excellency's recent communications to the Marquis de Montholon and to Mr. Bigelow; several journals further intimating that the princess had succeeded in obtaining a change of that programme. I asked the Minister if there had been any modification, or if there were any intended, of the policy of the Emperor's government towards Mexico, heretofore declared.

He replied: "There has been no modification of our policy in that matter, and there is to be none. What we announced our intention to do we will do. Of course," he added, "we receive the Empress with courtesy and cordiality, but the plan heretofore determined upon by the Emperor's government will be executed in the way we announced."

. . . . . .

Before taking leave, I made inquiries as to the health of the Emperor, which during the last week has given rise to more or less disquietude in Paris. The Minister assured me that his Majesty was in full convalescence; that he stood, however, in need of repose and would start in a few days for Biarritz.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

R. M. DAYTON, COMPTROLLER OF THE TREASURY, TO BIGELOW

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, COMPTROLLER'S OFFICE,
August 22, 1866.

Sir:

Your attention is called to the following portion of Section 123 of Internal Revenue Act of June 30, 1864, as amended by the Act of July 13, 1866, namely:

"And be it further enacted that there shall be levied, collected, and paid on all Salaries of officers or payments for services to persons in the Civil, Military, Naval or other employment or services of the United States, including Senators and Representatives, and Delegates in Congress, when exceeding the rate of six hundred dollars, a tax of five per centum on the excess above the said six hundred dollars, and a tax of ten per cent. on the excess over five thousand dollars, and it shall be the duty of all paymasters and all disbursing officers under the government of the United States or persons in the employ thereof, when making payment to any officers or persons as aforesaid, or upon settling or adjusting the accounts of such officers or persons, to deduct and withhold the aforesaid tax."

And in the rendition of your salary accounts you are requested to credit the United States with tax on Salary accruing after August, 1866, agreeably thereto.

The tax on your salary ($17,000) will be $1470 per annum, or $367.50 per quarter.

I am, Sir, etc.

HAY TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, August 24, 1866.

Sir:

The Princess Charlotte of Mexico left Paris yesterday for Miramar. She received on Wednesday the visit of the Emperor and Empress of France, and at her departure was conveyed to the railway station in the Emperor's carriage. In spite of these flattering attentions, and the cordiality with which she was received at St. Cloud, I am informed she sets out from Paris with no reason to congratulate herself upon having come.

Her proceeding to Miramar before going to Brussels, taken in connection with the more significant fact that during her stay in Paris no member of her immediate family has visited her, would seem to indicate a certain coolness in her relations with her brothers of the royal house of Belgium.

I am, sir, very respectfully, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, August 24, 1866.

Sir:

I transmit herewith for your information copies of the President's proclamation of the 17th instant, declaring null and void a decree of Prince Maximilian closing certain ports in Mexico.

I am, sir, your obedient servant

[August 17, 1866.—Declaring null and void a decree of Prince Maximilian closing certain ports in Mexico]

By the President of the United States of America

A PROCLAMATION

Whereas a war is existing in the republic of Mexico, aggravated by foreign military intervention; and whereas the United States, in accordance with their settled habits and policy, are a neutral power in regard to the war which thus afflicts the republic of Mexico; and whereas it has become known that one of the belligerents in the said war, namely, the Prince Maximilian, who asserts himself to be emperor in Mexico, has issued a decree in regard to the port of Matamoras and other Mexican ports which are in occupation and possession of another of the said belligerents, namely, the United States of Mexico, which decree is in the following words:

"The port of Matamoras and all those of the northern frontier which have withdrawn from their obedience to the government are closed to foreign and coasting traffic during such time as the empire of the law shall not be therein reinstated.

"Art. 2. Merchandise proceeding from the said ports, on arriving at any other where the excise of the empire is collected, shall pay the duties on importation, introduction, and consumption, and on satisfactory proof of contravention shall be irremissibly confiscated. Our minister of the treasury is charged with the punctual execution of this decree.

"Given at Mexico, the 9th of July, 1866."

And whereas the decree thus recited, by declaring a belligerent blockade unsupported by competent military or naval force, is in violation of the neutral rights of the United States, as defined by the law of nations, as well as of the treaties existing between the United States of America and the aforesaid United States of Mexico:

Now, therefore, I, Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, do hereby proclaim and declare that the aforesaid decree is held, and will be held, by the United States to be absolutely null and void, as against the government and citizens of the United States, and that any attempt which shall be made to enforce the same against the government or the citizens of the United States will be disallowed.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington the seventeenth day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six, and of the independence of the United States of America the ninety-first.

ANDREW JOHNSON.

By the President:

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*

BIGELOW TO HARGREAVES

EMS, Aug. 25, 1866.

My dear Friend:

Your clipping found me here. The Duke of Beaufort's friend must have uncommon perspicacity. I stood on the turret immediately over the big gun of the *Miantonomoh*—the first that was fired from her deck in English waters. The Duke of Somerset and most of the Lords of the Admiralty stood beside me, and I will venture to say that none of them suspected that the gun broke away or drove a hole through the turret or anything of the kind. The nearest it came to that was to nearly drive a hole through our ears with the noise.

I suspect that his Grace is easily quizzed, and he has recently fallen in with some one who has rather abused his opportunity.

We have been very little in Paris since we parted with you. First I went with all the children to the seashore in Normandy for ten days. The weather was so cold, however, that we returned to Paris, and in a few days started for Bonn, where we left our four oldest children at school. After tarrying there

for a while, we came here. By the bye, the papers say that L. Cowley is to be replaced by one of the Percys. Is not Cowley tory enough, or does his Ld.-ship desire repose? Your new ministry has not gained many laurels thus far. If it should experience as substantial a defeat in Parliament as it did the other day in Hyde Park, would it have to resign?

The result of the war has thus far answered my expectations and is, I think, auspicious. It has absorbed some half-dozen small sovereignties which had no occasion for a separate existence; it has thus, by diminishing the number of sovereigns in Europe, relatively increased the power of the people. It has given a check to Austrian influence, and there is no political influence in the world that I know of the loss of which should be less regretted. It has given to the Protestant powers, for the first time, a preponderating influence on the continent of Europe, which in the present stage of civilization I think a matter for congratulation. It has diminished the relative influence of Bonapartism, which can do no harm; and, finally, it has given to the best-educated nation in the world a political organism through which it can have for the first time its just influence upon other states, and through which its own political and social condition can be more rapidly ameliorated. German influence has been running to waste of late years. There will be less of that hereafter.

England, I think, has great reason to congratulate herself upon all these results and upon her own relative position in the new situation. What an eloquent vindication of her non-intervention policy in the case of the Duchies! Suppose she had resisted Prussia successfully in 1865, and the Duchies had not been dismembered, could she have hoped to have been half as well satisfied with the result as she is now? While if she had failed— I hope the "mind your own business party" in England will improve this opportunity to recruit from their adversaries, for it seems to me that no man can be blind to the lesson which the experience of the past few years teaches the managers of England's foreign policy.

It will be the greatest glory of the last administration, in my opinion, to have inaugurated the "mind your own business" policy in England.

Give our kindest regards to Mrs. Hargreaves and all your family.

Yours very sincerely

HAY TO BIGELOW

PARIS, August 30, 1866.

My dear Sir:

Enclosed I send you the interview between the two Empresses. I think the Yankee one carries off all the honors—or else has seduced history.

Green has gotten back from Russia; speaks of Fox and Loubat as still wildly rioting among the Sclavonic populations. There will be at least a fortnight more of orgies before they think of returning. Fox will not have a shred of liver left by the time he sits down with you somewhere to sack-cloth and warm water.

Yours very truly

HAY TO SEWARD

Confidential

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, August 30, 1866.

Sir:

During the late visit of the Archduchess Charlotte to Paris, Donna Alicia de Yturbide had an interview with her at the Grand Hotel, some particulars of which may possibly be of interest to you.

The Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Martin Castillo, who accompanied the Archduchess, suggested in the course of a conversation with Madame de Yturbide that the Empress would be pleased to see her. Upon this suggestion Donna Alicia wrote requesting an audience, which was at once granted. The Archduchess received her very coldly, not even asking her to sit down. Donna Alicia seated herself upon the same sofa upon which her Majesty sat.

The Princess Charlotte began by saying, "You are much changed since I saw you last!" Madame de Yturbide answered that ten months of suffering had doubtless had its effect upon her, and added that her Majesty was also much altered since she came to Mexico. She then renewed the request she had so often made without effect for her child. The Princess said with some displeasure: "I have

done you great honor in giving you this interview. You should not make me regret it. I wished simply to tell you that your child is well and improving every day in person and intelligence." Madame de Yturbide answered that what would in other circumstances be a great pleasure to hear was to her, deprived of her child, only a source of new grief.

The Archduchess said: "I am treating your child with the greatest kindness; I am supporting it with my own money." Donna Alicia replied that she asked nothing more than the privilege of supporting it herself. The Princess Charlotte said: "If we give you back your child, you should refund the money the Emperor paid to your family." Madame de Yturbide replied that what her husband and brother had received was a debt due from the Mexican nation, and not a private liberality of the Emperor; but that if he made that a condition, they would refund it rather than be deprived of the child. (Let me observe here that this sum of money which was to be paid to the Yturbides on their expulsion from Mexico has not, as I am informed, been wholly paid, but a large portion of it is now overdue, and the drafts will shortly be protested.)

Donna Alicia further stated that she had good legal advice to the effect that she had never forfeited in any way her right to the possession of her child—that her claim was still perfectly valid in law. "You have this advice from foreign lawyers, I suppose," said the Archduchess. "No," replied Donna Alicia, "from Mexican lawyers of the highest character."

"Ah! then you received this advice before giving up your child to us."

"No, your Majesty; I received it when I returned to Mexico from Puebla." Donna Alicia then referred to the treachery and cruelty with which she was expelled from the City of Mexico, of which this Legation has previously transmitted you the account. The Princess said coolly: "The Emperor did right. You should not have come back to Mexico. And you did wrong after coming there to address yourself to Marshal Bazaine instead of the Emperor."

"I did not know," said Donna Alicia, "at that time of the misunderstanding which I have since learned exists between the Emperor and the Marshal."

"There is no misunderstanding," said her Majesty, sharply, "but it was not an affair for the Marshal. You have always acted badly towards us. You stood aloof from us when we first came to Mexico. And now you show no gratitude to the Emperor for having made your son and nephew princes." "My husband and his brothers," replied Madame de Yturbide, "are the sons of a legitimate Emperor, and if they have not borne their title of Princes, it is because they have not cared to."

At another stage of the conversation the Archduchess said: "What advantage can your son be to me? The Emperor and I are both young; we may have children of our own." "I earnestly hope so," rejoined Donna Alicia, "if that will restore me mine."

"You may have other children," said the Archduchess, reverting to this interesting aspect of the case. "I do not know," said Donna Alicia; "I am sure of this one and I want him."

"For how long are you willing to give him up to us?" asked the Princess. "Not an hour longer than I am compelled to," said Madame de Yturbide.

Donna Alicia could get no satisfaction from the Archduchess further than the promise that she would write to the Emperor Maximilian about the matter. She advised Madame de Yturbide to write herself to the Emperor. "I have done so many times," was the answer, "and received no reply." "Write again," said the Princess, "and write politely."

Before the Imperial party left Paris, M. Castillo saw the Yturbides again, and said: "Have a little patience, and something may still be done for you. You may yet be happy with your child."

They are apprehensive that Maximilian may abdicate immediately on the receipt of his wife's dispatches, which started several days ago from Paris, and that if he bring the infant Prince with him to Europe, it will be still more difficult to obtain possession of him. They intend to start before long for America.

The greatest discouragement exists among the partisans of the Mexican Empire in Paris. There are even very strong suspicions as to the fidelity of the members of the Imperial Legation here.

The *Moniteur* of this morning endeavors to counteract the effect of the latest news from Mexico by a bulletin, of which I enclose a translation, extenuating as far as possible the results of recent events in that country.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

As this is the last time the legation had occasion officially to refer to this unfortunate lady, I feel this is the proper place to give what I believe to be Carlotta's own account of her leaving Mexico, and especially of the tragical disillusions with which she had there been afflicted. A few words of explanation may be required to account for the selection of the correspondent to whom she made these agonizing revelations.

After the revolution in Spain in 1868; after the abortion of

the scheme to place the Prince Leopold de Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen on the throne vacated by Queen Isabella, and at the pressing solicitation of Marshal Prim, the Duc d'Aoste, second son of Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy, was chosen by the Spanish Cortes to be the King of Spain—190 votes being cast in his favor to 120 against him—an ominously small majority. He was thereupon proclaimed King of Spain with the title of Amadeo I., was formally inaugurated December 4, 1870, and made his entry into Madrid on the 2d of January, 1871, just after the assassination of his promoter, Marshal Prim. Amadeo had not occupied his throne six months before he narrowly escaped assassination. Again, in July, 1872—in less than a year—when riding with his wife in an open carriage, five pistols were discharged at them by as many ruffians. To avoid greater misfortunes, not only to himself and his family, but to Spain, whose people he had found it impossible to reconcile to a sovereign of foreign lineage, perhaps also with the conviction that he had made a mistake in neglecting Carlotta's advice given in the following letter to his wife a few years before, he abdicated voluntarily on the 11th of February, 1873, returned to Italy, became once more Prince Amadeo, Duc d'Aoste, and died in 1890.

The letter which follows was written by the ex-Empress Carlotta to the Duchesse d'Aoste about the time when her husband was called to the Spanish throne, in whose accession to royalty she seemed to discern a striking parallel to her own unhappy experience in Mexico. The letter first appeared in the *Revista Germanica*. I take it from a translation made by Mr. A. R. Dyer and published in the *Tribune* of Denver, Colorado, on the 3d of October, 1883.

My Daughter:

Permit me to call thee daughter, first, because I am a widow, and next, because my sorrows give me a desire to employ with thee the sacred name of mother. I saw thee in Italy when thou wert very beautiful, very young and very happy; I, too, was young and happy, though not so beautiful as thou.

I saw thee at another time when thou wert extremely happy, and I, most wretched.

I write thee to-day to tell thee that the time *may* come when both of us shall be equally unhappy and unfortunate. I, too, was once a Queen, Maria Victoria, and I, also, smiled . . . and deceived!

Thou art aware that I have lost my reason; and God loves thee so much that He grants me this hour of lucidness that I may speak to thee the truth, now that so much ambition, so much flattery, so many crafty men, so many lying lips, so many idiotic tongues and so many blackened hearts are ready to come to thee with falsehoods. I have been a Queen, Duchess of Aosta! I am acquainted with the position! Dost thou understand me? Yes, thou understandest me. See to it, then, that thy womanly heart doth not make merchandise of thy peace.

I am Charlotte, the former Empress of Mexico, the wife of Maximilian. Dost thou hear me? Yes, thou hearest me. See to it, then, that thy woman's heart deceives thee not.

I must hasten to communicate to thee my fears, for I do not know how long my madness will leave me at liberty.

Who could have imagined what has since come to pass, when for the first time we saw each other in the groves of Italy—of the Tivoli! Does thou remember those quiet and enjoyable afternoons?

Ah! Maria Victoria! hear attentively what my misfortune has to point out for thee! Heed me well, for an unhappy wife, made insane by grief, is reading thee thy fortune!

A deputation went to Vienna to offer my husband the crown of Mexico. I speak to thee of an embassy.

Maximilian called me to his side and said: "Charlotte, I am offered the empire of a famous people in America; what dost thou think of it?"

I dropped my head in a pensive mood.

Again Maximilian inquired, "What dost thou think of it?"

I stood meditating, and made no reply. My husband turned as if about to leave the room; I thought he was going to decline the offer that the embassy had made him, and I cannot describe the inward fire that seemed to burn my vitals.

"Wait," said I to him, and Maximilian returned, smiling.

What did that smile mean?

Ah! Maria Victoria! My husband knew that I was a woman, and the question was of a diadem. I do not wish to dissemble, I will not deceive thee. My soul was blinded by the brilliancy of that crown. I imagined the glitter of its jewels—its pearls, its sapphires and its diamonds. I saw a people kneeling about me, kissing my feet and crowding around to get a look at me, ever watchful to proffer me blessings and uttering shouts of gladness.

What a dreadful illusion! How fearful a flattery!

Continue reading, my friend, and thou wilt see what that flattery cost me.

Carlotta, Wife of Maximilian

I answered my husband: "Listen, Maximilian. I do not say to thee no; neither do I say to thee yes."

My husband understood me to say: "I do not say to thee *yes*, neither do I say to thee no."

Now I must confess to thee that he was not mistaken. Maximilian saw what my answer meant, and a light shone in his eyes that I could not then explain to myself. Time explained it to me afterward. Maria, be careful of thyself, of thy son and of thy Amadeo! Ambition kindles in the eyes of man a diabolic lustre, and converts an angel into a devil. The man who wishes to become a king turns into a demon.

The eyes of Maximilian shone with a brilliancy that made me afraid. Maximilian was at that moment a demon.

"The embassy will come at three o'clock," said Maximilian. I was dressed at two. One year afterward another embassy was to see me at one o'clock; I dressed myself to see them at four. I had *then* learned to be an Empress! I repeat again that I was ready at two o'clock. Art thou listening, Maria? I was waiting impatiently and feared that the ambassadors had changed their mind.

Observing my toilet, Maximilian said to me: "How beautiful is the Empress of Mexico!"

This sage gallantry of my husband gave me pain, for I thought that perhaps the embassy had returned to America.

But immediately three domestics announced the arrival of the Most Serene Mexican Ambassadors, and I trembled with delight. "Now I am an Empress," I exclaimed in my heart; "now I am Her August Imperial Majesty."

Oh! sorrowful illusions! Oh! dismal vanities! Oh! terrible spectres of conscience, how much ye have cost me! How dear was the purchase!

Go on reading, Maria Victoria, go on.

The embassy knelt before me and kissed my hand! It was just what I wanted! It was exactly what my ambition craved. They then said that heaven had destined us for the salvation of a renowned people, who were living in a state of most distressing anarchy. They assured us that Mexico beheld in us their guardian angels.

Maximilian looked toward me as though he would say: "See what they assure us? What ought we to do?"

I nodded my head in reply as though I would say: "I see; as thou wilt."

The deputation next spoke of the fecundity of the soil, the excellence of the fruits, the mildness of the seasons, the beauties of the landscape in a land where nature is one perpetual smile.

Maximilian gave me a look as though he would say: "Dost thou see?"

I returned his regard as though I would answer: "Yes, I see."

The embassy expatiated at great length upon the grandeur of the scenery around Orizaba; upon the transparency of the atmosphere, the great extent of the horizon, the sky so beautifully blue, the risings and settings of the sun, the sweet singing birds, etc. Then I seemed to see the ruddy glow of the aurora—the pallid tint of the clouds that take their leave of the setting sun. I fancied that I was already hearing the melody of those birds and the murmur of those rivers, perceiving the aroma of those flowers and breathing the sweet scented air of those places while walking peacefully in the silence of the thick woods and forests. In fine, Maria, I imagined myself to be the Imperial Majesty of Mexico, the goddess of America, in the most flowery and beautiful part of the globe, and favored with the smiles of God.

Maximilian turned to me as if to say: "You understand?"

I returned his glance as though I would reply: "I do."

My husband and I were left alone.

"What do you think of the ambassadors?" he asked. I replied: "I am quite delighted; they are perfect gentlemen—very courteous and polite."

"They kissed your hand on entering and retiring. It can be seen that they are people of quality."

"Yes, yes," I answered, "they must be people of quality."

Keep on reading, Duchess of Aosta, Queen elect of a famous people, and then thou wilt see how all this poetry ended.

Alas! a thousand times! Those men, those ambassadors from Mexico, deceived us by a thousand lies, and we said with pride, "It can be seen that they are people of quality."

If they had told us the naked truth, the honest truth; if those beggars had been loyal persons, with reluctance we would have said, "It can be seen that they are ordinary people."

We embark for America; the steamer moves off, and the shores of Europe are disappearing from our view. The memories of our fatherland were remaining behind.

We were abandoning the land that gave us birth, allured by the unknown glories of our new country.

Unknown glories, I have said. They were *not* unknown glories, they were criminal glories, Maria Victoria. Alas for me! they were criminal glories!

When I observed that the German coasts were disappearing from sight, I felt a pain in my heart, and from that moment the fever set in that a little later obscured my mind; it was then that this delirium commenced which is consuming my strength—this horrible phthisis that is devouring my life.

There are two kinds of fever, Maria Victoria—that of the body and that of the spirit.

That of the body kills.

That of the spirit maddens.

Be watchful of thy husband and thyself!

At about nightfall of the same day of our embarkation I discerned in the horizon a whitish point. That white point, almost yellow, appeared to move as though it were a mist arising from the sea.

I drew near to my husband and said to him: "What speck is that in the distance which appears to be in motion?"

"It is the shore."

"What shore?"

"The shores of the Adriatic."

"Farewell, ye coasts of the Baltic!" cried my conscience within! "Farewell, ye shores of my native land! When I return to you at some future day, you will see me dressed in mourning!"

"What is the matter with thee?" Maximilian asked.

"Nothing," I answered.

I, too, was lying to him. I, too, was deceiving him!

Everybody deceived him; everybody lied to him—and even his wife!

Oh! my husband! thou unfortunate man, adored shade of my existence, pardon me!

Dost thou wonder, Maria Victoria, that I have lost my reason? Dost thou wonder that I have gone mad? But proceed.

We were twenty-three days on our voyage.

Thou dost not know what it is to live twenty-three days between the heavens and the great deep, between the day and the night, between the sun and the stars, when upon the land a crown is waiting for thee. I was so jealous of my diadem, so much enamoured of my imperial majesty, that each and every wave appeared to me a rock upon which our vessel would be wrecked.

Maximilian regarded me with a look as if to ask, "Will we arrive, Charlotte?"

I returned his regard as though I would say to him, "Will we arrive, Maximilian?"

Alas! my dear friend! Why was not the ocean charitable to us?

Why did it not open its mysterious bosom to engulf the ship that was bearing us over?

We arrive in Mexico. What crowds of people! What shouts of greeting! What quantities of flowers strewn along the road and in the streets! What hymns of joy! What bonfires and illuminations! How great the rejoicing! How much love is expressed!

And yet, Maria Victoria, Mexico hated us! We were received like two guardian angels; like two celestial spirits; like two demigods; but Mexico abhorred us.

If ever thou goest forth from Italy, if the glitter of a crown should ever dazzle thine eyes and bewilder thine heart, place no trust in the

multitudes that throng around the windows of thy carriage; confide not in the crowds that obstruct thy passage; rely not upon the many eyes that are strained to get a glimpse of thee. The people look at kings and emperors the same as they look upon a theatrical play, a bull-fight or a collection of rare animals. The people look upon kings as they look upon condemned criminals.

Do not confide, either, in the smiles of those whom the world calls great. If thou didst but know, Maria Henrietta, how small they are! If thou couldst only see them in their natural size! If thou shouldst see them denuded of pomp! If thou shouldst see them as I have seen them!

Crocodiles and those men are alike, in that both seek for prey which they may tear with their teeth.

The crocodile cries in order to attract its prey.

A man smiles in order to ensnare it.

The courtier smiles; the crocodile cries; but both the crocodile and the courtier cry and laugh in order to attract and to devour.

I shall never forget how a Mexican magnate groveled at our feet and kissed the earth upon which we trod.

The same was the first to commit treason against us.

He was the first to betray my husband.

He was the first to conspire against Maximilian, until at last he saw him shot.

Shot, Maria! Dost thou understand? My husband was shot; dost thou comprehend me, Henrietta? He was shot upon foreign soil. Hast thou heard me well? *Upon foreign soil!*

He that flatters us most is the first to deceive us.

He that kisses our hands the most is the first to sell us.

He that most humiliates himself before us is the first to betray us.

I am telling thee what is true! I know it all well! Doubt it not! Woe be to thee if thou doubtest.

Maria, I saw thee in Frascati; I saw thee in Tivoli, when thou wert quite young and happy.

For thy future happiness, for thy beauty, for thy youth's sake, do not forget the words of a faithful friend who cannot deceive thee, for she has been very unfortunate—the most unfortunate woman that was ever born of a mother.

I loved a man more than my own life, and men assassinated him. Mexico did not do it. Nations do not assassinate.

The men who sought out Maximilian in Europe murdered him in Mexico; they were those who kissed our hands and crept upon the ground at our feet.

Maria, be watchful over thy husband, thy son and thyself. Dost thou know that certain ones are calling for the Duke of Aosta?

Beware much! my daughter. Dost thou observe those who are calling for him, who are bowing their heads in obeisance, who are kneeling before him? The same will by and by shoot him to death.

It is I who tell thee this! I know it all well! Do not doubt it, Maria!

The festive adornments, the hymns, the illuminations, the triumphal arches, the vociferous acclamations and the flowers are past. Rumors of war are rife, and my husband looked at me in a manner that I could not comprehend at the time. There are mysteries in the depths of life as there are abysses in the depths of the earth, as there are volcanoes in the depths of the abysses, as there are certain afflictions in the depths of the soul.

My husband had penetrated some arcanum—become possessed of an awful secret. He looked toward me, but uttered no word. What was there to tell me, if that secret was a sentence of death?

The Emperor called an officer of the government to his presence, and the two closeted themselves for consultation. Concealed among the curtains of a door, I overheard something of what they were talking about.

Finally my husband said to that personage: "Well, how many will it be necessary to execute by shooting?"

"Eight or nine thousand," he answered, with a tremulous voice.

Nine thousand human creatures were going to be sacrificed, and in reality they were.

The government personage went away, and the Emperor was left alone.

"What have you been conferring about?" said I to him.

"Nothing," was his reply.

For some time I looked Maximilian sternly in the face. He bowed his head and fixed his eyes upon the floor.

Will the world wonder, dear friend of mine, that this unhappy woman has lost her mind?

Oh! Henrietta! Rather than dwell in certain palaces, live in caves of gipsies, in the cabins of shepherds, in the huts of fishermen. In the hut, the cabin or the cave thou canst believe in God; thou canst trust in the Providence of this world; thou canst love a husband, a father, a son; in a dungeon thou canst love, thou canst have faith; but in certain palaces there is room for nothing but suspicion, hatred and cursing.

The embassy told us that Mexico was in a condition of the most terrible anarchy.

It was false, Henrietta! The anarchy was in the embassy and in the men who sent it to lead us to our ruin.

The anarchy was in a few wandering politicians, the beggars of yes-

terday, starved loafers and idlers of the slums, who had assumed airs of gentlemen and despots without knowing how to be either despots or gentlemen.

They were the ones in whom were disorder, gluttony, robbery, bankruptcy, apostasy, shamelessness, and who scoffed at all moral ideas, at every worthy sentiment, at every noble instinct, at all sense of modesty.

Alas! Maria Victoria, thou dost not know all that came to pass!

These ambassadors came in grand ships; they gave grand banquets; twenty-five dollars was assigned them each day for their table expenses; and besides, they brought five thousand dollars in small gold coins with which to feed the poor of another country, thus making a show of opulence and greatness. But while this was going on, places of importance in Mexico were being scourged by yellow fever and famine, and teachers of the youth were dying of hunger; soldiers were scouring the villages and killing their inhabitants in order to extort from them the public tribute.

Dost thou understand? The horsemen, I say, invaded towns, and amidst cries and tears forcibly took from the wretched people their substance, as in the times of barbarism, as in the days of Montezuma.

This is the kind of anarchy in which Mexico was agonizing.

Oh! ye wretches! Why did we believe you? Why did we listen to you rather than hand you over to justice as the chief outlaws and bandits of America?

Ah! if it should happen again!

My dear friend, if the anatomy of my body should at this moment be made, thou wouldst see that my arteries are dry. How much I have wept! How much I have suffered! Maria, Maria, learn of me! Shut thine eyes and thy heart against the false words of those gentlemen tricksters.

Maximilian retired for the night, but I had no desire to do so. Seated in an armchair, I reclined my head upon the pillows of my couch, and I had hardly closed my eyes when my spirit was seized with a nightmare that I would fain forget. How much thou oughtest to thank me, Maria Victoria, for this sacrifice of my conscience! I am tearing open my wounds afresh; I am rending my heart; I am lacerating my very soul! In the delirium of that nightmare I thought I heard the report of arms, followed by the lamentations and groans of nine thousand dying victims.

I thought I saw many mounted dragoons running over the palpitating members of those unburied bodies, lacerating their upturned faces with the iron-shod hoofs of the horses. I seemed to see human flesh, and wolves and tigers were slaking their thirst in great pools, and those pools were not pools of water! I seemed to see the glaring eyes of the wild beasts as they turned their heads on all sides that no one

should surprise them, as they tore the flesh and crushed the bones of the victims. Like Phèdre in Racine, I heard the crushing of those bones, and I saw blood dripping from dishevelled hair in the same manner as dripped the blood from Hector's beard in the frightful dream of Æneas.

Maximilian heard my anguish, he heard my sighs and called to me repeatedly, but could not awaken me from my agony. Then he arises, shakes me violently, almost with frenzy, and I am able to return from that dream. It was not a dream, Maria Victoria; I was in a world of horrible and strange ghouls.

Would that I had died in that hour!

Oh, my God! How much of grief Thou wouldst have spared me!

My husband asked: "What is the matter with thee?" I answered, "Dost thou ask aught of *me?*"

"Indeed I do. What aileth thee, my darling?"

"Nothing."

"What *is* the matter, Charlotte?"

"Nothing, Maximilian."

"Tell me what the matter is, though the heavens fall and the earth sink beneath our feet."

"Dost thou wish me to tell thee?"

"Yes."

"I have seen 'signs in the heavens'; I do not know what phantom it is that is pulling at the clothing I wear. I have seen a vision that represents three headless men, and I know them all. They are the Emperor Maximilian, Generals Miramon and Mejia. Thou art in this world my only love, the friend of my whole life, and I see thee lost!—do not say no, thou art lost!"

"I know it."

"Then save thyself and save me, Maximilian. Let us go from hence."

"I cannot."

"Thou art not an Emperor."

"What am I, then?"

"There was here a party of outlaws; they had no Captain; they needed one and brought thee. Thou art not the Emperor of Mexico; thou art the Captain of a posse of assassins and thieves—thou the Captain and I the Captainess, and this must not be. If thou persistest in being sacrificed together with the nine thousand human beings that thou wilt have to immolate, my courage is not sufficient to witness the slaughter. I will dress myself in mourning and return to Europe. My spirit I leave with thee, but my body must go away."

"Dost thou say thou art going?"

"Yes, I am going; I am going to try, if it be possible, to save—a man."

"Charlotte, thou dost not love me now as in former days."

"I love thee more, but I fear thee. I love my husband, but I fear the tyrant. Thou art the tyrant of an innocent people."

"I a tyrant?"

"Yes."

"Thou art going to Europe?"

"Yes."

Maximilian stood dumb as a rock, frigid and motionless.

Suddenly he covered his face with his hands and burst into a flood of tears.

Daughter of my soul! Is it any marvel that this wretched woman has gone mad?

The hour of my departure arrived. What a difference between the departure and the arrival! No one spoke to me now of the wealth of Mexico, of the delicious fruits, of the productiveness of the soil, of the mildness of the climate, of the murmuring springs, of the aroma of the flowers, of the melody of the birds, nor of the landscapes of Orizaba. No deputation came to me. A periodical published at the time simply contained the following announcement: "*The wife of the Mexican Emperor is on her return to Europe.*"

At the moment of leaving I said to my husband: "Must thou remain?"

"It is my destiny," he replied.

"Then," I continued, "I shall some day receive in Europe a letter from thee which will read in a manner similar to this: 'Thou didst prophesy rightly, Charlotte; the ray of sunshine that is now entering my abode is the last that I shall ever see. I am preparing for death and kneeling before the image of Jesus. Within an hour I shall walk to the place of execution between a priest and an executioner.' "

I do not wish to tell thee what passed through my mind at the moment of separation from Maximilian. I knew that the separation was forever; he was the only love that I have ever had, that I have now, or shall ever have. Would to God I had never loved!

The ship leaves her moorings. The shrill whistle of the steamer sounds to me like the din of battle.

Cursed be war!

Cursed be the ambitious men who provoke it.

The continuous beating of the waves against the ship seemed to me like the gurgling of blood.

The noise of the machinery I could fancy to be the clashing of battle-axes, the booming of cannon and the rattle of musketry.

The smoke-stacks of the steamer seemed to me like two executioners.

After twenty-one days of navigation I went on deck. I looked out upon the waves, and everywhere I beheld the visage of Maximilian.

It was just at sunset, and I perceived in the horizon a whitish, movable speck.

"What is that point that I behold in the horizon, my Captain?" I asked of the chief of the steamer.

"The coast of the Baltic, madam."

"Shores of the Baltic; soil of my native land!" I exclaimed in my conscience, "here ye have me as I promised you; I return to you draped in mourning!"

I arrived in Paris, hastened to the Tuileries, and said to the chief courtier:

"Inform the Emperor that the widow of Maximilian wishes to speak to him."

Ah, Maria! Napoleon received me like as a man of wood, as a statue of granite, as a machine of iron.

But I discerned a cross, and at its foot was a weeping woman—aye, more than woman—a mother. That great hope was mine—that of the cross. I worshipped at that grand religious shrine; I blessed the anguish of Calvary and longed to receive consolation from Jesus and Mary.

I flew to Rome and went to the Vatican; I pressed my lips to the feet of His Holiness, and on kissing his foot I saw again the "signs in the heavens"; I saw the vision that represented three headless bodies; I saw two *hands crossed*—hands that were dripping with blood like the hair of the victims; hands that were preparing two gibbets, and hands that spoke and said: *We are Monti and Togneti.*

I had no longer any hope; my faith was extinguished. I called to mind the memory of one man, and I lost my reason.

I was taken to Vienna, but in Vienna there is much festivity, and I came to this castle. I am here in the country. I live in silence, in solitude and with a cherished memory.

A box was brought me here containing the remains of the man I loved.

I opened it one day when nobody saw me. The right hand of my husband was closed as though it were a hand of bronze. I opened it and found it clasping a paper which read as follows:

"Charlotte, thou didst prophesy rightly. The light that penetrates my abode is the last of sunshine that I shall ever see. I am preparing for death, kneeling before the Nazarene. Within a few hours I shall go to the place of execution between a priest and the executioner. Thou art not to blame; in this be comforted, and pardon me. Remember me to my family and to my country. Good-by, Charlotte; the judgment of God awaits me. Since I have wrongly lived, I desire to die rightly. My last prayer will be for thee. Who would have believed that I should come to this, my dearly beloved?"

Is it strange, my dear friend, that this poor woman should have lost her reason?

I often look in the glass and exclaim:

"I am not what I was. I am not Charlotte. I am not a woman. I am not in life. I had a soul, but they stole it from me!

"Restore it to me, ye thieves."

Napoleon III., in his exalted state, was my ruin.

Napoleon III., though brought low, will ruin thee.

Maria, all is over! Give a kiss to your son—*Amadeo.*

My letter must end. Good-by, Maria Victoria. I feel my mind tottering. I feel my soul returning to its wanderings over the fathomless abysses of madness. Again I see "signs in the heavens." I behold again the vision of headless human bodies. I see two hands crossed. I hear the crunching of bones. I see many wild beasts satiating their thirst in pools of blood.

Now I seem to be a goddess and now I fancy myself to be a monster from hell.

Oh! daughter of my soul! Do not leave Turin; do not leave Florence; do not leave Rome; do not forsake thy fatherland.

Take care! for they are deceiving thee as they deceived me.

Take care! for they will betray thee as they betrayed me.

Take care! for the time will come in which thy fond hopes will have no other realization than that horrible one of dying insane.

Maria, Maria! look after thy husband, thy son and thyself.

I have given thee the greatest proof of friendship that a woman can give thee by recounting to thee the history, sufferings and mysteries that no one knows save thine unfortunate and faithful friend,

CHARLOTTE,
Ex-Empress of Mexico.

XX

THE EMPEROR SWAPS HORSES, CROSSING THE STREAM

ON the 1st of September, 1866, Drouyn de Lhuys resigned the position of Minister of Foreign Affairs, to be succeeded by the Marquis de Moustier, who at the time was Ambassador at Constantinople, his duties to be temporarily discharged until his recall by Monsieur La Valette, the Minister of the Interior.

The change was due to two causes, and I am at a loss to say which was the more potential. Drouyn de Lhuys had energetically combated the Emperor's submission to the territorial enlargement of Prussia at the expense of Austria, consummated by the battle of Sadowa. He wanted his sovereign to take advantage of Prussia's hostile relations with Austria, which kept most of her soldiers occupied in Saxony and Bohemia while her Rhenish provinces were almost completely unprotected, to make a military demonstration that would have secured to France an equivalent of territory on the Rhine to what Prussia might gain from Austria. But while Drouyn de Lhuys was saying to Goltz, the Prussian Ambassador, that France would never consent to a disturbance of the European equilibrium which finally did take place, his sovereign was secretly conceding to Goltz for Prussia the privilege of taking pretty much all the Austrian territory she lusted for. Some weeks after M. Drouyn de Lhuys' retirement he told me that was his reason for resigning, and handed me a printed pamphlet in which he had defended his policy.

The other reason for his resignation, which naturally enough he did not communicate to me, was that he was tired of excusing and appearing to justify his sovereign's policy in Mexico,

which he never did approve, and conscious of its impending and ignoble disaster, he did not wish to be officially obliged to assist as one of the chief mourners at its funeral.

I sincerely regretted his retirement, as well for our own sake as for his. He was not responsible, I am confident, for a single one of the false steps taken by his Government in Mexico, for they had all been committed or made inevitable before he took office. Though responsible for none, he was punished for all, and he showed his consciousness that his political career was closed by the manner in which he occupied the few remaining years of his life, which were devoted pretty exclusively to the development of the agricultural resources of his country and to ancillary charities.

At a meeting of the Agricultural Congress, of which he was president, on the 24th of June, 1869, he used a language which imperfectly disguised his sad presentiments:

> For you military heroism is but one of the forms of courage. If the statistics teach us that the Lorraine departments are those which gave to France the most soldiers, they tell us also that their population furnishes for the relief of the destitute the most sisters of charity. It is by such virtues that a people is preserved from corruption and decline. It is by personal abnegation, by the abjuring of selfish passions, by the contempt of base indulgences, by the respect and love of things truly great, that the illustrious in all manly careers are elevated and fortified. Courage and work are twins. You will never separate them, and these two severe genii have put their powerful impress on all the pages of your history.
>
> I do not know, gentlemen, what are the political and social destinies which Providence reserves for our country, but I have the conviction that it is in the furrows that it will deposit the germ of them. Let us go out of those regions where one sows the wind to harvest tempests. Let us build on the firm earth; let us attach ourselves to foundations which lack the least. The more we shall develop among the rural population devotion to duty, the sentiment of their rights, the consciousness of their force, and the intelligence of their true interests, the more shall we assure the power and prosperity of our country. I pity sincerely the blind who do not see these shining truths.

It was with these words, said M. Pradier-Fodéré, that M. Drouyn de Lhuys raised to the dignity of a political and social

mission the functions which the confidence of the farmers had conferred in selecting him as their president.

But it is no news to any person familiar with our national history that

> God moves in a mysterious way
> His wonders to perform;
> He plants His footsteps in the sea
> And rides upon the storm.

It was necessary to put a dreamer upon the throne of France in order to wrest her power from the hands of dynasties and confer it upon her people, to whom it rightfully belonged. Perhaps it was also necessary that a dreamer should be at the head of the Government in France to conceive projects on the North American continent the prosecution of which should prolong our Civil War until it should be no longer subject to the reproach of holding in bondage to their brethren men created in God's image. Viewed in this light, we can understand why a man of the culture, wisdom and experience of Drouyn de Lhuys should have been required to receive orders from rather than give them to Louis Napoleon.[1]

[1] During the Franco-Prussian War of 1871 Drouyn de Lhuys took refuge, as his more radical friend Victor Hugo had done in the Revolution of 1848, in the English island of Jersey. During his sojourn there he became a guest at the annual dinner of the Royal Jersey Agricultural and Horticultural Society. In replying to the toast drank to him as president of the Société d'Agriculture de France, he was very deeply affected, and apologized that the state of his feelings would not permit him to dwell at such length as he could wish on a subject which engaged so much of his attention as that of agriculture. He said: "You cannot expect from me, in the melancholy circumstances to which my presence amongst you is attributable, any very extended or flowery speech. I may well adopt the language of the Hebrew children of old, and say, 'How can I sing a song in a strange land?' [He had heard something in that strain only a few years before, at the Fourth of July fête in the Bois de Boulogne, but now, better than then, knew how it felt.] Methinks I hear from afar, whilst sojourning here, a stranger amongst you, the din of battle and the shrieks of death in my beloved country. Methinks I see in the dark perspective long days of havoc urging their destructive course, and brilliant squadrons moving their bloody way through embattled hosts. Pardon me if, for a moment, I have cast a gloom over the smiling scene. As your guest, I express to you my sincere gratitude for the cordial hospitality accorded by you to me as president of the Société d'Agriculture de France. I congratulate you, as a society, for the renown which you have gained in connection with the breeding of cows. Your Jersey cattle have obtained the highest praise—not only in England, but in America also, where they are highly valued and esteemed."

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Confidential

PARIS, September 7, 1866.

My dear Sir:

Drouyn de Lhuys has been replaced by his most implacable enemy; though sitting in the Cabinet every day, they do not speak. This quarrel began as long ago as when La Valette was Minister to Constantinople. He effected the displacement of Drouyn de Lhuys. In revenge Drouyn de Lhuys turned him out of the Embassy to Rome in '62. It is now La Valette's turn, and he has used it. M. Drouyn de Lhuys, immediately after leaving the Hotel of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, sent his cards of P. P. C. to all the legations and had it announced that he and Madame had left Paris, which fact, however, no one seems to believe. His two chief secretaries have resigned also, which shows a determination, I think, on the Minister's part to make an issue at a convenient time. M. D. was under the protection more especially of the Empress, whose views of religion and politics corresponded generally with his own. She left Paris for Biarritz without the Emperor the *day before* Drouyn de Lhuys was dismissed. The faction of which they were the two highest exponents in France may be said to have entirely broken down, and with it prelatism has received a serious check.

Moustier's selection astonishes those who know his history. He is by birth a legitimist. In the revolution of '48 he showed democratic tendencies, was elected to the Assemblée Nationale, of which the Emperor was then also a member, sat by his side, and formed the acquaintance which he has since turned to good account, though his defection from the legitimists embroiled him with his family. He was educated by the Jesuits, where he was rather renowned for the maiden purity and chastity of his life. The President Napoleon when he came into office sent him as secretary of legation to some German court, and as fast as opportunity offered promoted him, and though yet under 50 years of age he has within seventeen years passed from the lowest diplomatic position to the highest through three first-class missions.

He was chiefly conspicuous at Berlin and Vienna for his

profligacy with women, and now he keeps a sort of harem at Constantinople, in which he spends most of his time. Though with talent and ability to work, he is noted for his idleness. He does nothing but indulge his taste and passions, so I am told. His wife is sister of Monsignor Mérode, late Minister of War for his Holiness the Pope. She is one of the most violent legitimists and vituperative enemies of the Emperor and his government that exists anywhere. The infidelities of her husband, which have led to their separation more than once, have probably contributed to her malignity towards the man he serves. He is not expected here till the first of October. You will now comprehend why he was chosen. The Emperor wanted a man in the foreign office who would be embarrassed by no antecedents or opinions, but who would do what he told him to do without having to consult any faction or party, and he has doubtless found him.

I returned to Paris a few days since, much improved in health. If the Emperor goes to Biarritz, as is expected, I shall go down there also for a few days at least. He is full of trouble. The Empress, I learn from a good source, has accumulated great wealth, which she is investing in all directions. She is evidently sensible of the uncertainty of all temporal blessings and worldly distinctions.

Yours very sincerely

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, September 7, 1866.

Sir:

This mail will convey to you the important intelligence that the treaty of peace between Austria and Prussia, which was signed at Prague on the 23d ultimo, has been ratified, and that M. Drouyn de Lhuys has been replaced in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of this empire by the Marquis de Moustier, at present French ambassador at Constantinople.

The treaty of Prague, copies of which are given in all the

public prints, conforms substantially to the preliminary treaty at Nikolsburg, of July 26th. The most important difference is in the clause which relates to Italy. By the sixth article of the preliminary treaty, the King of Prussia engaged to induce his ally, the King of Italy, to assent to the terms of the preliminary treaty, and to the armistice based upon it, as soon as the Emperor of the French should declare that Venetia was placed at the disposition of the King of Italy. The Emperor authorized M. Benedetti, his ambassador at Berlin, to make that declaration on the 29th of July. The second article of the definitive treaty affirms and recognizes the reunion of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom with the kingdom of Italy, without any other onerous "condition than that the liquidation of the debts due from parts of the ceded countries should be recognized in conformity with the plan followed in the treaty of Zurich."

The preliminaries of Nikolsburg contained nothing about the Venetian debt. This is the only difference between them of practical importance. It will add largely to the financial burden of Italy, but will not, I have reason to believe, delay many days longer the execution of a definitive treaty of peace between Austria and Italy. Those here who ought to be best informed upon the subject expect the negotiations will have reached a successful termination before the 20th instant.

The surrender by M. Drouyn de Lhuys of the portfolio of foreign affairs, which he has held at three different periods—the last time for the term of four years, and always with distinction—has naturally produced a great sensation; the greater from the obviously constrained silence of the French press upon the subject.

. . . . . .

M. de Moustier was ambassador at Berlin and Vienna before going to Constantinople. Though he has never achieved any European fame as a diplomatist, his colleagues who know him think that he lacked nothing but the opportunity to do so. So far as his appointment denotes anything further than a desire to secure harmony in the imperial councils, it would appear to indicate a disposition to cultivate friendly terms with the government at Berlin, where, I am told, M. de Moustier left a favorable impression, and where his appointment has been received with great satisfaction.

M. de La Valette did not receive the diplomatic corps yesterday. He was hunting with the Emperor, who has happily recovered sufficiently from his late illness to enjoy the sports of the chase.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, September 7, 1866.

Sir:

The press of this capital has been permitted of late to discuss with quite unaccustomed freedom, as you may have remarked, the questions growing out of the extraordinary and most embarrassing relations of France with Mexico. I enclose a few articles from journals which you are not likely to have seen, but to which I am disposed to attach more than ordinary importance.

The three articles from the enlightened and conscientious pen of Monsieur Cochut, which appeared in the *Temps* of the 18th, 22d, and 23d of August, are chiefly important for the information they lay before the French public for the first time in regard to the financial relations of France with Mexico. I have reason to suppose that the figures which he gives were received from the highest source.

The articles from the *Opinion Nationale* of the 29th[1] and 30th of August, from the pen of its editor, M. Guéroult, derive importance—

First, from the unusual freedom with which the Mexican enterprise is denounced in a journal which has been acquiring for a year past more and more official authority.

Second, from the fact that the writer is a member of the Corps Législatif for the city of Paris, and

Third, from the fact that he is supposed to consult with M. Rouher, the Minister of State, very freely upon all public questions in which the government is supposed to have a policy not already fully disclosed to the public. These considera-

[1] Appeared in the Diplomatic Correspondence for 1866.

tions enforce M. Guéroult's recommendation that the government should not attach an exaggerated importance to any promised indemnities for its Mexican investment, and above all should make no sacrifice and run no risk of ulterior complications to insure them. "Our insuccess," he says, "is complete, incontestable; and the only reasonable course to take is, to accept things as they are, without seeking to color, dissemble or extenuate them; the essential point is to finish with them, to finish radically, leaving nothing behind which can become a point of departure for new complications. It is not necessary," he says, "to leave garrisons in the seaports, when we leave Mexico, charged to collect the revenue for our benefit. That would only lead to a recommencement of difficulties without number, which would make us re-enter by another door the inextricable labyrinth from which we must get out at any price. We must cut into the quick; leave nothing behind; finish, at all hazards, this bad business. A few millions more or less are not an interest to be balanced against the freedom from anxiety which would result to us from the complete and radical termination of this unhappy affair. In a word, the Mexican expedition has been a bad business. We must set it down to profit and loss, and occupy ourselves no more with it; neither believing, nor appearing to believe, nor letting others believe, that any returns are to come from it. For the present we should pursue but one end: bring back our troops and our flag, establish with the government which shall succeed Maximilian's as good relations as the situation will permit, and which will assure us, as far as anything can be assured in that country, the safety of our country people."

M. Guéroult expresses the opinion which was given by M. Saillard to the Emperor on his return from Mexico, that there will never be a civilized government in that country till it has been born again into the United States. He says, and no doubt alludes to Saillard's remark: "All who have seen Mexico nearly, agree that she is destined to be devoured by the United States. They have already invaded, peopled and colonized California, Texas and New Mexico. The rest will follow as fast as (the traces of the civil war being effaced) their need of expansion shall be manifested."

In his article of the following day M. Guéroult treats of the liability of France for the loan negotiated here, if not through

the government, under government auspices. Without venturing to say whether the government ought to assume that loan, he presents the case so strongly in that direction as to indicate to my mind a disposition on the part of the government to assume it if public opinion should justify such a step. I think one of the purposes of M. Cochut's article of the 23d was to help prepare the public mind for that result.

Independent of the moral obligation of the government to assume those bonds from which it has itself received large sums, I think the Emperor would not be indisposed to profit by the transfer of those bonds from the shoulders of the few to the shoulders of the whole people, with the view of making the nation interested in treating them and the government under whose auspices they were issued as considerately as possible, and disposed to take advantage of any opportunity that may present itself, in future negotiations with the United States or Mexico, of realizing something from them.

I am, sir, etc.

From the Temps of August 18—Translation

THE MEXICAN CRISIS

The arrival of the Empress of Mexico in Paris has made the forgotten affairs of that country the order of the day. There is no doubt about the object of this voyage; the official journals of the Mexican empire thus divulged it on the 7th of July:

"Her Majesty the Empress starts for Europe to-morrow. She goes to treat about Mexican affairs and make various international arrangements. This mission, accepted by our sovereign with true patriotism, is the greatest proof of abnegation the Emperor could offer his new country. We give this news that the public may know the real intention of her Majesty's voyage."

Mystery is impossible in these important affairs, undertaken by such a courageous and intelligent sovereign. The news that has come to us from Mexico for several months explains the whole affair. The *New Era,* the semi-official journal of the French expedition, speaking of the Empress's departure, says: "Things look very gloomy." In Sonora and Sinaloa, near California, the imperial garrisons are much dimin-

ished, and disasters are anticipated. On the other limit, toward the Texas frontier, the rout of a column conveying a specie train, the desertion of many imperialists, the capture of Matamoras, where the Juarists had a rich booty of merchandise, the use of its entry fees, one of the most important ports to the Mexican treasury, the ports of Acapulco, on the Pacific, and Tampico both feebly defended, the warlike people of the Huasteca in rebellion—these are checks which the authorities do not try to conceal.

The aspect of affairs would be more gloomy still if paragraphs from American newspapers and scraps from private letters were taken into consideration. The official promise made in Paris before the Corps Législatif to recall the French troops, the only ones that inspired fear to the dissidents, has echoed widely in the New World, and has produced the anticipated effect. The republicans are so firmly convinced they are masters of the situation that the partisans of Juarez and Ortega are already contending for the presidency. Abominable and cruel reprisals terrify those who have openly declared for the new rule; and the poor Indians, not knowing what to do, hide themselves in the forests with their goods and cattle, and avoid both parties.

Well-established revenues could not long stand such a state of things; so the few and uncertain resources of the Mexican treasury were soon drained. By a formal order of Maximilian, great efforts are making to enforce the European engagements; but there is want in the civil departments, and even around the throne. The paragraph above quoted shows the discouraging crisis of the 5th of July. The abdication of Maximilian seems inevitable. The Empress, then, with that boldness we admire in the French, and which secures her our sympathy, developed a plan to restore the situation, and started for Paris the next day.

The court of Mexico complains of not being able to follow a proper policy, because it has no army at its disposal. The French generals, in their marches, follow their own will without making it accord with that of the government. The foreign auxiliaries have not performed what was expected of them, and some have been discharged. The troops called imperialists are, for the most part, bands of certain chiefs like Mejia, depending upon the influence of their leader.

According to Maximilian's advisers, then, the only means of safety is a national army of 40,000 men at the absolute disposal of the Emperor. A new plan was laid out: instead of hunting the dissidents wherever they were to be found, a centre was to be formed, and a line from Acapulco to Matamoras was to be held, without caring for the immense northern regions. Now, this army could only be formed by the aid of France, and in two ways: the French army was to remain in Mexico till the commencement of 1868, within a few months of the time fixed for the complete evacuation. At the same time France was

to furnish Maximilian one hundred millions of francs, to be paid monthly within two years, to pay for the organization of the national army. On such conditions the imperial government of Mexico could afford to let the French troops leave, and could guarantee the French interests in Mexico. If this indispensable aid was refused, the Empress of Mexico was to quit Paris for Miramar, where her husband was soon to join her.

We are not in the secret of the Mexican embassy, and we hesitate in publishing rumors about it that appear well founded; but, whatever may be the determination of the court of Mexico, *there is no doubt but it is a fearful crisis, and that the demands carried by the Empress Charlotte are an ultimatum, which, if refused, will be followed by the certain abdication of Maximilian.*

We are sorry to grieve those who yet believe in the security of the Mexican empire, but our duty is to tell them that nobody in France believes in it. *The Mexican question is dead, and its friends in France are mourning for it.* The government announced that the troops would be withdrawn from Mexico by the end of November, in three instalments, and that our expenses would decrease in the same proportion. The Corps Législatif welcomed this promise, and was comforted. The cause of war with the United States was removed, and the world rejoiced.

Even if the French government does not consider itself bound by its word, the new arrangement is inadmissible. In the present condition of things the Mexican expedition costs us fifty or sixty millions a year; out of that sum we have reimbursed ourselves, since the treaty of Miramar, with twenty-five millions, deducted from the Paris loans. The new arrangement would suppress this annuity, and throw the entire expense of occupation upon us. We would then have to furnish for two years fifty millions for our troops, and a like sum to recruit the native army. With this new arrangement what would become of the pretended balance of our budget, and the new extinguishment of which M. Fould is so proud?

What if we have to buy the securities of European creditors at the price they ask? We are told that the Mexican treasury will pay all its obligations if relieved for two years from all military charges; but how can we believe that Maximilian, if left to himself, confined to a small space by an enemy emboldened by success, can collect a revenue, which he has failed to do up to the present time, and pay an annuity of fifty-six millions of the foreign debt alone, to say nothing of other expenses? On the other hand, the difficulties that would be caused by Maximilian's abdication would require a prompt and radical solution. If the recall of our troops should take place before the time specified, there would be the dignity of our army to protect as it retired, and the safety of our citizens residing in Mexico to be insured; and we would

have to take care of the holders of Mexican bonds, who are of that class that could not afford to lose their little savings, so hardly gained, and whose sufferings would be irreparable. These are interests of importance to everybody, and it is necessary to attend to them. The decision of the government is, therefore, anxiously expected.

ANDRÉ COCHUT.

From the Temps of August 22—Translation

FRENCH INTERESTS IN MEXICO

It is hardly probable that the plan of the court of Mexico will be accepted by the French government. News from that country plainly shows that the experiment made at our cost is drawing to a close. We must anticipate difficulties, and prepare to meet them. The first is the withdrawal of our troops.

As Maximilian yields to discouragement, so must our military intervention be abridged. Public opinion would be pleased to see our expenses stopped, and the sufferings of our soldiers shortened. Moreover, in the present state of European politics, it is important to bring our troops back from such a distant country. The withdrawal, at present, has dangers we must notice. As soon as Maximilian declares his mission at an end, our regiments will be found scattered over a hostile country, and surrounded by an exasperated population, full of hate for the foreigner. Or shall we remain in presence of a new power, strong enough to maintain order, and wise enough to understand that a French army, supported by France, is to be respected? The French authorities in Mexico must see this alternative. Military movements in a vast country like that are always hazardous. No nation has vessels enough to bring back 30,000 men at once, with all their material. It would be very expensive to make use of merchant vessels. If the withdrawal took place gradually, the last detachments would have a hard time with the enemy and the hot region. They could not all embark at once. But these are obstacles that might be removed by experienced and scientific men. It is justly feared that the withdrawal of our troops would leave our citizens without protection. The number of Frenchmen in Mexico has increased from 4000 to 40,000, it is said, since the new order of things. Those who are acquainted with the people of that country know the danger to which our countrymen will be exposed when not protected by the French flag. We must acknowledge now that the resistance to Maximilian is not from a few

bands of robbers, as we have been too often told, but from a large class of republicans opposed to European intervention. This part of the population has been treated badly during the last two years, and but few of its families remain, whose only recollection of intervention will be of ruin and death. A Mexican is cruel and revengeful, and a severe retaliation is dreaded. One newspaper talks of *Mexican vespers*. It is horrible to believe in such predictions.

A large number of the immigrants that came to earn an honest living in Mexico will have to return with the army. Those of our countrymen who have been living a long time in Mexico have not taken part in Maximilian's cause, and they are wise enough to see the consequences. Many of them have been prudent enough to assume American citizenship for protection, in anticipation of trouble. The city is filled with shops having the names of Johnson or Wilson on their signs. There will certainly be days of trouble when the transition does take place; but foreigners, long resident in Mexico, are accustomed to those political tempests, and know how to escape them. It is to be hoped that the French military authorities will take measures with the new power, whatever it may be, to protect our countrymen after the army is withdrawn.

There is another question, that in regard to the holders of Mexican bonds, which interests more than 300,000 families. We will reserve for to-morrow the information we have collected on this subject, together with our own observations.

ANDRÉ COCHUT.

From the Temps of August 23—Translation

MEXICAN OBLIGATIONS

The question of the strange and exceptional situation of the holders of Mexican obligations was not caused by the probable abdication of the Emperor Maximilian, but was the order of the day in the government councils, as is known from semi-official sources. On the 2d of July last, when six thousand breathless spectators were waiting for the drawing of the great Mexican lottery, one of the attendants remarked to M. Germiny that the holders of the obligations were not in despair at the depreciation of their titles, because they relied upon the government of the Emperor to secure them; and M. Germiny answered him in a way to confirm him in that hope.

The serious difficulty of to-day was foreseen, and warnings to those in power were not spared.

Last year, when the obligations were issued with a *quasi*-official display, the attitude assumed by the government was remarked by everybody. These demonstrations inspired capitalists with confidence, in case of failure, to ask a guaranty, and the determination was expressed with energy before the legislative body. If the loan succeeds, said Ernest Picard, it is because the subscribers see the government behind it, in its strength, majesty and responsibility. The *Temps*, that did not encourage the Mexican delusion, had the same opinion, and expatiated upon it urgently. After analyzing the debates of the legislative body that destroyed the loan, shortly before it was negotiated, we said:

"Suppose the one hundred and fifty millions of revenue expected by M. Corta are not realized in the distracted country of Mexico, and that the provisions for the annual payments are in arrears, you will see the subscribers hurrying to the counter in Rue Mont Thabor, with the *Moniteur* of the 11th and 12th of April in their hands, and the speeches of M. Corta and M. Rouher republished in every paper.

"Can we understand how the French government piteously assumes neutrality, which it has a right to do, after insuring the investment as good? You may be assured that such is the reasoning now in many families. The expectation that the imperial government will not suffer Maximilian's signature to be protested, whatever may happen, is the great encouragement to the loan."

It is undoubtedly true that the imperial government did not bind itself; a civil tribunal could not force it to give security. Yet it often happens that a defendant is exonerated by the judge when there is no written evidence against him. But would a government hold to such a judgment? Let us bring up facts.

In April, 1864, Maximilian took possession of the throne erected for him; and, according to tradition, his first act of sovereignty was the negotiation of a loan. It was to yield 10 per cent. It was started in Paris and London by two rich and experienced houses of Europe. The French government set an example of confidence by accepting its titles up to fifty-four millions, to be drawn to its credit. Yet for all that the loan failed. The director of the Crédit Mobilier said in his report for 1865: "We have omitted no sacrifice to better the condition of our customers, but we regret to confess that our efforts have caused us a considerable loss." Such is the Mexican credit, left to itself, with an interest of 10 per cent. Only a part of it was sold, and the French treasury kept the Mexican loan, just so much waste paper, in the hands of M. Fould.

One year passed. Mexico is so pressed for money that military operations suffer. The Emperor Maximilian has no credit; so the French government has to choose one of three things: either to give up the expedition and recall its troops, or invest the credit of France for the

benefit of Mexico, or to call for a Mexican loan publicly, and thus give it a moral patronage that would make its success certain.

The last plan was adopted, as the most simple and less expensive. The government was confident of its success, and so was a majority of the legislative body, as its acts prove. The objections of a few well-informed men were thought to arise from obstinate opposition. The conditions of the loan together with the lottery amounted to about 12 per cent., which is not a high rate for Spanish-American countries. The loan was advertised. Ten days before the opening of the public subscription a serious debate took place in the Corps Législatif upon Mexican affairs. M. Corta, the deputy who was sent to Mexico by the government to examine affairs, was invited to speak. He gave a flattering account of the resources of the country, and the brilliant prospects of the monarchy. The opposition expressed some doubts. The Minister of State followed, with a pretty picture of immense immigration, banks, joint stock and steamship companies, factories, gold, silver, iron and coal mines, oil wells—to be discovered and worked. "As to the finances," said the minister, "has not the report of the Hon. M. Corta convinced the House of the abundant resources of the country?" And the House answered, "Yes! yes!"

The minister's confidence was so great it ran over in these terms:

"You may rest assured, gentlemen, that the great ability of the Emperor Maximilian will insure prosperity to the finances of the Mexican empire, and undoubted security to those who intrust him with their money." [Cries of "Good!" "Good!" in the House.]

True, M. Rouher took care to add: "It is not now a question of responsibility of the French government. France does not interfere—nor does she guarantee the Mexican loan, directly or indirectly." Could he say aught else? It would have been very imprudent in him. A single word intimating French guaranty would have raised the obligations instantly from 340 to 1000 francs. But we must not forget that the government desired the success of the loan without direct responsibility.

M. Picard still had his doubts. He said: "Subscribers lost 20 per cent. on the first loan, and now you talk of a second!" M. Rouher answered: "You are interested in this loan, and when the holders read your speech to-morrow, if they believe what you say, they most assuredly will not hasten up with their money. . . . These distrusts, these irresponsible criticisms that cause alarm, are impotent and empty, and persons will be right in paying no attention to them." [This was received with much applause.]

This loan is issued by the discount bank, and the public knows the establishment, bound by its charter, could open no subscription of that kind without the special authority of the Minister of Finance; and the receivers-general of France are authorized by the minister to receive

subscriptions. The care of the funds collected and the payment of the interest are intrusted to a committee of Mexican financiers, established in Paris, and presided over by Count Germiny, nominated by the French government, who is a senator, former Minister of Finance, and ex-governor of the Bank of France. A state counsellor and eminent statesman, M. Langlais, is sent to Mexico to put the financial affairs of Maximilian in order. While the instalments due from subscribers are being paid in, confidence is encouraged by semimonthly applause in the *Moniteur*, repeated by other papers. Did a government ever before take so much trouble to help a negotiation in which it had no interest?

But this is not all. The French treasury held a credit of fifty-four millions of the first loan. It was necessary to realize that sum in order to free the floating debt, which increased the sum. This was not easy. Mexican credit had fallen so much that the revenue of the first emission, yielding more than 12 per cent. at that time, was not salable. The conversion of these rentes into obligations with premiums and lotteries was effected, and on that occasion M. Fould hurried to transform his unprofitable rentes into obligations, so as to clear his portfolio. In his report of the 20th December, 1865, to the Emperor, he declares he has realized the rentes he held, but at some loss. Do you suppose the minister would have thrown new Mexican obligations into market last year unless he believed them good? It seems to us of great importance to enlighten the public in regard to the funds raised for Mexico. We have some information on the subject, from good authority, which we will give.

One of the principal clauses in the treaty of Miramar was the emission of a loan to be divided into two portions, one to indemnify France for expenses already incurred and private claims to be made out; the other to furnish the sinews of war. The loan of 1864 was issued in 6 per cent. rentes, delivered at 63. The French treasury received rente titles amounting to 6,600,000 francs, to pay its indemnities and claims, and locked them in its portfolio. Of the portion offered to the public only 10,162,000 francs of the 6 per cents. were negotiated in London and Paris—the rich profits of which were in round numbers 102,000,000 francs. The second issue, in 1865, of 500,000 obligations, at 340 francs, yielded 170,000,000. Total amount of both, 272,000,000. The expenses of both were 26,000,000, which leaves a net profit of 246,000,000 delivered to the committee of Mexican finances.

. . . . . .

If our information is correct, there yet remain in the French treasury 114,000 Mexican obligations unrealized: 47,000 for indemnities to French subjects, and about 83,000 of the unconverted rentes of the first issue, still in the hands of the Mexican committee. At this rate,

there are 756,000 classified obligations in public circulation, and they are dispersed among more than 300,000 families.

Now if these obscure bondholders are not indemnified, they will have the honor of contributing 102,000,000 to the support of the French army in Mexico; and in the end the French creditors in Mexico and English creditors in London will be paid by a new and long list of creditors in Paris. We are now only repeating what these bondholders say, and their complaints are certainly worthy of being heard.

On the other hand, we know very well what the taxpayers will say, and we will soon give them a chance to speak. We must confess that this is the most complicated and interesting case of conscience we have ever met with, and we are not ashamed to say we are not casuist enough to solve it.

André Cochut.

From the Opinion Nationale of August 30—Translation

SUBSCRIBERS TO THE MEXICAN LOAN

The probable failure of the Mexican empire will not only ruin our countrymen residing in Mexico, but will seriously injure pecuniarily all who took part in the Mexican loan. It is already announced that the interest on the bonds will not be paid, and that the lottery their titles call for will not be drawn. Here, then, are 756,000 bonds scattered among 300,000 families, worth no more than waste paper.

If the loan had been offered to the public by private banks, without recommendation of the French government, we would pity the bad luck of the subscribers, because they could have no hope of compensation. They would have to bear their disappointment with resignation.

Unfortunately, such is not the case. The French government, wishing to keep Maximilian, encouraged the loan, and made public efforts for its success. A committee of Mexican finance was formed in Paris, with Count Germiny at its head. M. Langlais, a state counsellor, was sent to Mexico to put financial affairs in order. The discount bank authorized by the government undertook to dispose of the Mexican loan, and, in fine, receivers-general in France were authorized agents to receive subscriptions and forward them to the bank in Paris. These different measures, without binding the government directly, were equivalent to a recommendation, as it is not its custom to take an interest in any financial operation outside of its own loans.

And its public language in congress was favorable to the Mexican

empire, promising a most brilliant prospect. M. Corta, who was sent on a financial mission to Mexico, gave the legislative body a most brilliant picture of Mexican resources, and the Minister of State used it to confirm the doubting, saying: "The great capability of the Emperor Maximilian will assure prosperity to Mexican finances, and a certain guaranty to those who intrust him with their money." The minister believed it, and he convinced others; and so the loan was a success. Would it have succeeded if the government had remained neutral, or M. Rouher and M. Corta had kept silence, or the discount bank kept out of it, or the Minister of Finance had not authorized the receivers-general to act as agents for it? We doubt it.

Another weight to the arguments of those on the subscribers' side is that out of the two hundred and forty-six millions realized, one hundred and two millions went into the French treasury to pay war expenses, etc. The French treasury has absorbed the subscribers' money, then, and owes them nothing.

It is singular, and not generally known, that Maximilian got only thirty-four millions out of the two hundred and forty-six, together with twenty-two millions paid for him in London, making a total of fifty-six millions.

The situation being as we have described, the question that arises is this: Has the French government contracted any obligation toward the subscribers to the Mexican loan, and ought it to aid them in any way?

It is a serious question, and is worthy of serious discussion. One party says the French treasury has already sacrificed too much in this unfortunate expedition; that the government has not guaranteed the Mexican loan; that it did not promise a guaranty by encouraging the loan; that the public would oppose any increase of expenses; let the subscribers take care of themselves; their high interest and lottery prizes were enough to compensate them; if the Mexican empire had succeeded, their gains would have been immense, and they would not have shared with the French treasury; but luck having gone against them, they have no reason to complain, and should not ask the nation to repair their losses. These reasonings are serious, and merit a profound examination.

The other side reasons thus: Though the government may not have guaranteed the loan, yet it sanctioned it morally by favoring it, permitting public institutions and officers to act as agents for it; by persuading the public of its validity; thus the loan was sustained. If these seeming encouragements, given in the beginning, cannot now be interpreted as insuring it, the government certainly acted imprudently. In fact, the government has made one hundred and two millions by it, which it now holds and still refuses to reimburse the subscribers. Three hundred thousand families are injured by it, and the govern-

ment has made one million of enemies, and policy as well as justice condemns it.

These two opposing theses are not lacking in force or sound arguments. The affair is embarrassing, and its solution difficult. If we lived in England or Belgium, it is probable the immediate consequence would be a change of cabinet; but to those concerned the question would remain entire, and the new ministers, though not responsible for the past, would be bound to attend to the necessities of the future. With us, where there is no ministerial responsibility, a change of cabinet would do no good. Those who committed the error will have to repair it. How this is to be done we cannot say, but it is evident that something must be done.

The press puts the question, and the government must answer it.

AD. GUÉROULT.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, September 13, 1866.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No. 518, instructing me to adopt such course as I may think proper "to have the prohibition which has for some time past been in force against quoting the United States securities on the Paris Exchange removed."

The Department labors under a misapprehension in supposing that the quotation of sales of American securities at the French Bourse has been prohibited. No quotations of sales can be made of any securities there without previous permission of the Government. Though no such permission has ever been granted, strictly speaking there has been no prohibition.

Mr. Dayton unofficially asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1863[1] for such permission, and it was refused on the grounds that we had not been very complaisant to France in some matters, and because, if permitted, the Southern States in their separate capacity or as associated together for certain purposes would probably present a like claim to have their

[1] Dayton to Seward, Dip. Cor. 1863, Desp. 311.

stocks of cotton loans quoted on the French Bourse, and that this would not be desirable.[1]

The subject has been left in that position ever since. Our bonds were never quoted at the Bourse, no more before the war than now, nor, on the other hand, was their quotation ever suspended or prohibited. I had occasion to look into this subject a little, shortly after the termination of our war, to determine whether it was my duty to renew the application of Mr. Dayton, and I came deliberately to the conclusion that it was not, and that the best thing our government could do under the circumstances was to do nothing. It is no longer, if it ever was, prejudicial to our credit not to have our funds quoted at this Bourse. British Consols are not quoted here, nor scarcely any other foreign securities of unimpeachable credit. If the brokers of Paris found it decidedly for their interest to have our funds quoted, they would call upon the government to have them inscribed on the official list, and I incline to think the permission would be granted without hesitation, but it is not into first-class securities that this class of tradesmen prefer to see the capital of the country run. You can ascertain the kind of funds which they most affect by looking at the list of sales at the Bourse as reported in any Paris journal. There are daily quotations of Austrian, Spanish, Ottoman, Mexican, Italian, Roman and Tunisian securities, which taken at their real value would require a wheelbarrow load to buy a breakfast with. I enclose a list of all the foreign national securities that enjoy the privilege which Mr. McCulloch desires to secure for ours. It was handed to me by the Baron Rothschild yesterday with the assurance that it was complete. Of the twelve national loans on that list there are but two that enjoy passable credit, and I dare say, if their history were known, it would be found that they would not deserve to modify the conclusion I have reached. England, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, Switzerland, all money-borrowing states, but in good credit, do not appear on this list. I presume they have not found it for their interest to be inscribed there, for if they had there is no room for a reasonable doubt that all of them would have been received.

It is not necessary for me to explain why brokers and stock

[1] Dayton to Seward, Dip. Cor. 1863, Desp. 320. They had already done so with their cotton loan in 1863.

gamblers usually take to a market which most abounds in what are called speculative or fancy stocks, nor why the French government prefers that its funds should only come into competition with securities of an inferior credit. Both think they consult their interest in cultivating such a market, and one of the inevitable consequences is that, as a rule, no foreign state asks for the publicity of the Paris Bourse that is in good credit with its own people.

It must not be supposed that quotations at the Bourse are indispensable to a commerce in our bonds. If they were quoted at the Bourse it would undoubtedly be evidence of a greater demand, but it is not so clear that it would materially increase that demand. The only purchasers whom it is desirable for us to encourage, assuming, as Mr. McCulloch seems to, that it is for our interests to extend the sale of our bonds in foreign countries while they are selling at thirty per cent. discount, are those who buy for investment. Such purchasers usually consult their bankers and are guided by their advice and not by the Bourse. Our bonds are quoted daily in London, Amsterdam and Frankfort, and their market value in Europe is as well ascertained by these means as if they were officially quoted here. It is difficult to see, therefore, how the market for our bonds can be seriously prejudiced by their being denied a place by the side of the bonds of Italy, Mexico, Turkey, Austria and Hayti in the *Cours Authentique* of Paris.

If, however, I am mistaken in the view here presented, permit me to suggest that those who interest themselves in this matter, and whom I assume to be dealers or representatives of dealers in our securities in Paris—otherwise their representations deserve no attention—make their application directly to the French Government, and in case they are refused, which I do not apprehend, let them be referred to me, with the reason assigned for such refusal. If those reasons are such as to furnish me with a pretext for bringing the subject to the attention of the government, I could avail myself of it without prejudice to our credit. Without such a pretext I fear I should be placing the United States apparently in that large category of states which go abroad for the credit that they do not enjoy at home, and thus do our securities more harm than good. The credit of the United States is now excellent here and is growing better as fast as possible. In my judgment it is not desir-

able to stimulate it at all at present. The more indifferent we appear about selling and the more reliance we seem to place upon our own resources, the more rapidly will the European demand develop itself; whereas the manifestation of any strong desire on the part of our government to reach foreign markets will have precisely the contrary effect. The difference in revenue accruing from ours and any European security is quite sufficient to prevent the more productive one from being overlooked or neglected. The only question about our bonds with Europeans now is the question of security, and they would gain little if anything in that respect by being quoted at the Bourse.

As it will take but a few weeks for you to let me know what, if any, importance deserves to attach to the considerations I have here presented, I have concluded to await a reply to this communication before bringing the subject of your instruction to the notice of the Emperor's government. I trust that in taking upon myself this responsibility I shall only prove to you my desire to serve the government most effectually and to execute the spirit of your instructions.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, September 13, 1866.

Sir:

In compliance with the request of the Abbé Adolphe de Bouclou, I have the honor to transmit to you two copies of a work which he has just published on the life and services of Liberge de Granchain, Captain in the French Navy under the reign of Louis XVI. One of these volumes is designed for the President and the other for our "National Library." I will thank you to see that they reach their destination. Captain de Granchain was an officer of considerable merit, who, with so many others of his chivalric countrymen, took a prominent part in our war for independence, and who claims, not without

some show of title, a respectable portion of the credit of having planned the campaign which resulted in the surrender of Cornwallis. He also commanded the vessel which brought Lafayette back to France after the peace. A third of the volume is devoted to his naval operations in aid of America and contains many hitherto unpublished letters from him of historic value. He felt great pride in what he had done for the United States, and at that early day confidently predicted for them a glorious destiny. Immediately after the battle of the Chesapeake, in which he bore a very distinguished part, he wrote to a friend in France: "Make peace then in France, that I may have a little repose, but do not make it at the expense of America. I do not know if this people has all the title to freedom, political and natural, to which it pretends, but I do know that the epoch of their liberty will be one of the most interesting in the history of the human race, and I am very glad to have been a witness of it, and to have co-operated in its accomplishment."

I venture to suggest that the receipt of these volumes be separately acknowledged in behalf of the President and of the Library which best answers to the title of National.

I am, Sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO MONSIEUR A. DE BOUCLOU

Légation des États-Unis,
Paris, le 13 septembre 1866.

Monsieur:

Je m'empresse de vous remercier de votre intéressante étude sur le Capitaine de Granchain et de votre lettre du 11 courtant qui me sont parvenue hier. Les exemplaires destinés au Président des États-Unis et à notre Bibliothèque Nationale seront expédiés par le steamer de samedi prochain, et je pense vous promettre pour eux l'accueil le plus cordial. Vous avez rendu un grand service à mon pays aussi bien qu'au vôtre en relevant le nom du capitaine de Granchain de l'oubli dans lequel il était enseveli depuis près d'un siècle. Votre ouvrage pré-

sente aussi sous un jour nouveau, et vous faites mieux connaître, la conduite de beaucoup d'autre personnes parmis celles qui prirent part à cette importante lutte dont votre héros a dit, avec tant de raison, qu'elle était "une des plus intéressante de l'histoire du genre humain."

J'ai observé deux ou trois erreurs dans l'orthographe des noms propres et en géographie, résultant évidement de l'obscurité des manuscrits et que je crois devoir vous signaler afin qu'elles puissent être corrigées dans une nouvelle édition, si, comme je l'espère et le crois, une autre édition devient nécessaire.

Pp. 270, 271. Vous parlez de la prise de Charlestown, la capitale de le Georgie. Ce devrait être la prise de Charleston, la capitale commerciale de la Caroline du Sud. Charlestown n'est ni en Georgie ni le siège du Gouvernement de l'État de la Caroline du Sud.

274. Vous dîtes, "Il les autorisa à requérir les milices de l'État de Boston," etc. Boston n'est pas un État mais une ville: c'est la capitale du Massachusetts.

275. "Hartfort" devrait être écrit "Hartford."

321. "Yorktown aujourd'hui Washington." Ceci est une erreur: Yorktown est toujours dans la Virginie, et Washington est de la District de la Colombie.

436. "Westbaune" devrait évidement être "Westbank," qui est le nom de l'endroit sur les cotes du New Jersey, où l'accident au navire du capitaine est dit être arrivé.

Aucune de ces erreurs est bien importante, mais elles méritent cependant d'être corrigées dans la seconde édition.

Je vous serai fort reconnaissant de vouloir bien me faire savoir ou je pourrais trouver la "Correspondance Secrète" dont vous faites des citations des "mémoires de Lauzun" que vous citez. Si cela ne vous dérange pas trop, je serais aussi bien aise d'avoir la liste complète des personnes faisant partie de l'expédition de M. de Ternay dont vous nommez quelques unes à la page 272.

Avez-vous connaissance du compte rendu de la bataille de la Chesapeake transmis par le capitaine de Granchain aux journeaux américains, et pourriez-vous me donner le nom d'un journal dans lequel il ait été publié?

Permettez-moi de vous remercier de nouveau en mon nom et au nom de mon pays du monument durable que vous venez

d'élever à la mémoire d'un de ses premiers et de ses plus généreux bienfaiteurs.

Agréez, Monsieur, l'assurance de mes sentiments les plus distingués.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, September 14, 1866.

Sir:

The *Moniteur* of yesterday morning contains a convention which has just been negotiated between the Emperor of France and the so-called emperor of Mexico, of which I enclose a translation. It is designed to give to France a lien upon one-half the maritime customs receipts of all Mexico, and one-fourth of all the Pacific coast export duties, the remaining three-fourths being already pledged otherwise. It is stipulated that the funds to be collected from these sources shall be appropriated to the payment of—

1st. Interest, sinking fund, and principal of obligations resulting from the two loans made in 1864 and 1865 by the Mexican government; and,

2d. Interest at the rate of three per cent. on the sum of 216,000,000 francs, acknowledged by the convention of Miramar to be due to France from the Mexican government; and,

3d. Interest upon all sums advanced by the French treasury for whatsoever purpose, estimated now approximately at 250,000,000 of francs; the amount, however, to be hereafter definitely ascertained.

The collection of these duties is to be intrusted, at the ports of Vera Cruz and Tampico, to special agents under the protection of the French flag. French consular agents are to certify the returns from other ports. The Emperor of France alone has authority to decide how long the collectors of customs shall remain at Tampico and Vera Cruz, and he engages to take the requisite measures to protect them. The financial provisions of the Miramar convention of the 10th of April, 1864, are to be considered as abrogated, from the time to be designated by the Emperor of France for the new treaty to go into effect, which

is declared by the imperial decree accompanying the convention to be the 1st of November next.

The terms of this convention correspond substantially with what I prefigured in one of my communications to you early in the year. They correspond also with the terms of negotiation sent to the French minister in Mexico, by M. Drouyn de Lhuys, in a communication bearing date February 16, 1866, which you will find in Documents Diplomatiques, No. VII, the second Yellow Book, communicated to the Corps Législatif at its last session, on page 37. The passage to which I refer runs as follows:

"The government of the Emperor has thought that the combination the most simple and least onerous for the Mexican government would consist in the delivery into our hands of the customs of Vera Cruz and Tampico, or of others which may be thought more convenient. Half the products would be assigned to us to be applied, a portion to the payment of the interest at three per cent. of our credits, estimated at 250,000,000; and the remainder as a partial guaranty of the interest due to holders of the loans of 1864 and 1865. Administered by our care, it is to be hoped that these customs will furnish still, after the deductions previously agreed upon, important resources. You will therefore make with the cabinet of Mexico the necessary arrangements for this transfer to us."

It is a curious coincidence that on the 1st of August, the day after this convention was signed at Mexico by Maximilian, assigning away the duties to be collected at Tampico, that town was wrested from his control by the Mexican people; leaving, therefore, for the present at least, only Vera Cruz to respond to the expectations of his transatlantic ally.

A few days since, and before the convention in question abrogating the treaty of Miramar, and depriving Maximilian of his only reliable pecuniary resource, was ratified here, it was announced that General Castelnau, aide-de-camp of the Emperor of France, was to leave for Mexico in the steamer of the 17th instant, charged with a special mission, of which an officious explanation appeared in the *Patrie* [of September 12], and was from thence generally transferred to the French press. It runs as follows:

"We believe that we can state that the mission of General Castelnau to Mexico is connected with the approaching realiza-

tion of an entire reorganization. The plan involves several administrative and military reforms, which are to come into operation in the month of December next. The nominations of General Osmont as Minister of War, and M. Friaut as Minister of Finance, were only the commencement of this new situation. According to the bases adopted for the Mexican army, that force, commanded principally by French officers, is not only to maintain order and tranquillity in the country, but to be employed to manage the different services, both administrative and financial. The employees requisite for that purpose are to be selected from its ranks. This system, intended to last for three or four years, will have the advantage of enabling great savings to be effected, since Mexico will then have no other expense to meet than the support of the army, while it will satisfy the most pressing requirements of the inhabitants, whose first wants are order and economy. The organization of the new Mexican army—the basis of this system—was rapidly advancing by the last accounts. The number of voluntary enlistments was so great as to warrant the suspension of the conscription. As soon as the army shall be entirely formed it will take possession of the different services, and it is hoped that this substitution can be effected before the departure of the last contingent of the French expeditionary corps. When General Castelnau, as French commissioner, shall have regulated the different questions to which the adhesion of France is considered necessary, he will return to Paris, where he is expected to arrive in the early part of December. It is asserted that Marshal Bazaine, who will no longer have a command suited to his high rank, will leave Mexico about the same period."

The appointment of the French officers Osmont and Friaut as Ministers of War and Finance by the Emperor Maximilian seemed to be regarded by the print from which I quote as a part of a new programme for the reorganization of the Mexican government, and to lay a foundation for the inference that Maximilian was preparing to make the Emperor of France, if he took the custom-houses, take with them the responsibilities of the government. This, however, does not prove to be to the taste of the Emperor of France, as I infer from the following paragraph, which appears in the *Moniteur* of this morning:

"By a decree of the 26th July, his Majesty the Emperor

of Mexico has intrusted the portfolio of war to General Osmont, chief of the general staff of the expeditionary corps, and that of finance to the military intendant, Friaut. The military duties of these two superior officers, attached to an army in the field, being incompatible with the responsibility of their new functions, they have not been authorized to accept them."

The facts which I have here recited require no amplification to show the deplorable situation in which these two governments have placed themselves, as well toward the rest of the world as toward each other. It is enough to say that to all appearance they are in a state of complete disaccord, and in a position from which it is extremely difficult to see how either can extricate itself with dignity or with honor. Everything that has thus far transpired favors the suspicion that Maximilian is anxious to transfer his ill-starred offspring to the arms of the Emperor of France, who does not seem disposed to accept it.

I have not yet seen the Minister of Foreign Affairs *ad interim,* who yesterday again pleaded an engagement with the Emperor as his excuse for not receiving the diplomatic corps. It is now presumed that there will be no official receptions at the foreign office until M. de Moustier arrives, except upon special applications. It is understood that the Emperor leaves for Biarritz on Monday, and that M. de Moustier, who is expected to land in France early in October, will join his Majesty there before coming to Paris. In view of such a contingency, I propose myself to leave for Biarritz to-morrow.

I annex a translation of an article commenting upon and explaining the recent convention between the Emperor and Maximilian, which appears in the *Constitutionnel* of this morning. It may be regarded as semi-official.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

From the Moniteur Universel of September 13, 1866—Translation

IMPERIAL DECREE FOR THE PROMULGATION OF THE CONVENTION SIGNED AT MEXICO, JULY 30, 1866, RELATIVE TO THE DELEGATION[1] GRANTED TO THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT ON THE CUSTOMS RECEIPTS OF MEXICO

PARIS, September 12.

Napoleon, by the grace of God and the national will Emperor of the French, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting: Considering the report made by our Minister Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, have decreed and do decree as follows:

ARTICLE 1

A convention relative to the delegation granted to the French government on the customs receipts of Mexico having been signed at Mexico on the 30th of July, 1866, the said convention, the terms of which follow, being approved of by us, shall be fully and completely carried out, beginning on the 1st day of November, 1866.

Convention

His Majesty the Emperor of the French and his Majesty the Emperor of Mexico, actuated by a wish to settle in a mutually satisfactory manner the financial questions now pending between their governments, have resolved to enter into a convention for that purpose, and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries, namely:

His Majesty the Emperor of the French, M. Alphonse Dano, his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary in Mexico, commander of the imperial order of the Legion of Honor, grand cross of the order of Guadalupe, etc., etc., etc., acting under his general full powers; his Majesty the Emperor of Mexico, M. Luis de Arroyo, Under-Secretary of State, chargé of the department of foreign affairs, officer of the order of Guadalupe, etc., etc., etc., authorized for that purpose; who have agreed upon the following articles:

ARTICLE 1. The Mexican government grants to the French government a delegation on one-half the receipts of all the seaport customhouses of the empire arising from the duties hereafter mentioned.

General and special duties of import and export on goods of all kinds.

Additional duties of *internacion* and *contra-registro*.

Duties of *majoras materiales*, when these latter shall be freed from

[1] Delegation or lien.

the existing delegation, granted for the benefit of the railroad company from Vera Cruz to Mexico, which delegation shall not be extended.

Nevertheless, three-fourths of the export duties of the custom-houses on the Pacific being already pledged, the delegation granted to the French government shall be restricted to the remaining twenty-five per cent.

Art. 2. The funds collected through the delegation agreed on in the preceding article shall be applied, 1st. To the payment of the interest on the sinking fund, and the payment of all the obligations (bonds) arising from the two loans contracted in 1864 and 1865 by the Mexican government. 2d. To the payment of the interest, at the rate of three per cent., of the sum of two hundred and sixteen millions of francs, of which the Mexican government has acknowledged itself debtor by the Miramar convention, and of all the sums subsequently advanced by the French treasury for whatsoever purpose. The amount of this debt, now estimated by approximation at two hundred and fifty millions of francs, shall be hereafter definitively established.

In case of the funds being insufficient to fully meet the above-mentioned charges, the rights of the holders of bonds of both loans and those of the French government shall be fully reserved.

Art. 3. The funds arising from the delegation of one-half of the proceeds of Mexican customs will increase in proportion with the receipts, and in case these funds should exceed the sum requisite to satisfy the claims set forth in Article 3[1], the surplus shall be applied to cancelling the debt due to the French government.

Art. 4. The tariff of duties and the mode of levying it now in use can in no wise be altered so as to diminish the quota granted.

Art. 5. The collecting of the moneys arising from the delegation mentioned in Article 1 shall be intrusted at Vera Cruz and Tampico to special agents, placed under the protection of the French flag.

All the duties levied at these two places on account of the Mexican treasury shall be applied in full to the benefit of the French delegation, excepting only such portions as are applied to delegations presently existing and to the salary of the employees of those two custom-houses. The amount of this latter expense, which will include the salaries allowed to the French agents, shall in no case exceed five per cent. of the above-mentioned duties. A quarterly statement of accounts shall show the amount thus levied by the French government, and the proceeds of the delegated duties for all the custom-houses of the empire. This statement shall determine the amount to be immediately paid in by the Mexican government in order to complete the quota granted, if there be a deficiency, or the amount to be returned to it in like manner in case of excess in collecting.

[1] This doubtless should read Article 2.

In all the ports, except Vera Cruz and Tampico, the French consular agents shall visé the returns of the situation of the custom-houses of their district.

ART. 6. The Emperor Napoleon III. shall alone decide how long the agents appointed collectors shall remain at Vera Cruz and Tampico, and take the measures requisite to insure their protection.

ART. 7. The above-mentioned stipulations shall be submitted to the Emperor of the French for approval, and be enforced from the time appointed by his Majesty.

The convention signed at Miramar on the 10th of April, 1864, shall then be abrogated in all points relating to financial matters.

In token of which the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the present convention, to which they have set their seals.

Made double at Mexico on the 30th day of July, A.D. 1866.

LUIS DE ARROYO.
ALPH. DANO.

ARTICLE 2

Our Minister Secretary of State for Home Affairs, Chargé of Foreign Affairs *ad interim,* is intrusted with the execution of the present decree.

Given at Saint-Cloud September 12, 1866.

NAPOLEON.

Seen and sealed with the seal of state.

By the Emperor:

J. BAROCHE,
The Keeper of the Seal,
Minister of Justice and Public Worship.

LA VALETTE,
The Minister for Home Affairs,
Chargé of Foreign Affairs ad interim.

From the Constitutionnel of September 14, 1866—Translation

The value of the convention, the text of which is given above, will be at once understood by all, and especially appreciated by the creditors of the new Mexican empire.

In consequence of this act, one-half of all the revenue derived from general and special import and export duties on all merchandise entering Mexico, and on silver bars and other indigenous productions sent abroad, as well as of the additional duties of *internacion* and of *contra-registro,* will be paid over into the French treasury.

Our readers will doubtless remember that the duty *de contra-regis-*

tro is a registration tax, and that of *internacion* a clearage tax on goods going from the custom-house into the interior of the country. This latter duty was formerly collected only at the place where the goods sent inland left the seaports' *circonscription,* but now a recent regulation from Emperor Maximilian makes it payable on all goods the moment they arrive. The duty of *internacion* is 15 per cent., not *ad valorem,* but on the entrance duty imposed on the goods; it is a sort of tithe.

A third additional duty, this latter amounting to 20 per cent., shall also be applied to complete the quota of one-half which is granted us, but only when it shall be free from existing liens; it is the tax called *majoras materiales* (material improvements). This tax is actually pledged for a little while yet as a subsidy for the benefit of the railroad company from Vera Cruz to Mexico.

The same state of things occurs concerning the duties of export only, not of import, through the ports of the Pacific—at Acapulco, Mazatlan, San Blas, and Guayamas. The revenues from that source are applied partly to the payment of international debts, and partly as a subsidy for the railroad which is hereafter to connect the capital with the Pacific Ocean.

Last year the seaport customs produced sixty-five millions. The right to collect one-half of them is, therefore, no inconsiderable object, and such resources will be sufficient to meet many of the engagements of the Mexican government.

These engagements are recited in the second article of the convention, as follows:

The funds collected through the delegation [a lien] agreed on in the preceding article shall be applied—

1. To the payment of the interests, the sinking fund, and the payment of all the obligations [bonds] arising from the two loans contracted in 1864 and 1865 by the Mexican government.

2. To the payment of the interests, at the rate of 3 per cent., of the sum of two hundred and sixteen millions of francs, of which the Mexican government has acknowledged itself debtor by the Miramar convention, and of all the sums subsequently advanced by the French treasury, for whatever purpose. The amount of this debt, now estimated by approximation at two hundred and fifty millions of francs, shall be hereafter definitively established.

This assignment of revenue for the benefit of creditors is but an appropriation of securities; it is not a payment liberating the Mexican government from all indebtedness toward its various creditors. Hence the rights of holders of bonds of both loans, as well as those of the French government, are expressly reserved.

Should, on the other hand, the funds thus received in consequence of increasing international commerce exceed the interest to be paid

by the Mexican government, the surplus shall be applied to a gradual cancelling of its indebtedness to the French government.

Mexico having surrendered the right to diminish henceforth the import and export duties, this assignment has a fixed basis which cannot be removed, but which can only fluctuate in consequence of an increase or a decrease in the commercial movement which has been steadily on the increase since our occupancy.

There is no reason to fear that any circumstances, foreseen or unforeseen, can either suppress or delay this levying on the revenue, as it is to be effected in the two principal ports of import and export at Vera Cruz and Tampico by special agents placed under the protection of the French flag, and most likely French subjects.

This measure will not only prevent any of the duties collected being diverted from its proper use to our loss; it will also be beneficial to the Mexican government; for our agents, better accustomed to administrative regularity, endowed with more vigilance and energy, and more skilful in ferreting out and baffling fraud, will watch with greater care the collecting of the revenue.

In all the ports except Vera Cruz and Tampico the French consular agents shall visé the returns of the situation of the custom-houses of their district.

The agents appointed collectors of customs shall be paid by the Mexican government; but, in order to prevent their salary ever becoming a burden on the imperial treasury, the latter shall contribute toward it in case of insufficiency, but in the proportion of one-twentieth of the amount collected.

The Emperor Napoleon III. shall alone and absolutely decide how long the agents appointed collectors shall remain at Vera Cruz and Tampico.

This convention, as we thus see, is a new proof of the imperial government's solicitude for the interests involved in the Mexican question. It insures to the holders of bonds a serious guaranty, since it is placed under the watchful care of the agents and representatives of France, and under the strong shield of the national flag.

Louis Chauveau.

E. D. MORGAN TO BIGELOW

Newport, Sept. 16, 1866.

Dear Mr. Bigelow:

I presume that, amid the changing scenes of politics *here,* you will be glad to hear from me, and yet I am scarcely able

to say much to you that is not already known. It is, however, a "fixed fact" that the Congress to be chosen this fall will be of the same political stripe as the one now in existence. The elections in Vermont and more particularly in the State of Maine are a clear indication of what is to happen all over the Northern States. Pennsylvania will vote next, and I confidently expect Genl. Geary will have 40,000 majority for governor over his democratic opponent, Clymer. Another thing is settled. There is to be no *third* party. The President has expected very confidently that he could make a *Johnson party,* by taking part of each, the old Democratic and the old Republican party, but nothing of the sort is to happen. There will be but two parties: the old Democratic party revived, with such Republicans as choose to act and vote with the Democratic party, and the Republican Union party, which latter will continue in power in all the States not engaged directly or indirectly in the rebellion. There is a fear that the President really intends to get the Government into the hands, for control, of those lately in rebellion, and their sympathetic associates. I neither assert this nor *believe* it, but no matter; the people believe it, and "that 's what 's the matter" at the polls.

Well, a new Congress is elected, like the last, only "a little more so," and you enquire what is to be done then? Are the Southern States to be deprived of Representatives in Congress? I answer yes, until *they,* under the call of their governors or at the regular sessions of their respective Legislatures, *ratify* the proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution. There is no alternative, there can be none in the contingency that I name, but to do this, unless the President shall get his eyes opened by the elections, by the public press, and by the popular and general voice, and change *his position.* But this I do not expect. The President is a second Andrew Jackson, and takes no step backwards. It would have been better for the peace and the personal comfort of the President if he had spent part of his life at the North, where he would have enjoyed better opportunities for learning public sentiment. The President is an astute man of great ability and experience in public affairs, and if permitted to mingle with the people he could scarcely have failed *to see* what was right, and *seeing* could not have failed to have done his duty. I do not, however, intend to write exclusively of politics, and yet I must not omit to say that I do not think that anything will happen

that in any event will disturb you, unless, and this is my only fear, there are continued Cabinet changes, when highly honorable and important public appointments are, as you know, sometimes given as an easy mode of transfer and generally the only way in which valuable men are disposed of at all acceptably to themselves. But this you will receive in the most confidential way, as it is only a thought of my own, no one word having been said that leads me to name it. One of the papers a few days ago said Raymond was to take your place, but I am sure there is nothing in that. Raymond did yeoman's service at the August Philadelphia Convention, but his aim is to be returned to Congress from his District by the Democracy, and they must nominate him, else their convention at Phila. will be devoid of meaning. I thank you for your excellent letter of the 20th August, and for your invitation for self and wife next year. My wife wants much to go to Europe next year. But nothing is yet determined upon that subject. . . . Please present my compliments to Mrs. Bigelow, in which my wife joins, and wishes you in addition to kiss all the children for her.

I am very sincerely and truly your friend

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Private

Biarritz, September 19, 1866.

My dear Mr. Seward:

I received a visit from General Baez, late President of St. Domingo, last week. He is expecting to return to his country in November. He spoke at great length of the situation of the Island, the want there of any central, controlling influence, and of his regret while in power he had not been supported by the recognition of the United States. He requested me to inform you that he was in Paris. It occurred to me that he had the same facilities as I have for communicating this information; at the same time I saw no reason for refusing his request, which may have an importance I could not appreciate. He proposes to call upon me again upon my return to Paris.

It is currently reported that the Marquis de Montholon has been instructed to sound you about withdrawing the whole

French Army in the coming year instead of withdrawing it in three semiannual detachments commencing in November. If the report has any foundation in fact, it is not likely that I can add to the information you already possess upon the subject. It is certain the Emperor does not see his way more clearly than other people do to get his army away from Mexico in detachments. Besides which, he has great faith in the remedial properties of time, which he thinks may possibly yet have something in store to alleviate his embarrassments. This faith is no doubt strengthened in him by the signs of political dissension which reach him from the United States and which to most persons of the Latin race are deemed to prelude revolution.

I met the Grand Duchess Marie, aunt of the present Emperor of Russia, at the bath this morning. She spoke in very cordial terms of Capt. Fox and of his recent visit to Russia, where his presence had given great pleasure.

Yours, etc.

G. V. FOX TO BIGELOW

Stockholm, Sept. 21, 1866.

Dear Sir:

I have not undertaken to give you an account of my proceedings in Russia, because I was engaged in a work I could not pause at for a moment. Forty-two days in which I never missed a dinner, ball or entertainment of any kind, and yet preserved my health and temper. Besides, the papers indicated what was going on. I am sure I have awakened an interest in that Empire for our country which can be turned to good account without departing from the advice of Washington. I looked upon my labors in Russia as a severe and delicate duty, and I have the consolation of knowing that, from the Emperor down, I have given a good impression for the benefit of my country. I shall have many interesting stories to relate to Madam and yourself. I shall leave here Monday, and the 27th I hope to be in Kiel, where I leave the ships for good. I go to Berlin, Dresden, Prague, Vienna, Venice, Rome, Florence,

Spezzia, Toulon and to where the Lowreys are, or direct to Paris. I hope to be in Paris near the latter days of Oct.

With friendly greetings to the Madam and hopes that your health is restored,

Faithfully your friend

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Biarritz, September 19, 1866.

Sir:

The circular from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, *par interim,* to the diplomatic agents of the Emperor, for which the public press has been trying to prepare the popular mind for more than a week past, appeared in the *Moniteur* of the 17th instant. It is occupied exclusively with the modifications which the relations of France with the rest of the world have undergone in consequence of the recent dismemberment of the German confederation. The only allusion which takes wider proportion is one made to the rapid growth of Russia and the United States, for which we are probably indebted to the demonstrations of friendship which the two latter countries have been recently exchanging with each other.

M. de La Valette, so far from appearing to regret the course of recent events in Germany, takes the position that France is relatively stronger now, with Germany divided into at least three large and independent powers, no one of which has a population as large as France, than when Germany was united in a confederation which represented a population more than double that of France. He also denounces the narrow and miserable policy of another age, when the greatness of countries was maintained by weakening those which surrounded them; and in the name of the Emperor declares with profound wisdom the true equilibrium of Europe is to be found in the satisfied wishes of its nations.

The marvellous feature of this paper is, that after interpreting so sagaciously and correctly, as I think, the bearing of recent events in Europe upon France, events which rather strengthen than weaken her position; after proclaiming the

incontestable fact that she is menaced by no one, and the less incontestable fact that she is disposed to menace no one, and that the peace now making has every element of durability, the minister proceeds to argue from this state of facts the necessity of perfecting her military organization without delay. This paragraph is so perfectly inconsequential that I venture to say that it will be understood, by all France at least, as an undertaking upon the part of the Emperor to hold his sword in readiness to aid the negotiations which he has suspended, but not abandoned, for the rectification of his northern frontiers. It is difficult to conceive any other motive for addressing an announcement of such a character to the representatives of the government abroad, and in continuation of a statement of acts which logically ought to lead to a reduction rather than to an increase of military force.

The fact is that France is very imperfectly armed at present, and if ever so much provoked would seek to avoid war for at least a year, the shortest time within which she could complete her preparations. It is also understood that there is a strong party in the government in favor of making a loan, for which there are abundant pretexts. The government also expects to be vigorously attacked in the Chambers by M. Thiers and the partisans of weak neighbors, for its neglect to interfere in time to prevent the unification of Germany under the sceptre of a frontier state, etc. These reasons may suffice to explain the attachment of this otherwise most inconsequential tail to M. de La Valette's kite, without ascribing it to any graver or more pregnant motive.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

CIRCULAR ADDRESSED BY THE MARQUIS DE LA VALETTE TO THE FRENCH DIPLOMATIC AGENTS ABROAD

Translation

Monsieur:

The Emperor's government can no longer delay expressing its views on the subject of the events which are taking place in Germany. The Marquis de Moustier having to remain absent for some time longer,

his Majesty has ordered me to explain to his diplomatic agents the motives by which his policy is directed.

The war which broke out in the centre and south of Europe has destroyed the Germanic confederation and definitively constituted Italian nationality. Prussia, whose limits have been extended by victory, rules on the right bank of the Main. Austria has lost Venetia, and is separated from Germany.

In presence of these important changes every state in Europe pauses and reflects how far they affect its responsibility (*se recueillent dans le sentiment de leur responsabilité*); each inquires what are the consequences of the peace which has recently intervened, and what will be its influence on European order, and on the international situation of each power.

Public opinion in France is excited. It wavers, uncertain between the joy of seeing the treaties of 1815 destroyed, and the fear that the power of Prussia may acquire excessive proportions; it oscillates between the desire for the maintenance of peace, and the hope to obtain by war a territorial aggrandizement. It applauds the complete enfranchisement of Italy, but wishes to be reassured against the dangers by which the Pope may be menaced.

The perplexities by which the public mind is agitated, and which do not escape observation abroad, impose on the government the obligation of explaining its ideas in a precise manner.

France cannot pursue a doubtful policy. If her interests and strength are compromised by the important changes which are taking place in Germany, she should declare it frankly, and adopt the necessary measures for guaranteeing her security. If she incurs no loss by the transformations which are taking place, she should declare it with sincerity and resist exaggerated apprehensions and ardent appreciations which, by exciting international jealousy, would turn her aside from the course she ought to follow.

In order to dissipate that state of uncertainty and fix the public convictions, we must view in their aggregate the past as it was, and the future as it presents itself.

In the past what do we see? After 1815 the Holy Alliance united against France all the nations from the Ural to the Rhine. The Germanic confederation comprised, with Prussia and Austria, eighty millions of inhabitants; it extended from Luxembourg to Trieste, and from the Baltic to the Trent, and surrounded us with a girdle of iron supported by five strong federal fortresses; our strategical position was fettered by the most skilful territorial combinations. The slightest difficulty that might arise between us and Holland, with Prussia on the Rhine, or with Austria in the Tyrol or Fricul, raised up against us all the united forces of the confederation. Austrian Germany, impregnable on the Adige, might advance at any moment to

the Alps. Prussian Germany had for her vanguard on the Rhine all the secondary states, incessantly agitated by desires of political transformation, and disposed to consider France as an enemy of their existence and aspirations.

With the exception of Spain, we had no possibility of contracting an alliance on the continent. Italy was divided and powerless, and did not count as a nation. Prussia was neither sufficiently compact nor independent to depart from her traditions. Austria was too much occupied in maintaining her possessions in Italy to be able to form an intimate connection with us.

No doubt a long period of peace may have caused us to forget the dangers of these territorial organizations and alliances, for they only appear formidable when war happens to break out. But France has sometimes secured that inestimable blessing by the sacrifice of her position (*rôle*) in the world. It is unquestionable that during nearly forty years she has encountered, erect and opposed to her, the coalition of the three northern courts, united by the recollection of common defeats and victories, by analogous principles of government, by solemn treaties, and by feelings of mistrust toward our liberal and civilizing action.

Now, if we examine the future of Europe, transformed as it has been, what guaranties does it provide for France and the peace of the world? The coalition of the three courts of the north is broken up. The new principle that governs Europe is the liberty of alliances. All the great powers, without exception, are restored to the plenitude of their independence—to the regular development of their destinies.

Prussia, aggrandized, free henceforth from all solidarity, insures the independence of Germany. This should give no umbrage to France. Proud of her admirable unity, of her indestructible nationality, she could not consistently oppose or regret the work of assimilation which has just been accomplished, nor make the principles of nationality she represents and professes in respect to peoples, subservient to any feeling of jealousy. The national feeling of Germany being satisfied, its anxieties are removed and its enmities extinguished. Germany, in imitating France, has taken a step that brings her closer to, not that removes her from her.

In the south, Italy, whose patriotism a long servitude has been unable to extinguish, is put in possession of all the elements of her national greatness. Her existence profoundly modifies the political conditions of Europe; but in spite of unreasoning susceptibilities or transient errors of judgment, her ideas, her principles, her interests draw her into closer connection with the nation that shed its blood to aid her in conquering her independence.

The interests of the Pontifical throne are secured by the convention of September 15. That convention will be honorably executed. In

withdrawing his troops from Rome, the Emperor leaves there as a guaranty for the security of the Holy Father the protection of France.

In the Baltic, as in the Mediterranean, secondary navies are springing up which are favorable to the liberty of the seas.

Austria, relieved from her Italian and German preoccupations, no longer wasting her strength in barren rivalries, but concentrating it in the east of Europe, still represents a power of thirty-five millions of souls, whom no hostile feeling, no interest separates from France.

By what singular influence of the past on the future can public opinion discover enemies, instead of allies, of France in these nations emancipated from a past which was hostile to us, called to a new life, directed by principles which are our own, animated by the sentiments of progress which form the pacific bond of modern societies?

Europe more strongly constituted, rendered more homogeneous by more precise territorial divisions, is a guaranty for the peace of the continent, and is neither a danger nor an injury for our nation. France with Algeria will soon number more than forty millions of inhabitants; Germany thirty-seven millions—twenty-nine of them in the northern and eight in the southern confederation; Austria thirty-five; Italy twenty-six; Spain, eighteen. What is there in this distribution of European forces to cause us any uneasiness?

An irresistible power (are we to regret it?) urges populations to combine together in large agglomerations by causing the secondary states to disappear. This tendency arises from the desire to insure more efficacious guaranties for general interests. While the old populations of the continent in their limited territories increase only at a slow rate, Russia and the republic of the United States of America will each, before a century has elapsed, be able to count a hundred millions of men. Although the progress of these two great empires is not for us a subject of disquietude, and although, on the contrary, we applaud their generous efforts in favor of oppressed races, the interest of the nations of central Europe and their foresight require them not to remain parcelled out into so many states without strength and public spirit.

Politics should rise above the narrow and petty prejudices of a bygone age. The Emperor does not believe that the grandeur of a country depends on the weakening of the peoples that surround it, and only sees a real equilibrium in the satisfied wishes of the nations of Europe. In that he obeys convictions long entertained, and the traditions of his race. Napoleon I. foresaw the changes which are now occurring on the European continent. He has implanted the germs of new nationalities in the Italian peninsula in creating the kingdom of Italy; in Germany by causing the disappearance of two hundred and fifty-three independent states.

If these considerations be just and true, the Emperor was right in

accepting the task of mediator; to arrest useless and grievous effusion of blood, to urge moderation on the conqueror by his amicable intervention, to attenuate the consequences of defeat, to pursue through so many obstacles the reëstablishment of peace—this was not an inglorious task. He would have, on the contrary, misunderstood his high responsibility if, violating the neutrality he had promised and proclaimed, he had thrown himself suddenly into the risks of a great war, one of those wars which arouse the hatred of races, and in which whole nations come into collision. What, indeed, would have been the object of spontaneously initiating a struggle against Prussia, and necessarily against Italy? Conquest, territorial aggrandizement. But the imperial government has long since laid down and even applied its principles as regards the extension of territory. It can understand, it has understood, annexations when commanded by absolute necessity in order to unite the country populations having the same manners, the same national instincts as ourselves; it obtained from the free consent of Savoy and the country of Nice the reëstablishment of our natural frontiers. France can only desire territorial aggrandizements which do not affect her powerful cohesion; but she must ever labor to promote her moral or political aggrandizement by using her influence for the great interests of civilization.

Her part is to cement the accord between all the powers who wish at the same time to maintain the principle of authority and to favor progress. That alliance will deprive revolution of the prestige it derives from extending its patronage to the cause of the freedom of peoples, and will maintain in the hands of great and enlightened states the wise direction of the democratic movement which is manifesting itself throughout Europe.

Nevertheless, in the emotions which have seized upon the country there exists a legitimate feeling which it is important to recognize and define with precision. The results of the late war convey a lesson of grave import and one which has not been purchased at the expense of the honor of our arms. It indicates the necessity for the defence of our territory, of improving our military organization without delay. The nation will not fail in a duty which cannot be a menace for any one. She is justly proud of the valor of her armies; her susceptibilities, awakened by the remembrance of her military triumphs, by the name and the deeds of the sovereign who governs her, are only the expression of her energetic will of maintaining, beyond the reach of any attack, her rank and influence in the world.

To sum up, from the elevated point of view whence the imperial government considers the destinies of Europe, the horizon appears to it free from menacing eventualities. Difficult problems, which required to be solved, as they could not be suppressed, weighed upon

the destinies of peoples; they might have arisen at more difficult periods; they have received their natural solution without violent shocks and without the dangerous assistance of revolutionary passions. A peace which reposes on such bases will be a durable one.

As to France, in whatever direction she casts her eye she sees nothing which can hinder her progress or disturb her prosperity. Preserving friendly relations with every power, directed by a policy which exhibits generosity and moderation as evidence of her strength, supported by her imposing unity, with her genius radiating on every side, with her treasures and her credit, which fecundate Europe, with her military forces developed, surrounded henceforth by independent nations, her greatness appears undiminished, nor will ever be less respected.

Such is the language which you should use in your relations with the government to which you are accredited.

Accept, etc.

La Valette.

HAY TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, September 21, 1866.

Sir:

The *Moniteur* of yesterday contained the following announcement: "The president of the commission of finances of Mexico, at Paris, informs the holders of Mexican securities and bonds that no funds having been received from the Mexican government for the payment of the interest and coupons falling due on the 1st October next, that payment will be adjourned.

"The president of the commission at the same time reminds the holders of Mexican bonds that, in conformity with the original conditions of the contract, a capital of thirty-four millions of francs, deposited in the *Caisse des Dépôts et Consignations* and invested in three per cent. securities, is to be applied by means of the quarterly capitalization of the interest to the reconstitution of their capital."

This announcement is dated two days before its publication, September 18, 1866. Although not wholly unexpected, it produced a decidedly depressing effect upon the Bourse. Mexican bonds fell thirty francs, and other stocks experienced a serious check in the upward movement which has been in progress for some time past.

I annex an extract from an article of M. Forcade, in *Revue des Deux-Mondes,* in reference to the immediate prospects of the Mexican empire and the mission of General Castelnau, which is noticeable for its freedom of statement. A leading article in much the same sense appeared a few days since in *La Liberté,* the journal conducted by M. de Cirardin, which urged the immediate recognition by France of President Juarez, and the arrangement of a treaty with him, as the sole practicable means of securing protection to French citizens in Mexico.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

M. Forcade, in the Revue des Deux-Mondes—Translation

When it was decided to recall the French troops from Mexico, it was believed and announced that the return could take place in three successive divisions; the first being fixed for the month of November next. Many people were alarmed at this project of partial and gradual evacuation. It seemed to them perilous to weaken our army at the moment when the relative force and audacity of our adversaries would be augmented by our withdrawal, and thus, perhaps, draw on our last battalions all the efforts of the enemy. The question of departure was also governed by the political state in which we should leave Mexico. Would the Emperor Maximilian persist alone in the enterprise in which he followed us, and where he has shown that he cannot render us any service; or would he renounce the adventure and return to Europe with us? In the case of the abdication of Maximilian, could we leave Mexico without giving that unhappy country time to organize a government to its taste, with which we might negotiate and establish the future relations of France? A little reflection will show that, to solve these different questions in the least troublesome manner, they must be settled simultaneously. It is necessary to know whether Maximilian stays or leaves; and in order that the security and dignity of our army may not be endangered, it is necessary that the return of our troops should not be accomplished successively, but all at once. It is evidently the strict examination and the categorical solution of these questions which the Emperor has confided to General Castelnau in sending him to Mexico, charged with a mission doubtless painful, but the results of which might be highly important for the interests of France. The great thing in this difficult operation of putting an end to our expedition is to cut short the evil and not allow it to drag on. For us, who have no confidence in the establishment of an imperial dynasty in Mexico, we should wish

that the Emperor Maximilian should decide on a retreat. In any case it is to be desired that the French army, in order to withdraw in the plenitude of its strength, should be concentrated in the capital, and march *en masse* to the coast. Our military honor and the interest we have in occupying the second port of Mexico will doubtless oblige us to retake Tampico. [Since reported to have been retaken.] Masters of Vera Cruz and Tampico, we shall be able to organize the simultaneous embarcation of our soldiers, and, besides, to retain the two most important maritime cities of the country, until we have made the necessary arrangements with the new government. If no time is lost, as we have the favorable season before us, the march of our troops to the coast and their embarcation could be completed in six months.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, September 28, 1866.

Sir:

There is considerable discussion just now in Paris in relation to the measures to be taken by the Emperor's government to secure the holders of the Mexican loan from the loss of their entire investments. The journals are especially occupying themselves with this subject, several of those in the opposition charging the government with at least a moral responsibility for the loan; and the ministerial sheets, though somewhat reticent, generally intrenching themselves behind the formal disavowal of guaranty made by M. Rouher in the Corps Législatif. It is thought by many that a project of a law for the relief of these unfortunate people will be introduced into the next session of the legislative body. No one considers the assignment of the Mexican customs a serious measure of reimbursement. The 34,000,000 francs now lying in the bureau of deposits is the only solid resource that any one seems to regard as within the hands of the French. But so general is the belief that something will be devised by the government to reimburse the people who invested their savings in its Mexican enterprise, that quite a brisk speculation in these apparently worthless securities has sprung up since the an-

nouncement of insolvency was made by the president of the commission.

On the other hand, I learn from good source that M. Fould is firmly opposed to any assumption of Maximilian's liabilities, and has even expressed his determination to retire from the government sooner than carry out a policy so injurious to the financial interests of France.

It is sometimes vaguely suggested that a way out of the difficulty would be by a cession of territory to the United States, in exchange for a guaranty of French claims. There could be no better proof of the perplexity of the public mind in regard to this matter than this unreasonable fancy that the United States would accept from France what they utterly deny her right to offer, and thus lend their assistance to the completion of a course of action which they have consistently condemned from its inception.

I am, sir, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, September 29, 1866.

Sir:

The President, having accepted your resignation as United States Minister to France, has appointed General John A. Dix, of New York, to be your successor. He has accepted the mission, and will depart for France on the 28th of the ensuing month.

It will be gratifying to the department should you find it convenient to continue in your ministerial capacity until relieved by your successor. I am led to make this request by the confidence in your ability and discretion which has been created by the satisfactory manner in which you have already discharged your official duties.

I am, sir, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, September 29, 1866.

Sir:

Your despatch of the 7th instant, concerning the relation between France and the imperial government in Mexico, has been received.

I have very carefully perused the newspaper discussions which accompanied that paper. Certainly they are bold and free.

This government is awaiting the arrival of the time indicated by the Emperor of the French for withdrawing his forces from Mexico. It is not unreasonable that public opinion in France, as well as in Mexico, should be much disturbed with anticipations of ultimate consequences to result from that measure. It is not seen how our own position could be improved now by the manifestation of any doubt or apprehension concerning the execution of the arrangement for the evacuation of Mexico. If, however, you find any indication of inconstancy on the part of the imperial government, you will, in a discreet as well as respectful manner, cause it to be understood that the United States are relying with entire confidence upon the evacuation of Mexico by the French forces according to the existing arrangement.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO WILLIAM HARGREAVES

PARIS, Sept. 25, 1866.

My dear Friend:

I am very sorry to hear such reports of your health. I had dreamed of different results from your country life. I wish I could be with you a week there to doctor you. I could bring you out as good as new by talking about your place, with an occasional parenthesis for politics. . . .

Things are going on very well in America. Our resources financially will surprise the world as much as our military resources surprised it. In a few months the sky will be clear and our most loyal population will be found in the South.

Peace is the policy of the government, and in my opinion of the country. We shall be the easiest people in the world to deal with if other nations will only not tread on our corns. We don't want any more territory faster than it will come to us by the voluntary action of its population; we do not mean to fight for the Monroe Doctrine, because it is illogical and absurd for a nation to attempt to propagate democracy by arms. We don't want our debt held abroad, though we would like to enjoy a good credit everywhere. We wish the burden to be borne by our own people, that they may take measures to lighten it as fast as possible by paying up, and by wise legislation.

Good-bye. Get well, and may God bless you and yours.

XXI

THE NEW MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, 8th Oct., 1866.

My dear Sir:

I HAVE the pleasure of acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 14th ultimo in regard to the time of your return.

Official correspondence has apprised you of the appointment of General Dix as your successor.

The manner in which you communicated with me on the subject is approved.

I cannot contemplate the termination of your present public service without recalling the delicate and trying nature of the questions which you have been called upon to deal with, and congratulating the country upon the patriotism, intelligence and zeal which you have so constantly displayed in their treatment.

Very faithfully yours

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, October 8, 1866.

Sir:

. . . But the point you mention was not distinctly presented to me, namely, what this government would think of the withdrawal of the whole French army in the coming year, instead of its being withdrawn in three semiannual detachments, com-

mencing next November. What I have said is this: that the arrangement proposed by the Emperor for a withdrawal of the troops in three detachments, beginning in November next, was, in itself, quite likely to be forgotten here, in the political excitement which attends all Mexican questions, before the execution of the agreement should begin. That frequent incidents of various kinds, presented by the press in France and in Mexico as indicating a disposition on the part of the Emperor to depart from that engagement, have unavoidably produced a wide popular mistrust of even the Emperor's sincerity in making the engagement, and of his good faith in fulfilling it. That by circumstances of this character this department was kept continually under an apparent necessity of protesting against proceedings which were thus weakening public confidence in its very just and well-defined expectations. That the government, on the contrary, relies with implicit confidence upon the fulfilment of the Emperor's engagement, at least, to the letter; and it has even expected that, overlooking the letter, it would be fulfilled with an earnestness of spirit which would hasten instead of retard the evacuation of the French forces in Mexico.

At present, however, we are waiting for the beginning of the evacuation. When that beginning shall have come, the government will cheerfully hear suggestions from any quarter calculated to reassure the restoration of tranquillity, peace and constitutional domestic government in Mexico; but until we shall be able to refer to such a beginning, any proceedings towards negotiation would only tend to confound public opinion in the United States, and to render the situation of Mexico more complicated.

Of course it is unnecessary to inform you that the speculations which are indulged in by a portion of the public press, concerning relations supposed to be established between this department and General Santa Anna, are without foundation.

I am, sir, your obedient servant

In consequence of the explicit arrangement with the Imperial Government to commence the withdrawal of its military forces from Mexico in November, 1866, and in consequence of doubts having been entertained and expressed in some quarters whether its agreement would be faithfully executed, Presi-

dent Johnson himself issued the following order to the Secretary of War:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 26, 1866.

Sir:

Recent advices indicate an early evacuation of Mexico by the French expeditionary forces, and that the time has arrived when our minister to Mexico should place himself in communication with that republic.

In furtherance of the objects of his mission, and as evidence of the earnest desire felt by the United States for the proper adjustment of the questions involved, I deem it of great importance that General Grant should, by his presence and advice, co-operate with our minister.

I have, therefore, to ask that you will request General Grant to proceed to some point on our Mexican frontier most suitable and convenient for communication with our minister; or (if General Grant deems it best) to accompany him to his destination in Mexico, and to give him the aid of his advice in carrying out the instructions of the Secretary of State, a copy of which is herewith sent for the general's information.

General Grant will make report to the Secretary of War of such matters as, in his discretion, ought to be communicated to the department.

Very respectfully yours,

ANDREW JOHNSON.

HON. EDWIN M. STANTON,
Secretary of War.

This order was probably issued by the President without Mr. Seward's official approval, if with his knowledge, and was also probably Mr. Seward's motive for sending General Schofield and Governor Morton to Paris to keep both out of the country until it should be apparent that Seward's confidence in the Emperor's determination to withdraw was shared by Congress and the public. General Grant finding it inconvenient (or not agreeable) to assume the duties specified in this letter, the President four days later transferred them all to Lieutenant-General William T. Sherman. Accordingly, General Sherman accompanied Minister Campbell to Mexico or as far as he went.

BIGELOW TO DR. McCLINTOCK

PARIS, October 11, 1866.

My dear Doctor:

Your kind note of the 1st I had the pleasure of reading this morning on my return from the Pyrenees, where I have been for a fortnight past. I am sorry you should have been all this time wasting your precious sympathy upon me just when I did not need it, the occasions when I do need it being so frequent. I have no reason to doubt that I stand as well with the government to-day as when I was appointed Minister. I wrote to Mr. Seward last July to say that he would do me a kindness to replace me at his earliest convenience and before the 1st of Dec. at the latest. Getting nothing definite from him, I asked Clarence Seward, who was here the other day, to go to Washington on his return and explain to Mr. Seward that it was not worth while to waste such a plum as this on a man who did not want it, when there were so many self-sacrificing patriots who were yearning for it.

My reasons were manifold:

1st. I am homesick.

2nd. My family is homesick.

3rd. My children are not of an age to profit by the public sort of life I lead here, but the reverse, and hence I am obliged to send them away from me, which I don't like.

4th. I have literary projects to which I am anxious to give my undivided attention, which is impossible in this position.

The rest of my reasons it is unnecessary to mention. Suffice it to say, my ambition, what I have left, is not of a kind to be satisfied with this kind of life any longer. The important questions are all disposed of, and I have no taste for the ordinary details of a ministerial life.

So dry your tears, my boy, and instead of weeping with those that don't weep, rejoice with those that rejoice. I think I shall spend most of the winter in Germany and get a glimpse of the Exposition in the spring before I return. In that case I shall expect to see you in Paris.

Yours very truly

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, October 12, 1866.

Sir:

The Marquis de Moustier[1] received the diplomatic body yesterday for the first time. He asked if it was true, as reported in the journals, that our official relations were soon to terminate; expressed his regret to learn that it was, and his desire to have co-operated with me in cultivating friendly relations between our respective countries. In reply to a question of mine he said that the policy of his government towards the United States and Mexico would not undergo any change in consequence of the change of his department. His Excellency then went on to say that he was using what leisure he could command to master the various American questions with which he had no previous occasion to make himself familiar, and as soon as he was prepared he would be happy to talk with me or with my successor more at length; meantime he wished me to understand and to report to you that he saw the Emperor at Biarritz; that his Majesty expressed his desire and intention to retire from Mexico as soon as practicable, and without reference to the period fixed in the convention with Maximilian, if a shorter time will suffice. His Excellency then went on to say that the "dissidents," according to late reports, are gaining ground, but that it is not the intention of the Emperor to undertake new and distant expeditions to reduce them; that there was some talk of retaking Tampico, but what was decided upon had not yet transpired in Paris. He said the position of France was a delicate one, and that there was nothing that the Emperor desired more than to disembarrass himself of all his engagements with Mexico as soon as he could with dignity and honor, and that with our aid, upon which he counted, the time might be very much shortened.

[1] The Marquis de Moustier was a grandson of La Luzerne's successor as Minister to the United States. He spoke to me on our first meeting of that fact. He did not impress me at all as the man for the place to which he had been called to succeed Drouyn de Lhuys. The fates proved to be of my opinion. He died shortly before the overthrow of the Empire, in 1869.

To this I made only the general reply that I had no reason to doubt that the future intercourse of the United States with France would be marked by the same friendly consideration which had characterized it heretofore. I did not ask what kind of aid from the United States he had in his mind, presuming it was forbearance rather than any active co-operation upon which he counted.

I may as well mention in this connection that I returned yesterday morning from Biarritz, where I was informed by M. Pereire, the owner of the Franco-Mexican line of steamships, that the contract had been finally signed by his agent at the Ministry of War for the repatriation of all the French army in Mexico in March next that shall not have returned previously. The letter advising him of the fact had been received, as I understood him, only the day before. Some of the troops, he said, would be repatriated this fall, but all the remainder before the end of March.

I have reason to think he was instructed to make this communication to me.

I was happy to be informed by the Marquis de Moustier that his grandfather of the same name was the second Minister sent by France to the United States, where he resided five years; that his grandfather on his mother's side, M. de la Forest, was Consul-General at New York, where he himself was born. I told his Excellency that I should inform you that, as he was half American, you might count upon a sympathetic foreign policy from France while he remained at the head of the Foreign Office.[1]

[1] Eléonore François Elie, Comte de Moustier, succeeded the Chevalier de la Luzerne as Minister from France to the United States in 1787. He returned to France in October, 1789.

He visited General Washington at Mount Vernon, November, 1788, accompanied by his sister, the Marchioness de Brehan, the Marquis her son, and M. Du Pont. The latter, Victor Marie Du Pont, was son of Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours and elder brother of Éleuthère Irénée Du Pont, who established the well-known powder-mills on the Brandywine near Wilmington, Delaware, in 1802.

On the 6th of November, 1788, the minister and his party left Mount Vernon for New York, accompanied by Washington as far as Alexandria, where the Minister received an address from the Citizens of the Corporation.

"May 7, 1789. Moustier was present at a ball given this ev'g to Prest. Washington by the subscribers of the Dancing Assembly in New York, held at the Assembly Room on the East Side of Broadway, a little above Wall. The Prest. danced a Minuet on the occasion with Mrs. Jas. H. Maxwell's

The Emperor was quite ill at Biarritz, and one night great anxiety was felt at the Palace about him. He was twice placed in a warm bath, and for four or five days after the Empress did not leave the Palace.

The third or fourth day after his arrival, their Majesties, accompanied by a party of invited guests of whom I was one, visited the French Home Squadron, which touched at Biarritz. To the heat and fatigue undergone by him on this occasion, was attributed his illness, with which he was still confined to his chamber when I left. The papers now report him entirely recovered, but that, I fear, is more than can be hoped for. I never saw him look so ill as during the three or four days that he was at Biarritz before his confinement.

The condition of the Emperor's health is the subject of general solicitude in Europe, and the topic of conversation in every circle. The impression prevails that his faculties, if not his life, must give way before long, under these repeated and always aggravated assaults of the various chronic diseases to which his constitution is a prey. General Fleury, whose part in the *coup d'état* of December, 1852, is so notorious, is the only prominent person of his staff near him, and it is whispered that in case of possible, not to say probable contingencies, steps have been taken to have him named Minister of War. I think there is no doubt that General Fleury will be charged with the custody of the Prince and the inauguration

sister, Miss Van Zant. To every lady was given a fan, the ivory frame of which displayed when opened, between the hinges and elegant paper covering, an extremely well-executed medallion portrait of Washington in profile; and a page was appointed to present one with the Compliments of the Managers as each couple passed the receiver of the tickets. The fans had all been ordered from Paris for the occasion.

"May 14, 1789. Moustier gave a ball to the Prest. As a compliment to our alliance with France, there were two sets of *Cotillion dancers* in complete uniforms; one set in that of France, and the other in Blue & Buff: the ladies were dressed in white Ribbands, Bouquets and Garlands of flowers answering to the uniforms of the gentlemen." (*Gazette of the United States.*)

"*Saturday,* Oct. 3, 1789. Sat for Madame de Brehan (sister of Moustier) to complete a miniature profile of me which she had begun for me and which she had made extremely like the original." (Washington Diary.) This profile was engraved by A. F. Sergent, B. Roger and Charles Burt, and proofs of the print engraved by Sergent, executed in Paris in 1790, were sent to the President after Madame de Brehan's return to Paris. One of these impressions, presented to Mrs. Robert Morris by the President, was in turn presented by a granddaughter of Mrs. Morris to General George B. McClellan shortly after the battle of Antietam.

of the Regency if the occasion for a regency should present itself. I do not think, however, that the Emperor would care to test the loyalty of the Army so far as to make Fleury Minister of War.

I will not trouble you with the many painful rumors in circulation here in regard to the mental condition of the Princess Charlotte, wife of Maximilian. You will find them in all the public prints. One article, however, from an ultramontane journal of Belgium (*Le Journal de Bruxelles*), which might not meet your eye, I have thought worth sending to you.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, October 12, 1866.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch No. 512, in reply to my suggestion of a change in the cypher used at the Department of State.[1]

I was not aware that the cypher at Washington was under the immediate and exclusive control of Mr. Hunter, though if I had been I should still have felt it my duty to bring the subject to the attention of the Department, for I do not see how it can have any assurance that the copies at this and other legations have not been violated. From the treasonable affinities of Mr. Dayton's immediate predecessors, it would hardly be safe to presume that the secrecy of the cypher was respected, unless you assume that they were ignorant of its possible future usefulness to the cause in which one of them lost his life and both lost their characters.

I merely make this explanation to exclude conclusions to which it appears my first dispatch had laid me open, and not because I suppose that anything more was called for on my part in any case than simply to invite your attention to the possible necessity of new precautions to insure the secrecy of government communications.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

[1] See Bigelow to Seward, August 3.

BIGELOW TO E. D. MORGAN

PARIS, October 12, 1866.

My dear Friend:

I judge, by the tenor of your kind note of the 16th ult. from Newport, that my resignation will have taken you and Mrs. Morgan by surprise. I thought it not unlikely that Mr. Seward would show you my letter to him, but I did not feel at liberty, by writing of it to my friends, to expose him or the President to the importunities which the knowledge of such a prospective vacancy would have been sure to occasion, until they were prepared for it. I learn from a dispatch by telegraph direct from Mr. Seward that he has heard my prayer and that General Dix will be here to replace me next month, an event to which I look forward with perhaps more than becoming satisfaction. You are entitled more than any other person not of my own kindred, perhaps, to know my reasons for relinquishing a post of such distinction as this, and to have some assurance that I have not acted capriciously. For these reasons I enclose to you a copy of my letter to Mr. Seward.

I had some other reasons which were personal to myself; others which were not personal, but which it was not necessary to state in a letter which was liable some time or other to reach the public. The reasons that I did assign, however, were the controlling ones, and I hope you will think them sufficient. I have spent seven years out of the last eight in foreign lands. I think the rest of my life can be spent as profitably and more satisfactorily in my own country and among my American friends and kindred.

But this shall not prevent my doing the honors of Paris to you and Mrs. Morgan at the Exposition, if you will come out. The Exposition opens in April. I do not expect to leave until June—say the 1st. I shall be most happy to devote those two months, or any part of them of which you and Madame can avail yourselves, to your service.

I found great consolation in the political part of your letter. The President's speeches during the brief period of his administration have done him more harm than all the speeches of all his enemies could have done him in a century.

But that is a painful subject to write about. I returned yesterday from a brief trip to the Pyrenees and Spain. If you come out here next Spring, I wish you would come in March and go with me through Spain, a trip which I have much at heart.

What could I buy a decent house for in Washington? I have some thought of making my winter residence there instead of New York, if the prices are encouraging. A residence there would have some advantages for me in the prosecution of my future plans which I could not command in New York. Besides, at present rates I don't see how a poor man can live in New York.

Yours very truly

BIGELOW TO W. T. M'CULLAGH TORRENS

PARIS, October 14, 1866.

My dear Sir:

It is true I have resigned my mission, and I trust public life forever. I left my library and its tranquil joys very reluctantly in 1861, and I have long yearned to get back to them. Political honors become less and less satisfying to my ambition the more I observe them in my own and other people's experience. I find in them no rewards which compensate for the time they absorb and privations they impose. Thanks to our advancing civilization, political eminence is no longer necessary for personal security, nor are political honors any longer the principal guaranties of social consideration.

Besides, I have certain cherished literary projects to which I am impatient to return; I have a young family old enough to begin to be spoilt for America by living much longer abroad; I have no longer the youth that is necessary to enjoy a position merely because it is high; the only question for which possibly my experience here might have been useful was fully disposed of, so far as this legation was concerned, months ago and before I asked to be relieved, and I have no taste nor need to hold any political situation merely for its dignity and emoluments. I am sure that in a private station

I can be more useful to others and more happy myself then I can ever expect to be in exile, upon however flattering conditions.

I fear I shall not get to England again before my return. I wish to spend all of the winter that may remain at my disposal after the arrival of my successor, in Germany.

Should I cross the Channel, however, I shall not fail to look you up. If, on the other hand, I should not be so fortunate as to see you again before I return, I beg you to understand that I shall always feel grateful for the kindness which prompted your note and rejoice in the triumphs of a public career which has already secured to you so many titles to my respect.

I remain, dear Sir,

Very sincerely yours

MOUSTIER TO MONTHOLON

Communicated by the French Legation—Translation

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, POLITICAL DIRECTION,
PARIS, October 16, 1866.

M. Le Marquis:

The correspondence of my predecessor has sufficiently initiated you in the views of the Emperor in regard to Mexico. I think it advisable, nevertheless, on writing to you for the first time, to lay down the situation exactly, and not leave you in any doubt in regard to our resolutions.

Already, for some time, the cabinet of Washington has been informed, and officially from the month of April, that his Majesty has fixed the close of the year 1867 as the extreme term of our military occupation of Mexico.

This term will not be exceeded; on the contrary, our desire is to hasten it as much as possible. The government of the Emperor, as was its right and its duty, and as my predecessor wrote to you the 7th of June last, reserved the taking of all indispensable precautions, in order not in any way to compromise the health and security of our army.

There is for us in this an interest of the highest order, which cannot cede precedence to any other. But the news received from Mexico within these last days presents a state of things which must awake our solicitude. Armed resistances are increasing; the dissidents show

themselves in force at divers points in the Mexican territory, and at any moment the mode of successive evacuations, originally adopted by us, might place our soldiers in a position of difficulty if we should thus leave them in small force and isolated at so great a distance from Europe.

Justly impressed by this eventuality, the Emperor has sent to Mexico his aide-de-camp, General de Castelnau, to have explanations thereon with the Emperor Maximilian, and make known to us his intentions, while fully and definitively enlightening him as to ours.

M. de Castelnau has for his mission to make it well understood that the limit of our sacrifices is reached, and that if the Emperor Maximilian, thinking to find in the country itself a point of sufficient support, may wish to endeavor to maintain himself there, he cannot for the future count on any succor on the part of France.

But it may happen that, deeming it impossible to triumph through his own resources over the difficulties which surround him, this sovereign may determine to abdicate. We will do nothing to dissuade him from this, and we think that on this hypothesis there would be ground to proceed, by way of election, in the establishment of a new government.

You see, marquis, that under these conditions it is at present quite likely that our expeditionary corps may return entire to France by the spring of next year. This probability seems to us to be destined to be received in the United States with real satisfaction. To suppose the contrary would be to admit that the Mexican question furnished the parties with the means of an easy popularity which they would with regret see escape. We have too much confidence in the good sense of the American people, and in the old feelings of friendship and regard for France, not to be beforehand convinced that suspicions without foundation, or inadmissible exigencies, will not occur to change between the United States and ourselves relations which have a tendency to become more easy and more close by means even of decisions which we may think it a duty to take at this moment. We take them in the plenitude of our freedom of action, which we must maintain entire to the end. This reservation is imperatively commanded by our sense of dignity; and anything which might have the character of pressure, which could not be borne on the part of a foreign government, would only have for consequence to force us, against our wish, to prolong a state of things which our interest, well understood, has decided us to abridge. It is impossible that this situation is not perfectly understood in advance by the cabinet of Washington, and it will certainly dedicate all its cares to turning aside incidents which would be susceptible of bringing results regrettable to those I have made allusion to.

Receive, marquis, the assurances of my high consideration.

The steamer *L'Impératrice Eugénie,* which on the 13th of July had carried the Empress Charlotte from Mexico to France, returned to Vera Cruz toward the middle of October; and among her passengers was General de Castelnau, aide-de-camp to the Emperor of France. The powers with which the general was invested, military as well as political, were practically unlimited, though the extent of them was to be revealed only in case of absolute necessity. He was directed to superintend the evacuation; to control all the orders destined to assure it; to participate in all consultations and assume the direction of all measures projected by the imperial authority, diplomatic, military or civil. As a legate of the sovereign, he was authorized to speak for the Emperor, and to his written requisitions all the French authorities in Mexico, the marshal included, were obliged to yield. In closing the note by which he instituted this extraordinary mission, Napoleon condensed in a line the absolute powers of his agent: "General de Castelnau is understood to act as we would act ourselves." ("Le général est censé agir comme agirions nous-même.")

This mysterious mission was determined upon without consulting Marshal Randon, the Minister of War, then on leave of absence. On his return he manifested some displeasure, and, though he held De Castelnau in great esteem, judged the proceeding of the Emperor as very incorrect. He said: "In the place of Marshal Bazaine, I would arrest the general on his landing, send him back to France by the earliest steamer, and take the following boat myself to render the Government an account of my conduct."

Simultaneously with the arrival of General de Castelnau, Maximilian received a letter calculated to unsettle his purpose, already pretty well formed, to abdicate. It was from M. Éloin, a Belgian who had formerly been his chief of cabinet and quite a favorite. Éloin was very hostile to the French, and affected to see in the mission of General de Castelnau evidence that Napoleon thought only of disengaging himself from his Mexican obligations and of throwing upon his ally Maximilian the responsibility of his failure. He exhorted Maximilian not to consent to be the instrument of a selfish policy of which he would be himself the first victim. "You hold your authority from the vote of the people," he said. "It is to the Mexican people, delivered from foreign intervention, that you should

make a new appeal, and it is from them you should ask the material and financial succor indispensable to maintain yourself. If this appeal is not listened to, then and not till then your Majesty, having accomplished to the end your noble mission, may return to Europe with all the prestige which accompanied you when you left it." In closing his letter Éloin intimated that he had recently returned from Austria; that there was great discontent with Maximilian's brother the Emperor there, among his people, and his abdication was seriously demanded, while the liveliest sympathy for Maximilian was felt throughout the empire.

This letter was confidential, and Maximilian in reading it believed that no other eyes had seen it, in which belief he was deceived. Éloin had sent his letter enclosed in an envelope addressed to the Consul of Mexico at New York. Mexico at that time had in New York two agents; one represented Maximilian's government, the other that of Juarez, and the latter was the only one officially recognized by the postal authorities in the United States. It was to him, therefore, that the letter was delivered, and it no sooner reached its destination than it was published in the journals of the United States.

Meantime Miramon, Juarez's predecessor, had returned with several reactionary comrades and offered the Emperor their coöperation. They discouraged his return to Austria, where he would be not only destitute of his title of Emperor, but he would be also unable to resume his former rank and privileges as an archduke. Maximilian, always fickle, lent a patient ear to these temptations. On the 18th of November he invited Bazaine, De Castelnau and Dano to a conference, and at its close he said: "It remains for me to leave a stable government to protect compromised interests." In other words, the poison of ambition which Éloin had injected into him with his letter had taken effect.

After some delay De Castelnau and Dano had prepared a note insisting on the absolute necessity of abdication. Bazaine associated himself with them in this note, and it is said that it was in his handwriting. On the 22d of December the Minister Dano and De Castelnau repaired to Puebla to present this paper to the Emperor. In it they warmly insisted upon the impossibility of his continuing the contest. Having glanced

over the document, the Emperor smiled and handed to these gentlemen a dispatch he had received that evening from Bazaine. "Read it," he said, "and you will see you are not in accord with the final opinion of the marshal. The marshal tells me that after ripe examination he is convinced that the only possible solution of the situation is to maintain myself on the throne. He urges me to persist, prosecute the war vigorously," etc.

Dano and De Castelnau were stupefied by what they heard. Presently General de Castelnau, recovering his self-possession, replied that he left to the commandant-in-chief the responsibility for the advice he had given, and then proceeded to develop more clearly than he had previously done the extent of his powers, adding that he had received from his sovereign a mission to embark the troops, and that he should fulfil that without shrinking. "I also," he added, taking the offensive in his turn, "have a dispatch to communicate to your Majesty," and he handed to Maximilian a copy of the telegram of the 13th December, which ordered him to embark all the army, including Belgians, Austrians, even the foreign legion, all those who were bound by any engagement of service in Mexico.

Dano and De Castelnau were furious against Bazaine. Meantime Bazaine in his dispatches to the Minister of War had expressed the opinion that France could not overturn what she had elevated with so much effort.[1] "I believe," he added, "it is preferable to let the Mexican Empire take its chances. It is very probable that it will not last after our departure, but, in fine, we shall be no more responsible for it, and we cannot be accused of disloyalty."

The parties separated, and the Emperor returned to Mexico, escorted by three squadrons of Austrian hussars, accompanied by Marquez and Father Fischer, both reactionaries. Maximilian, sick and discouraged, had become to them a hostage rather than a sovereign.

[1] Bazaine has been suspected of motives for discouraging the abdication of Maximilian which could hardly be reconciled with due loyalty to either of his imperial masters. I think, however, the course he pursued with Maximilian can be successfully defended without such an imputation.

The French court having taken up its quarters in September at Biarritz, I felt it my duty under existing circumstances to be there also. Among the acquaintances I made soon after my arrival was that of M. Émile Pereire, who was the founder of the Compagnie Transatlantique. He asked me one day if I knew Rouher. I replied that I knew him somewhat; we had the usual official intercourse. He said he was all there was of the administration. I intimated a suspicion that Rouher had a finger in La Valette's letter. Pereire took hold of my thumb and finger, and made an expressive grimace to give me to understand that Rouher wrote it all.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Strictly Confidential

Paris, October [*circa* 20], 1866.

My dear Mr. Seward:

While I was at Biarritz, as I have already told you, I believe, I saw a good deal of Pereire, the banker, who will probably replace Fould in the Ministry of Finance before the meeting of the Corps Législatif. He is already more in the confidence of the Emperor than any other person on subjects appertaining to finance. He came twice to me there, and immediately upon his return to Paris called again, to talk of a treaty of amity and commerce between the two countries, in favor of which he presented a variety of obvious considerations bearing more or less upon the interests of both countries. I told him that the Emperor would find in the United States a strong prejudice against his government to overcome, and though the Americans were not vindictive and were predisposed to like the French people, they would require some pretty unequivocal evidences of a change of heart in the Emperor before they would care to draw closer the relations of the two governments. He said he knew it, and the Emperor was disposed to furnish such evidences; that his Mexican projects were now at an end; that there was nothing, and he thought the Emperor

did not intend that there should be anything hereafter, to raise a doubt of the friendship of France for the United States. He then wanted to know what evidences the Emperor could give that would prove to our people his sincerity, etc. I replied that it was not for me to suggest them; that the first thing to be done was to remove causes of irritation, of which his flag in Mexico was the chief. He then told me what I have already communicated to you of the arrangements for the withdrawal of all his force in March at the latest. I then told him that the Emperor should further signalize his change of feeling towards us by some acts which would be grateful to our people and would receive the cordial approbation of our press. What those acts should be, of course, no persons are so competent as the Emperor and his advisers to decide. He said he should talk with his Majesty upon the subject the following day, when he was expecting to see him.

When he called a day or two since, he said he had just talked with M. Rouher—who, by the way, is now the government of France almost as completely as Palmerston was the government of England and as Bismarck is the government of Prussia—and in the course of a protracted conversation suggested that a sort of commercial treaty might be made to advantage, though he did not specify any of the elements for such a negotiation. I told him that our treaty negotiations with France had not been very frequent or very fortunate; that the French government had always been one of the most difficult in the world to negotiate with, and that there were innumerable points in which the relations of the two governments needed modification. I enumerated, for example, our navigation laws; passport laws; postal regulations which were very oppressive, especially upon newspapers; now the inter-oceanic telegraph; the procedure for settling the estates of deceased persons in the two countries, which requires to be harmonized and ameliorated; and, finally, the adjustment of claims growing out of the late war and the Mexican Expedition. I asked him finally what his view of such a treaty was; what could be offered on either side to encourage negotiation. But he replied on this occasion, as once before: "We will have an opportunity to talk of that more at our ease on Sunday next," at which time, by the way, Mrs. Bigelow and I had already accepted an invitation to spend the day at his country place *Armainvilliers*.

There the matter stands at present. M. Pereire is the left arm of the Emperor, and Rouher is his right. P. & R. are one upon all questions and in very intimate relations. You can judge for yourself what importance to attach to what I have reported here. I thought it best to state what had already occurred and the manner of it now, rather than wait for the results of our Sunday's interview, of which, of course, I shall not fail to advise you in due season.

So much for M. Pereire.

Sir Henry Bulwer is now in Paris. He told me that he had proposed to Lord Stanley to raise the English mission in the United States to the grade of an embassy and to send him back there in that character.

He asked me what I thought would be the effect of raising the grade of the mission to an embassy. I told him that those who understood the difference between a Minister and Ambassador would be happy to see in it a mark of respect to the nation, but the number who knew of the difference was very small. All such attentions, however, had their effect. He then asked what England could do that would be acceptable to the United States. I said that I thought the first thing to do was to get those *Alabama* claims out of the way and then to endeavor to bring the public opinion of the two countries a little more into harmony; that mere surface tillage of the kind he proposed would hardly prove sufficient to extirpate the noxious vegetation which had been suffered to grow up during the late war.

I felt, in reflecting upon these suggestions from two such quarters, that something of a change had occurred in the condition of my country since the day that our vessels of war were denied the shelter of the French or English ports for more than twenty-four hours at a time.

In reply to my remark to M. Pereire that the French had always been a difficult government to negotiate with, he said that that had not been so much the case since the commencement of the present reign.

Yours very truly

ACHILLE FOULD, MINISTER OF FINANCE, TO THE EMPEROR

Translation

14 August, 1866.

. . . . . .

Although there is a monarchical party in Mexico, we must admit it does not possess the force which the Émigrés residing in France claimed for it. We had already observed it before Maximilian reached there, and he promptly after admitted it himself. He then broke with the clerical and monarchical party and approached the liberal party, composed exclusively of republicans devoted to Juarez or animated by personal ambitions. Then began the war of partisans. The Emperor found himself between the monarchical party, which no longer trusted him, and the liberal party, which only sought to betray him. More than two years have elapsed in these intestine contests without real amelioration from the administrative or financial points of view. It is unhappily apparent to-day that the Emperor's position cannot be much prolonged. Left to his own resources, he is incapable of maintaining himself. . . . It seems then impossible to maintain himself in Mexico. There remains, however, a good rôle for him in renouncing the crown.

Let him issue a proclamation to the Mexicans. Let him say to those who offered him the throne, they deceived themselves.

Let him profit by the presence of the French army to preserve order.

Let him engage the Mexican people to proceed to the organization of a new government and the designation of a new chief. Effected under these conditions, his departure for Europe will perhaps be the occasion of some regrets; in any case it will take place under the protection of the French army. It will at the same time signalize the reëstablishment of calm in this country, where, our intervention ceasing, the cause of all animosity against us will soon cease. . . .

MOUSTIER TO BIGELOW

Translation

Paris, October 13, 1866.

Sir:

I have examined the reasons that have delayed, up to the present time, the final settlement of the claim which you have

made upon the Emperor's government in behalf of the owners of the American schooner *W. L. Richardson.* My predecessor had only proposed to postpone the examination of it until the claims which we have to make against the government of the United States should themselves be put in the way of settlement. You are doubtless informed that we have been for some time in negotiation upon this subject with the Washington cabinet. This cabinet has been very urgent that the mixed commission which it was proposed to establish for this purpose should be authorized to act at the same time upon the French claims made against the United States and upon the American claims made against us. We have assented to this proposition, and it is not owing to us that we have not already arrived at a complete understanding upon this question. You will comprehend, therefore, that we were waiting until there should be a definite agreement between the two governments in regard to the manner in which it would be best to proceed in relation to the claim which you have recalled to my notice. It is indispensable, in any case, that my department should obtain, in relation to this affair, fuller information from the Ministry of Marine, and I shall immediately request that department to furnish it to me.

Accept assurances, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, October 19, 1866.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No. 529, advising me of the acceptance of my resignation by the President, and of the wish of the department that I would remain in charge of this mission until relieved by my successor, who was to sail for France on the 28th instant.

I shall, of course, await here the arrival of General Dix, and be happy to render him such assistance as he may find available in entering upon the duties of his mission.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, October 19, 1866.

Sir:

Your despatch of the 19th ultimo, No. 370, was duly received, and has been perused with much interest.

However variously the letter of the Marquis de La Valette may be construed, it may be taken, I think, by the states interested, as a sufficient guarantee of a policy of peace and good neighborhood on the part of France for the present. National and dynastic interests and ambitions so frequently change that assurances designed to cover a distant future are seldom reliable.

I am, sir, etc.

VISCOUNT P. TREMENT TO BIGELOW[1]

Translation

VILLA PLAINTEZ, GRAND BUREAU AT
CAROUGE NEAR GENEVA, SWITZERLAND.

Dear Sir:

A secret treaty is being elaborated at this moment between European power and General Prim.

Here are the conditions:

The General will receive three millions and a half to continue the Spanish insurrection, and aids in arms, powder and material of war.

[1] Note received October 25, 1866. See letter of same to same, August 4, 1866. To the author of this letter I was indebted in 1863 for the documentary proofs of a collusion between the Imperial Government and the Confederate States of America for the construction for the latter of several first-class vessels of war in the dockyards of France. See "France and the Confederate Navy: An International Episode" (Harper & Brothers, 1863). I paid no attention to this or the previous communication on the subject, dated August 4, except to send copies to Mr. Seward.

On his side, the General engages to abandon (as soon as the money is received) all the Spanish Antilles.

I wrote you the 4th of August last on this subject. Your silence has made me think you had not occupied yourself with this occurrence. If such is not the case, write me, I beg of you, and I will go to you in Paris.

General Miramon has communicated to me his departure for Mexico.

Receive, dear sir, the assurance of my perfect respect.

BIGELOW TO HARGREAVES

Paris, Oct. 25, 1866.

My dear Friend:

I feel ashamed that you should have first learned from the public prints, and so long since, of a change in my plans of life, to which I could not presume that either you or yours would be entirely indifferent. I think it probable that in our conversations last summer I may in some measure have prepared you to expect what has occurred, but so signal and uniform has been Mr. Seward's kindness to me that I did not wish to expose him to the importunities which the announcement that such a mission as this was *en disponibilité* would entail, until he was fully prepared for them. Hence I made it a secret. It was only a few days since that I received from him official notice that my prayer to be relieved, addressed to him early in July, had been accepted. My reasons for abandoning a position which so many have envied me, and which I may say in point of dignity is so much beyond my deserts, are not such as men would generally appreciate, but I think you will. They are, briefly: that I have little taste for official honors; that I think I can do something better, that is, more useful, both to myself and to my country, than to carry on this legation now, when all elements of controversy between France and the United States have disappeared; that I wish to see the land of my birth and the friends of my youth, from whom I have been separated seven out of the last eight years; and that I am fearful, unless my children return soon, that they will be in a measure unfitted for a happy career in the country

where I expect them to pass their lives. Finally, I begin to feel that it is time for me to turn my face towards our common *home;* to set my house in order and prepare for those days when the infirmities of age indispose to new enterprises and invite repose. In my library and in my family duties I shall find ample employment for the remainder of my span of life, and abundant means of satisfying any residuum of ambition which may be still lurking in my system.

One of the privileges which I hope for from my enfranchisement will be the having more time to devote to the offices of friendship, and in efforts to render my own less unworthy of those who bestow theirs upon me. I have been toiling some twenty years or more to extirpate public evils; I hope soon to have time and inclination to wage a war of extermination upon the "enemies of my own household," the evils of my own heart. I dare say that the public situation will improve *pari passu* with my own. . . .

I hope your health will go on improving and that you will occasionally find an opportunity, when the Ocean separates us again, of letting me know that you have not forgotten us nor ceased to feel interested in our fate.

Yours very sincerely

COMTE FERDINAND DE LASTEYRIE TO BIGELOW

Monsieur:

Ayant quitté Paris le surlendemain du jour où j'avais eu l'honneur de passer chez vous, c'est ici, plus de cent lieues de la capitale, que je reçois l'invitation à diner que vous aviez bien voulu m'adresser ainsi qu'à Madame de Lasteyrie. Cette circonstance doit me servir d'excuse auprès de vous, si je n'ai pu vous répondre plutôt, et vous offrir mes sincères remerciements. Le regret de n'avoir pu profiter de votre amiable invitation s'ajoute à celui que j'éprouve de n'avoir pu vous remercier de vive voix des excellentes recommendations que vous aviez eu la bonté de me donner à l'occasion du voyage que je viens de terminer. Elles m'ont été fort utiles en facilitant mes relations avec les hommes politiques les plus éminents de

votre pays et je vous en suis, Monsieur, profondément reconnaissant. Peut-être me permettrez-vous aussi de joindre ma voix à celle de vos nombreux compatriotes pour regreter votre retraite de la diplomatie. J'ai appris du moins avec plaisir qu'elle ne serait pas le signal de votre départ de Paris, et je ne manquerai certainement pas de chercher de nouveau à vous rencontrer, des qu'il me sera possible d'y revenir. Nous sommes actuellement retenus à la campagne pour la santé de Madame de Lasteyrie, qui est très gravement malade dupuis plusieurs mois. Elle me charge d'exprimer à Madame Bigelow tout son regret de n'avoir pu la voir cette été, et de lui offrir ses compliments les plus distingués.

Veuillez, Monsieur, croire à tous les sentimens de gratitude et de considération de

Votre devoué, Servt.

Le Saillins, 26 octobre, 1866.

JOHN A. DIX TO BIGELOW

New York, 29 Oct., 1866.

My dear Mr. Bigelow:

My wife and daughter left me on Saturday to pass a few weeks in Devonshire and to await my arrival there. When I am to leave I do not yet know. But I suppose I shall be expected to embark in the month of November, as I was told you desired to be relieved in December. I regret that you were not willing to remain until spring.

I shall count much on your kindness in making me acquainted with my new duties; and I feel very sensibly the responsibility which will devolve on me in following you, who have executed your official trust so acceptably to the government. Had there been time, I should have been glad to receive some advices from you before my departure; but it has been and is so indefinite that I have not thought it worth while to write.

With my kind regards to Mrs. Bigelow, I am, my dear Sir,

Very truly yours

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, November 2, 1866.

Sir:

I have already advised you of the proceedings instituted by Mr. Nicolay, United States Consul, under my instructions, against Messrs. Arman and others for the recovery of large sums of money supposed to be deposited in their hands for account of the late so-called Confederate States. I am advised by the Counsel in the case that a printed official copy of all the correspondence that has been communicated to Congress bearing upon the vessels constructed for the account of the Confederates will be important in the trial. I would therefore suggest if that correspondence which was communicated to Congress in December, 1865, is printed, as I presume it is by this time, that a copy of it be sent forward at once, and if not yet printed that if practicable the work be pressed a little to meet the exigency.

I have recommended the employment of M. Berryer to assist in the trial of this case: first, because of his eminence and influence; secondly, because he has already been consulted by us and given an opinion about the liability incurred by the builders of Confederate steamers; and, thirdly, because, as a member of the Corps Législatif, his retainership may tend, I hope, to hasten a settlement without a trial.

I trust what I have done will meet your approval.

The trial, if the Consul can get his case ready by that time, may come on in January.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

BIGELOW TO RICHARD H. DANA

Paris, November 6, 1866.

My dear Sir:

It was not until several weeks after you left Paris that I returned to find your welcome edition of Wheaton, for which

I beg you will accept my thanks. I thank you not only for remembering me so kindly, but yet more for giving the world a Wheaton undefiled. It was distressing to see such a noble monument of learning floating about the world like one of our majestic frigates, all covered with the barnacles and infested with the vermin which accident or neglect had suffered to accumulate upon and within it. And I envy you the satisfaction you must feel in being the successful instrument of its purification. . . .

I shall give the copy you were good enough to send me to the first person I find who will bring its merits suitably to the notice of the French public.

I see you have felt compelled to separate yourself from the administration. I am very sorry for this, not on your account, for you can no doubt be much more advantageously employed, but for the sake of the government that was not fortunate enough to pursue a policy that you could support. I hope the recent elections and those taking place to-day may have the effect of bringing the President and Congress into more harmonious relations and that we may escape the national scandal which is threatened from so many influential quarters.

The papers will have informed you of my resignation. My motives for retirement were more selfish than yours. I hope to bring my exile to a close in the spring and then to return to my country and to my surviving friends, who, like everything else in the United States, have advanced greatly in value during my absence.

Among the most cherished of those friends I trust you will allow me to place you, as I am

Most sincerely yours

BIGELOW TO LABOULAYE

Paris, November, 1866.

My dear Sir:

In running over the new edition of your "Histoire des États-Unis" night before last I discovered an error in the

pagination to which the attention of your publisher should be directed without delay.

In the commencement of the 19th leçon, page 373 does not follow page 372. Page 373 ought to follow page 395. The error could be corrected simply by transposing pages 372 and 395 and then transposing the chapters as corrected.

As this is not an error of the binder, but of the printer, I take it for granted that it runs through the whole edition.

In exchange for this information I beg to trouble you with one or two questions. Do you know in whose possession the autograph memoirs of Dr. Franklin now are? I understand they belong to a family at Amiens. If you do not know, do you chance to know of any one at Amiens who would be likely to know, for such a possession would scarcely be made a secret of? I would be very glad to get satisfactory information upon either of these points.

In the next place, do you know the address of Monsieur Louis de Loménie, the biographer of Beaumarchais? If you do, I will thank you to send it to me. I hope your health is improving and that you are to be in town before long.

Yours very faithfully

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, November 6, 1866.

Sir:

The *Moniteur* announced on Saturday last that the Marquis de Montholon was to be replaced at Washington by M. Barthelmy, the late envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of France in China.

M. Barthelmy was secretary of legation under M. Thouvenel, at Constantinople, and subsequently his chief secretary when he was named Minister of Foreign Affairs. His first and the only full mission he has filled was that to China.

The Marquis de Moustier mentioned this change to me on Thursday last, but as he had not yet announced it to the Mar-

quis de Montholon, he requested me not to mention it in my correspondence of that week. He spoke of M. Barthelmy as a young man, and one who had no fixed opinions or prejudices in regard to the United States. He is now in Paris, *en congé,* but I have not yet met him.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, November 8, 1866.

Sir:

The Minister of Foreign Affairs informed me on Thursday last, in reply to a question which certain newspaper rumors prompted me to address him, that it was the purpose of the Emperor to withdraw all his troops from Mexico in the spring, but none before that time. I expressed my surprise and regret at this determination, so distinctly in conflict with the pledges given by his Excellency's predecessor, M. Drouyn de Lhuys, both to you, through the Marquis de Montholon, and also to myself personally. The marquis assigned considerations of a purely military character, overlooking, or underestimating, as it seemed to me, the importance which this change might possibly have upon the relations of France with the United States. My first impulse was to send him a note on the following day, asking for a formal statement of the Emperor's motives for disregarding the stipulations of his foreign minister for a withdrawal of one detachment of his Mexican army during the current month of November. I concluded, however, that it would be more satisfactory to the President that I should see the Emperor himself upon the subject. I accordingly waited upon his Majesty yesterday at St. Cloud, repeated to him what the Marquis de Moustier had told me, and desired to know what, if anything, could be done by me to anticipate and prevent the discontent which I felt persuaded would be experienced by my country people if they receive this intelligence without any explanation. I referred to the early meeting of Congress, when any change in our relations either with

A.D. 1811 Laboulaye A.D. 1883

France or Mexico would be likely to come under discussion, and my fear that his Majesty's reasons for postponing the repatriation of the first detachment of his troops might be attributed to motives which our people would be disposed to resent.

The Emperor said that it was true that he had concluded to postpone the recall of any of his troops until spring; but that in doing so he had been influenced entirely by military considerations. At the time he gave the order, the successes of the dissidents, supported as they were by large re-enforcements from the United States, seemed to render any reduction of his force there perilous to those remaining behind.

He accordingly sent a telegram to Marshal Bazaine, who had already embarked a regiment (eighty-first, I think he said), but which had fortunately been prevented from sailing by unfavorable winds, directing him to embark no troops until all were ready to come. *This despatch, his Majesty said, was not sent in cipher, that no secret might be made of its tenor in the United States.* The troops were then disembarked and returned to Orizaba. His Majesty went on to say that he sent General Castelnau to Mexico about the same time, charged to inform Maximilian that France could not give him another cent of money nor another man; if he thought he could sustain himself there alone, France would not withdraw her troops faster than had been stipulated for by M. Drouyn de Lhuys, should such be his desire; but if, on the other hand, he was disposed to abdicate, which was the course his Majesty counselled him to take, General Castelnau was charged to find some government with which to treat for the protection of French interests, and to bring all the army home in the spring.

I asked his Majesty if the President of the United States had been notified of this, or if anything had been done to prepare his mind for the change in his Majesty's policy. He said that he did not know; that M. de Moustier ought to have done so; that, as these events occurred during the interim of a change in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it was possible that it had been neglected, though his telegram to Marshal Bazaine was purposely sent in a way to show that there was nothing in his plans to disguise.

I remarked that my government was constantly under the necessity of protesting against acts done in the name of his

Majesty, and the effect of such protests was always to weaken public confidence in the representations which the government had felt itself authorized to make in regard to his Majesty's intentions. I then explained to him again briefly the grave inconveniences liable to result from any unexplained departure from the stipulations already given in his Majesty's name to the world. His Majesty replied that we had the telegraph now, and that any misunderstanding of that sort might be readily rectified.

His Majesty appeared to realize the importance of having an understanding with the President upon the subject, and I left with the impression that he intended to occupy himself with the matter at once.

There is but one sentiment here about the determination of France to wash her hands of Mexico as soon as possible. Nor have I any doubt that the Emperor is acting in entire good faith towards us; but I did not feel sure that the change in his plans, upon which I have been commenting, would receive so favorable an interpretation in the United States. In view of recent successes gained by the imperialists in Mexico, and in view of the somewhat turbulent state of our politics at home, I feared that the course of the Emperor might possibly awaken suspicions in the United States which might seriously prejudice the relations of the two countries. To prevent such a calamity, if possible, I thought it my duty to take the precautions of which I have here rendered you an account.

The fact which the Emperor admitted in this conversation, that he had advised Maximilian to abdicate, has prepared me to expect every day the announcement of his abdication, for such advice, in Maximilian's dependent condition, is almost equivalent to an order. That it would be so regarded is, I think, the expectation of the Emperor, and ample preparations for the early repatriation of all the troops have, I believe, already been made by the Ministers of War and Marine. The Emperor stated that he expected to know the final result of Castelnau's mission toward the end of this month.

A telegram has appeared in the *London Star* and *Post,* quoting a report circulating in New York on the 6th, that Maximilian had abdicated. As despatches received the 7th made no reference to this report, I presume it was at least premature.

I am, sir, etc.

A.D. 1808

A.D. 1873

Napoleon III

The second and last dethroned Emperor of France

BIGELOW TO PRÉVOST-PARADOL

PARIS, November 8, 1866.

My dear Friend:

Many, many thanks for your audacious book.[1] I was all the more grateful for it when I came to look it over, for I apprehended that it was already too late to find a copy for sale in the shops. If M. de La Valette spares it, it will be the best possible—indeed, the only—answer he can make to it, for certainly you could not have waged a more effective war upon the government if the press were entirely unrestricted.

Of course I cannot be supposed to have any opinion as to the *Motifs politiques* of these papers; but as works of art in their kind, I cannot exaggerate my admiration of them. They are superior in every way to the letters of Junius, and—may a foreigner dare say it?—part of them not inferior to the best *Lettres Provinciales.*

I cannot, however, get rid of a certain feeling of regret that so much talent should have been expended in the work of destruction, which passes away, instead of the work of construction, which might endure forever.

Gratefully and faithfully yours

P.S. Please notify me as soon as you have determined to accept the tempting invitation of M. de Cassagnac.

J. B.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, November 9, 1866.

Sir:

I have been unable until this moment to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of October 12, No. 374.

[1] Essais de Politique et de Littérature, 3d Series.

The President is pleased with the liberal and friendly disposition which is manifested by the Marquis de Moustier in regard to our international questions.

Mr. Campbell proceeds to-morrow, with Lieutenant-General Sherman, to Mexico or its vicinity. I give you a copy of the instructions of this department to our new outgoing minister to Mexico. It is not intended that they shall be formally or officially communicated to the French government; but, at the same time, we affect no secrecy on the occasion. You may, therefore, make such use of them as you find necessary or expedient in making known the policy of this government as affected by the anticipated retirement of the French military forces from that country.

I thank you for the information you have given me concerning domestic questions of interest in the French empire.

I am. sir, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

WASHINGTON, Nov. 12th, 1866.

My dear Mr. Bigelow:

Returning to the Department after an absence of three weeks of sorrowful watching over a dear child that I have been obliged to resign, I find your interesting note of conversations with M. Pereire and Sir Henry Bulwer. They have much significance, and I thank you for them. I think that our people could be reconciled easily towards France, but the feeling in regard to Great Britain is very hard. We shall see what Lord Stanley proposes.

Very truly your friend

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

PARIS, November 16, 1866.

My dear Mr. Seward:

The Scriptures authorize us to believe that God is never so near to us as in our afflictions. It is by laying up for us our

treasures in a better world that He gently detaches us from this and strengthens our desire to seek them there.

I hope you have found in these reflections the consolation of which you have stood so much in need during the past two years and never more, I presume, than now.[1]

Mrs. Bigelow and myself have felt for you and Frederick the most profound sympathy, all the more profound that your public duties in a measure deprive you of that retirement and repose which are so grateful to the bereaved.

I send you two numbers of the *Liberté* containing a lengthy notice of you, which is more remarkable for the good dispositions of the author and for the space he is allowed to occupy with the narrative of your achievements than for anything else.

This journal, which is edited by Girardin, formerly the editor of the *Presse,* has become one of the most influential in Paris, and I would recommend you to take it at the State Department instead of the *Presse* if you do not wish to increase your list. The *Liberté* will soon commence the discussion of the Mexican question. M. C. Duvernois, one of its ablest writers, has requested me to supply him with the documents upon the subject, to the study of which he proposes to consecrate the forced leisure of a couple of months which a duel with a brother editor has recently secured him within the walls of Ste. Pélagie.

The reported departure of Mr. Campbell for Mexico, attended by Lieutenant-General Sherman, has suddenly given the Mexican question precedence of every other here. The officious journals are giving it out that the vessels designed to bring back the troops are now taking on board their men at Toulon, with the intention of being at Vera Cruz by the 1st of January.

I send you one or two extracts from *La France* which will show you what the Foreign Office wish the public to believe upon the subject. You will find the journals, generally, speaking of these preparations.

I ordered for you a short time since a portfolio of a peculiar construction which I thought you would find convenient for carrying the papers you need with you at the President's and at Cabinet Meetings. It was constructed after a model de-

[1] The death of his child is alluded to.

vised by the Ottoman legation here and is already much in use. I beg you will do me the favor to accept it. I send it to you by Mr. George Schuyler, who leaves in the *Arago* next Wednesday.

I remain, dear Sir,

Faithfully yours

On the 12th of November one of the editorial staff of the *Liberté*, M. de Fonvielle, called upon me to say that M. Clément Duvernois, then in prison at Ste. Pélagie, wished to see me for help in a study of the Mexican question, upon which he was meditating a book. I said I would call upon him with pleasure if I was sure of permission to see him. He promised to ascertain how it could be done, and on the 14th brought me the following note:

CLÉMENT DUVERNOIS TO BIGELOW

Translation

Ste. Pélagie, Wednesday,
14th November, 1866.

Dear Sir:

I sincerely hope that you will not quit Paris without coming to shake my hand, the more so because it is impossible for me to come to see you.

You have only to ask a permit from the Chief of the Division of Prisons at the prefecture of police.

I have the honor to be

Your very affectionate servant

I procured a permit from the chief of police, and on the following Sunday, the 18th, about 2 P.M., took a cab for the Pélagie prison, where, on mounting to the fourth or fifth story,

I found Duvernois—quite a young man, apparently not much over thirty, about five feet eight inches in height, large, square forehead, light hair rather thin, of a stout, solid figure, fair complexion and hazel eyes. He was dressed in a sack-coat and a colored flannel shirt, without linen. He got down at once to business, talked with nervous rapidity, and, I was happy to observe, not about himself. He said he was writing a history of the Mexican expedition, aiming to show that its conception was a twin birth to our War of Secession. He hoped to have it ready at the opening of the Corps Législatif. He meant to give all the documents for a Belgian edition, leaving the discretion with his publisher, who had a house in Paris, to suppress what might provoke the censorship for the Paris edition.

I promised to supply him with all the documents he would care to use, and did so after a few days.

His book, published a few years later, was entitled "L'Intervention Française au Mexique." He was a very polemical journalist, which had cost him a duel with Francisque de Sarcey and led to his confinement where I found him. He afterwards rose to considerable power, was the proximate cause of the overthrow of the Ollivier ministry, and subsequently became Minister of Agriculture in the Palikao ministry. Later he became the director of the Banque Territorial d'Espagne, in which capacity he encountered temptations which resulted in his condemnation to a two years' imprisonment. From that disgrace he never emerged. He was a gifted writer of the order of the press militant. He had intellectual and physical talents which warranted his aspiration to any position of eminence in his country, but unfortunately he lacked one talent to purchase which he could have afforded to sell all the rest. His "Intervention Française au Mexique" is a book, however, worth the inspection of any one who ever undertakes to write the complete history of that monumental folly.[1]

[1] In May, 1867, the five applicants for a charter for the Compagnie Maritime Egyptienne appropriated ten million francs, or ten per cent. of its capital, for the expenses incurred in procuring the charter. The founder of the Compagnie Maritime Egyptienne, in virtue of the above engagement of the five founders of the company, engaged to pay M. Clément Duvernois five million francs out of the ten millions to be disposed of, in remuneration of his services and the coöperation of foreigners which he believed he could use to effect the said concession. These five million francs were to be paid as soon and as fast as the founder of the company should receive the sums, and in the same manner.

BIGELOW TO E. D. MORGAN

PARIS, Nov. 21, 1866.

My dear Mr. Morgan:

I have not yet seen yr. son, though I had a charming interview with Mrs. M., who is in superb health and spirits. We arranged definitely for you and yr. wife to come out with George early in May. I hope you will take no appeal from our decision.

As you propose to be in Washington about the time this letter will reach you and were good enough to promise to make some inquiries for me about houses, I hasten to say to you that Mrs. Stedman's house, of which I wrote you, has been sold. She thinks it not improbable that the man who bought it is scarcely able to hold it and would sell it again for his money or thereabouts, $15,000 I believe.

I judged from her description that her house might have suited me very well. Though I do not require to entertain or to be entertained in Washington if we should go there, but propose "to lead a quiet, sober life," I shall require nevertheless considerable room, and I should rejoice in a small garden. My library will require at least two rooms the size of an ordinary parlor.

Excuse me for mentioning these things as if I supposed you were a-going to occupy yourself in house-hunting for me. That is not my Expectation or Wish, but I knew that you were in the way of hearing of houses for sale, and if you knew about what I wanted might be able to judge without trouble whether what offered might be available to me and in such case put me in relation with the owner. Let me say to you, in confidence, that when I come home I presume I shall be in receipt of a net income of 8 or 9000 dollars a year. I do not wish to devote any more of my life to mere money-getting. I mean to live upon what I have, be it more or less, and occupy the remainder of my days without direct reference to the pecuniary results of my labor, always supposing that some misfortune does not reduce my resources very considerably below the figure I have named. Now it was the old Napoleon's doctrine that a man's rent should not exceed a tenth of his income. At that rate I ought not to allow my rent charge to exceed $1000 a year.

My house therefore ought not to cost over $15,000. Without binding myself by any of the domestic or political rules of Napoleon, I feel that I should hardly be justified in paying much over $15,000 for a house unless I am willing to earn the difference, which I do not wish to be obliged to do. As I could not hope to get a house that would suit me in N. Y. for that sum, I am tempted by what Mrs. Stedman told me of her house and its price to try what I can do in Washington. What you say of this notion in your note encourages me to persist in it.

We learn to-day that Fenton was elected by 10,000 maj. and that the Annals of our Congress are to be decorated with the name of Morrissey. Neither result surprised me, though I confess I received the two reports with different degrees of satisfaction.

The report that Sherman was to accompany Campbell in a search for the Court of Prest. Juarez has produced a great excitement and some solicitude. Our friends are worried lest we relieve the Emperor [Napoleon] from his embarrassment by doing something that will enable him to rally the nation to his support in defence of its honor and all that. He is in great trouble just now, and there is an almost entire unanimity of opinion here among the leading men that he must fight Germany, that is, Prussia, in '68.

Give our regards to Mrs. Morgan and tell her not to fail to bring you out with her in the spring.

Yours very faithfully

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Private and Confidential

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, November 10, 1866.

My dear Mr. Seward:

Mr. Nicolay has shown me a letter from the State Department recapitulating some charges that have been lodged there against him, about which, in the interest of all parties, I feel that I may take the liberty of addressing you a few lines.

All that is charged against Mr. Nicolay for inefficiency I feel competent to assume as grossly unjust. I think he not only spends more time in his office engaged in strictly consular business than any of his predecessors ever did, but that the consular business is conducted with more system than it was ever conducted before. Mr. Nicolay is a man of excellent judgment and of conciliatory manner, as you know, and is universally respected by the American population here. I do not think that those even whose mercenary projects he has thwarted, and who are doubtless the authors of these complaints, can help respecting him as a faithful public officer.

Mr. Nicolay has not entertained Americans in Paris to any considerable extent and may have provoked some criticism among vulgar or inconsiderate people on that account, but it will be enough for you to know that since his arrival here Mrs. Nicolay has been confined; that he has no private fortune, and his salary is too small, at the present prices of living in Paris, to permit his extending much hospitality to strangers, even if they had the right to expect it of him, which they have not. Foreign Consuls in Paris are not expected, except by Americans, nor accustomed, to entertain beyond the immediate circle of their friends and acquaintance.

In speaking of political affairs at home Mr. Nicolay has always been exceedingly circumspect. I see him very frequently, but I never heard him, nor do I think any one ever heard him, speak disrespectfully of the President.

Under these circumstances, therefore, I feel it my duty to assure you of my conviction that not only is nothing to be gained by a change of Consul at this place at present, but that Mr. Nicolay could hardly be removed in the present state of affairs without strengthening the enemies of the administration, and, what to me personally would be more painful, without prejudice to yourself.

Pray excuse this friendly impertinence. I feel very much troubled about your health and about the political situation at home, in which you have more at stake than any other one person. No one has more confidence in your prudence and forecast than I have, and yet I cannot help wishing that Providence might send you some good pretext for not putting your foot again in Washington for the next six months.

Always faithfully and gratefully yours

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Telegram per cable

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, November 23, 1866.

Sir:

Your despatch of the 8th of November, No. 384, in regard to Mexico, is received.

Your proceedings in your interview with M. Moustier, and also your proceedings in your interview with the Emperor, are entirely approved. Say to M. Moustier that this government is surprised and affected with deep concern by the announcement, now made for the first time, that the promised recall of one detachment of the French troops from Mexico in November current has been postponed by the Emperor. The embarrassment thus produced is immeasurably increased by the circumstance that this proceeding of the Emperor has been taken without conference with, and even without notice to, the United States. This government has not in any way afforded re-enforcements to the Mexicans, as the Emperor seems to assume, and it has known nothing at all of his countermanding instructions to Marshal Bazaine, of which the Emperor speaks. We consult only official communications to ascertain the purposes and resolutions of France, as we make our own purposes and resolutions known only in the same manner where she is concerned.

I am not prepared to say, and it is now unnecessary to discuss, whether the President could or could not have agreed to the Emperor's proposed delay if he had been seasonably consulted, and if the proposition had been then put, as the proceeding is now, upon the ground of military considerations alone, and if it had been marked with the customary manifestation of regard to the interests and feelings of the United States. But the Emperor's decision to modify the existing arrangement without any understanding with the United States, so as to leave the whole French army in Mexico for the present instead of withdrawing one detachment in November current, as promised, is now found in every way inconvenient and exceptionable. We cannot acquiesce:

First. Because the term "next spring," as appointed for the entire evacuation, is indefinite and vague.

Second. Because we have no authority for stating to Congress and to the American people that we have now a better guarantee for the withdrawal of the whole expeditionary force in the spring than we have heretofore had for the withdrawal of a part in November.

Third. In full reliance upon at least a literal performance of the Emperor's existing agreement, we have taken measures, while facilitating the anticipated French evacuation, to co-operate with the republican government of Mexico for promoting the pacification of that country and for the early and complete restoration of the proper constitutional authority of that government. As a part of those measures, Mr. Campbell, our newly appointed minister, attended by Lieutenant-General Sherman, has been sent to Mexico in order to confer with President Juarez on subjects which are deeply interesting to the United States and of vital importance to Mexico.

Our policy and measures thus adopted in full reliance upon the anticipated beginning of the evacuation of Mexico were promptly made known to the French Legation here, and doubtless you have already executed your instructions by making them known to the Emperor's government in Paris.

The Emperor will perceive that we cannot now recall Mr. Campbell, nor can we modify the instructions under which he is expected to treat, and under which he may even now be treating with the republican government of Mexico.

That government will, of course, most earnestly desire and confidently expect an early and entire discontinuation of foreign hostile occupation. You will, therefore, state to the Emperor's government that the President sincerely hopes and expects that the evacuation of Mexico will be carried into effect with such conformity to the existing agreement as the inopportune complication which calls for this despatch shall allow. Mr. Campbell will be advised of that complication. Instructions will be issued to the United States military forces of observation to await in every case special directions from the President. This will be done with a confident expectation that the telegraph or mail may seasonably bring us a satisfactory resolution from the Emperor in reply to this note. You will assure the French government that the United States,

while they seek the relief of Mexico, desire nothing more earnestly than to preserve peace and friendship with France. Nor does the President allow himself to doubt that what has been determined in France, most inauspiciously, as we think, has been decided upon inadvertently, without full reflection upon the embarrassment it must produce here, and without any design to retain the French expeditionary forces in Mexico beyond the full period of eighteen months, originally stipulated for the complete evacuation.

I am, sir, etc.

This dispatch was the first and the longest as well as the most momentous, perhaps, that has yet ever crossed the Atlantic by telegraph, and of course, as it came in cipher, it was, I presume, the most expensive dispatch for its number of words that to this day has ever reached Europe from the State Department. It began to arrive on the morning of the 26th of November before I was out of bed, and the last instalment arrived at half-past four in the afternoon of the following day, its coming interrupted only during a few of the most pressing business hours of each day. The time consumed in its delivery was due to the fact that for every letter of the dispatch four or five figures were used. It cost the State Department something over $13,000, and it cost me a corresponding anxiety. I immediately discerned that it was written more for the edification of Congress than for mine, for Mr. Seward knew full well at the moment of writing it that the Emperor and his Cabinet were all more anxious than any citizen of the United States to hasten the recall of their troops from Mexico, and that they were doing everything that was possible to that end.

The reception of so lengthy a dispatch by telegraph to my legation was in itself so entirely unprecedented that the news circulated rapidly through the official departments and the diplomatic corps. As a consequence, representatives from many of the other legations called early the following day to learn what was up; but the caller most anxious was M. Pereire. Before he arrived I had made up my mind not

to communicate the dispatch to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and I contented myself with pulling a long face about the tenor of it to M. Pereire, without revealing anything of its contents except merely saying that, to my regret, *ils sont très sérieuse.* I learned early in life that a loaded gun was much more useful in combat than one discharged, and I proposed to myself to leave the tenor of this transatlantic communication to the imagination rather than to the loose tongues of those whom it might concern. My secretiveness, however, did not keep anybody's imagination in Paris long on the stretch, for the first steamer from New York after the dispatch was written brought it in the *New York Herald,* which confirmed my first impression that it was written for Congress rather than for the Tuileries.

Only a few weeks later I remarked in a speech of M. Rouher in the Corps Législatif an unexpected evidence of the advantage of the course I had pursued, for it enabled him to say, as he did truthfully of the dispatch referred to censoriously by the opposition, that his Government had received no such dispatch from the United States Legation.

The dispatch had answered its purpose without, however, compelling the Government to take official notice of it, to its great relief and I think Mr. Seward's.

When the letter of Mr. Seward of the 23d of November had become public property by its publication in the New York press, but before it had appeared in Paris, I addressed the following communication to the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

BIGELOW TO THE MARQUIS DE MOUSTIER

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, 28 November, 1866.

Sir:

In the conversation which I had the honor to hold with Your Excellency on the 1st inst., you were pleased to state among other things that it was the intention of the Imperial Government to recall all the French troops from Mexico in the Spring of 1867, but none before that time. I had the honor to inform

Your Excellency that the announcement of this deviation from the purpose proclaimed by your distinguished predecessor, in his dispatch to the Marquis de Montholon of the 6th of April, would greatly surprise and disappoint my government, and might prove the source of serious embarrassment. My apprehensions have been fully verified.

In view of the proposed recall of a portion of your expeditionary force in Mexico, and desiring to render such aid as might naturally be expected from a coterminous republic towards the restoration of order and the proper constitutional authority within its borders, the President had sent Mr. Campbell to Mexico with instructions to confer with President Juarez upon a variety of subjects of the deepest interest to both republics. Our policy and purposes, thus adopted in full reliance upon the anticipated beginning of the evacuation of Mexico by your forces, were promptly made known, as I am assured, to your Legation at Washington.

The embarrassment to which this situation gives rise is immeasurably increased by the circumstance that the change in the intentions of the Imperial Government in regard to the repatriation of its forces in Mexico was made not only without conference with, but even without any notice to, the government of the United States.

Your Excellency will certainly not expect the President to recall his Minister thus despatched to Mexico, nor to modify the instructions under which that agent is expected to treat and under which he may even now be treating with that government. It is therefore impossible to foresee what complications may arise from the state of things which his presence will produce. By way of precaution Mr. Campbell has been duly advised of what has occurred. Instructions have also been issued to the United States Military force of observation to await in every emergency, if possible, special directions from the President. I am instructed to say that these measures have been taken with an earnest desire, while seeking to promote the best interests of Mexico, to merit and preserve the friendship of France, as well as in the confident expectation that the stipulated evacuation of Mexico by the Imperial force will be conducted with a corresponding desire to mitigate the embarrassment with which that measure is now complicated.

It would be highly gratifying to my government as well as to myself, my term of service as the representative of the United States near His Majesty the Emperor being close at hand, to receive satisfactory assurances upon these points at Your Excellency's earliest convenience.

I avail myself of this occasion to renew to Your Excellency the assurances of the high consideration with which I have the honor to be, etc.

BIGELOW TO HON. J. M. WRIGHT, MINISTER OF THE UNITED STATES AT BERLIN

PARIS, November 28, 1866.

My dear Sir:

I think your informant cannot be *au courant* with the naval movements of Prussia. I have seen an account, stated by M. Arman himself, in which he admits having received over 4,000,000 of francs on four different vessels constructed for the French government since the 1st of January, 1864. The Count de Goltz also has told me of contracts of this kind with Arman.

If you can conveniently draw from another well, perhaps you may get more satisfactory results.

Yours very truly

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, November 30, 1866.

My dear Sir:

Your telegram, dated 23d November, from Washington, was received on the 26th and 27th instant. I immediately addressed a communication to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who is at Compiègne, and last evening received a note acknowl-

edging it and saying that he reserved his reply. After a brief interview with M. Rouher, Minister of State, this morning, at his request, I sent another note to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, requesting, in view of the urgency of the matter, an explanation of the Emperor's motives for deferring the partial evacuation of Mexico, and a statement of his plans and preparations for the execution of the stipulation of M. Drouyn de Lhuys, in advance of his more deliberate reply to my first communication. I hope to have that to-morrow. The government as yet has no news from Castelnau, which will be due to-night or to-morrow; neither does it know what has become of Maximilian. The papers to-day announce the occupation of Matamoras by the federals. M. Rouher assures me that the vessels are all ready and waiting a despatch from Castelnau to start for Vera Cruz, and they expect to have their whole force here by March at the latest. The Minister of Marine says they must leave here within fifteen days on account of the fever.

Yours very faithfully

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Telegram per cable

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, November 30, 1866.

Sir:

Despatch just received by Secretary of War from General Sheridan at New Orleans reports that he has reason to fear that for some unaccountable and unjustifiable reason General Sedgwick has crossed or will cross the Rio Grande and demand the surrender of Matamoras, on plea of preventing the pillage of Americans. General Sheridan reports that if Sedgwick should so cross the Rio Grande, he, Sheridan, will at once disapprove the proceeding and will relieve him from his command; and he has already telegraphed to General Sedgwick disapproving the proceeding. The Secretary of War has approved General Sheridan's action and disapproved that of General Sedgwick in all respects.

The Marquis de Montholon has now shown me a despatch of M. Moustier of the 15th of October last, and explained the reason for not giving me a copy of the same when received. You may look for a despatch from me to-morrow, which I hope may favorably affect the question presented in my late telegraphic despatch.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO THE MARQUIS DE MOUSTIER

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, November 30, 1866.

Sir:

In view of the misunderstanding which appears to exist between the governments at Washington and Paris in regard to the repatriation of the expeditionary forces in Mexico, a misunderstanding which, if not corrected, is liable to assume regrettable proportions, and in anticipation of the deliberate reply which, as I learn by Your Excellency's favor of last evening, you propose to make to the communication I had the honor to address to you on the 28th inst., will it not be convenient and advantageous to send me a brief exposition of the motives which prompted the change of policy which has been adopted, and also to confide to me a statement of the plans and preparations of the Imperial Government for carrying into effect the stipulations of your predecessor?

I hope Your Excellency will not think me importunate in addressing you this inquiry, which is prompted solely by a desire to preserve and promote the harmony of our respective governments.

I avail myself of this occasion to renew to Your Excellency the assurances of the high consideration with which I have the honor to be, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, December 3, 1866.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose a copy of a dispatch which I have this day transmitted to you in cipher by the Atlantic telegraph.

I am, sir, etc.

Secretary of State, Washington, United States:

In reply to a verbal communication the Minister of Foreign Affairs writes me to-day:

"The resolutions of the French Government are not changed, but from military considerations it has thought it ought to substitute a collective 'repatriation' for one by divisions, and our corps of occupation is to embark in the month of March next.

"I add that the French Government is disposed to have an understanding with the United States in view of the possible events in Mexico."

JOHN BIGELOW.

PARIS, December 3, 1866.

MOUSTIER TO BIGELOW

Translation

Sir:

The reason which prevented the French Government from beginning in the month of November the evacuation of Mexico was explained in a dispatch of the 16th of October, addressed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to M. de Montholon. The import of this dispatch was communicated to Mr. Seward. The latter had appeared satisfied with the declarations that had been made by our representative; I am, hence, surprised at the misunderstanding of which you inform me.

The resolutions of the French Government are not changed, but from military considerations it has thought it ought to substitute a collective "repatriation" for one by divisions, and our corps of occupation is to embark in the month of March next.

I add that the French Government is disposed to have an understanding with the United States in view of the possible events in Mexico.

Accept the assurances of the high consideration with which I have the honor to be, sir, etc.,

Paris, December 3, 1866.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Private and Confidential
To be read after the Dispatch No. 389

Circa December 7, 1866.

My dear Mr. Seward:

I communicate to you in a dispatch of this date certain overtures which have been made to me within a few days and which I presume will be made to you by M. Barthelmy. I have talked very freely with this gentleman and think his selection for this mission is auspicious in every respect. In my dispatch I give the result of conversations with Moustier, La Valette and Rouher. Moustier is merely their mouthpiece. It was La Valette who first proposed to come to an understanding with us for the organization of a provisional government. He said they could not recognize Juarez. The Emperor would never assent to that; he would fight first. But when I asked who or what he would take to make a provisional government of, he promptly replied, "Ce que vous voudrez, ce que vous voudrez," repeating this in a very emphatic way as if to convince me, without saying so, that they were more interested in pleasing us than in anything else. He went on at great length to deplore the policy pursued by the Emperor toward the United States during our war and also in Mexico, said he opposed both with all his might and so did Rouher. He de-

nounced Drouyn de Lhuys as the most unfortunate and pernicious Minister of Foreign Affairs that France ever had, boasted of having killed him and of having at last succeeded in securing the adoption of a policy for France which looked upon the friendship of the United States as an object of paramount importance. He thought if we would assist France in organizing a provisional government for Mexico—he did not seem to care how long it lasted if they could only get out of the country before it collapsed—it would be the commencement of a most friendly understanding between our governments. I stated to him that we could not intervene; that we could not intrigue against Juarez; that what we did must be done with loyalty to him, etc. He assented to all this. What he wanted was, he said, to do whatever they did with the understanding that it would suit us, and at the same time enable them to leave some shadow of a government behind them.

M. Moustier developed this idea in a more reserved way to me yesterday afternoon, and after a consultation upon the subject in the presence of La Valette and Rouher.

I went no farther with them than to say that the President might advise Juarez to coöperate in the organization of a provisional government that should be authorized to order and hold an election for the Presidency of Mexico, though nothing justified the expectation that he would exercise any pressure upon Juarez to bring about such a result. I also said that probably Juarez's confidence in his own popularity might dispose him to accept this mode of peacefully disposing of his rivals, with alacrity. For my own part, I do not see any difficulty in his having the choice of the personnel of the provisional government if he can find trusty friends not too flagrantly identified with his military operations. That he could readily arrange with Mr. Campbell. I do not think this government cares a farthing who is appointed, providing a certain respect is paid to their national dignity by eschewing names not too unfavorably known in France. There is great anxiety here, I think, lest the army may be attacked on its retirement and thus either humiliated or forced to seek revenge. One of the objects contemplated by this provisional government is no doubt to prevent such a catastrophe; to secure a cessation of hostilities and the opportunity of reducing the expenses of embarkation which would follow.

La Valette said most explicitly that they did not propose this understanding with us with any reference to assuming the debt. They did not care anything about that; they wish to get out of the country and be friends with the United States, and they did not give a thought to the money owing them beside these considerations. I think this proposal of which I have been speaking puts the whole control of Mexican affairs entirely in your hands if you are disposed to accept the trust, and at the same time will give you an influence with this government which may be turned to excellent account. There is a great desire here now to enter into a treaty with us to secure the moral advantage in Europe which such a step would ensure. You will probably be able to make good terms.

Yours very truly

P.S. I hear that General Dix is in England, so that I expect to be relieved in a few days, unless the Emperor should postpone our reception until his return from Compiègne, which I understand is fixed for the 15th instant. J. B.

BIGELOW TO EVART DUYCKINCK

Paris, December 4, 1866.

My dear Duyckinck:

I spoke to M. Doré a few evenings since of Mr. Middleton's project,[1] but it seemed that M. Bossange had not yet mentioned the matter to him. I had pleasure in complying with your wishes so far as to commend the proposal and its author to him, to the full extent of your instructions. M. Doré said he would be happy to see M. Bossange upon the subject. I showed him the poem, a copy of which, with illustrations by English artists, was lying upon my table. When he found how short it was, he seemed to think he could do it without interfering with his other engagements. You will be amused if not surprised to learn that he has embarked so largely in the illustration of English classics without any knowledge whatever of

[1] For an illustrated edition of Poe's "Raven" by Gustave Doré.

the language in which they are written. You can imagine how pale the "Raven" would look in a French translation.

The *Evening Post* is now here in force. Mr. Bryant surprised us very agreeably by his arrival a day or two since. His stay in Paris, however, will be but for a week or so.

Dr. Tomes[1] has closed his official career and returned to the Great Republic to repose upon his laurels about a week ago. Shut him up when he comes and make him write a careful book about his wine observations in Champagne. Godwin is pegging away here at his history. The Mont Cenis tunnel will probably be finished first. I expect to belong to myself once more in about a month and to take you by the hand next Spring or Summer.

Yours very sincerely

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Private and very Confidential

Paris, December 6, 1866.

My dear Mr. Seward:

I wish to caution you against granting authority to any governments abroad for the compromise or settlement of the suits pending in France for the recovery of Confederate property. When I see you I will give my reasons for this caution if you desire them. I deem it my duty now to put you on your guard against schemes on foot for a settlement to the serious prejudice of the government. The suits, I think, are going on well, and the time will come probably when a settlement on equitable terms may be obtained by Mr. Nicolay, but not if two or three different persons purporting to represent the government are encouraging expectations of a settlement that entirely overlook and disregard the rights and interests of the United States.

Yours very truly

[1] One of my college classmates and for a year or two, by my appointment, Consular Agent of the United States at Rheims.

XXII

A LOADED GUN NOT DISCHARGED

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, December 7, 1866.

Sir:

I HAD the honor to receive your telegram dated the 23rd day of November last, in relation to the evacuation of Mexico, on the 26th and 27th of the same month; also your telegrams on the same subject, dated respectively the 30th ultimo and December 1st, both together on the morning of the 3rd instant.

Having reason to suspect that some misapprehension existed in regard to the views of this government in deferring the partial evacuation of Mexico in November last, I took occasion to permit the general tone and purport of your instructions to transpire in an unofficial quarter for the purpose of ascertaining whether, contrary to all my expectations, any necessity existed for communicating it to the government. I soon satisfied myself that such necessity did not exist, that what were supposed to be sufficient precautions had been taken to satisfy the President that the postponement of the partial evacuation by France looked to an abbreviation rather than to a prolongation of her occupation of the Republic of Mexico, and was intended rather to conciliate than to offend the United States. Long and very frank conversations with two of the Emperor's most trusted counsellors left no shadow of a doubt on my mind upon this point.

I then, and not till then, informed the Minister of Foreign Affairs that the President was naturally surprised and concerned to learn that the project for the repatriation of the

French force in Mexico had been changed and its commencement deferred not only without any conference with our government but without even a notice of what had been resolved upon. I mentioned that, in expectation of a full and faithful compliance with the stipulations of his predecessor, our new Minister to the Republic of Mexico had just set out for the seat of his mission, with a view of entering into negotiations with President Juarez for the protection of the interests of our citizens in that country, and I hoped that measures might be taken to prevent any serious complications resulting from a change of policy for which we were not responsible, and of which it appeared our government had received no official notice.

After a verbal explanation from his Excellency, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, of the steps he had taken to explain to you, through the Marquis de Montholon, the Emperor's motives for bringing his whole force back in the spring, and after reading to me the despatch addressed by him to the Marquis de Montholon, the communication of a copy of which you acknowledge in your telegram of the 1st December, I was promised a written reply, which I received on the following day. A copy of this reply is enclosed. The most material portions of it were transmitted by telegraph on the 3rd instant. It was on the same day that I received your telegrams of the 30th November last and 1st December inst.

I lost no time in communicating the substance of them to the Imperial Government. I have reason to think that they were received with satisfaction, and removed impressions in regard to the purposes of our government which for a few days were very disquieting.

In the process of reaching a proper understanding upon the subject-matter of your first telegram, I had frequent and long interviews with several of the Emperor's Ministers. It would be tedious to repeat to you all that passed between us. I will content myself with giving you such of its results as bear most directly upon the future.

For the year past, I have had no doubt of the Emperor's desire and determination to wash his hands of his Mexican enterprise as completely and as rapidly as possible. If I could have entertained any doubts upon these points, they would have been most completely dissipated by what I have learned in the course of these interviews.

The relations of this government with Maximilian are no longer friendly. He not only ceases to communicate with it, but seems disposed to embarrass it in every possible way. It is not known here yet whether he is still in Mexico or on the sea. From information received at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from persons belonging now or lately to his household, he is expected at Gibraltar on or about the 10th instant. Whether he comes or stays, the French force will leave in March. Of this I am distinctly assured by M. de Moustier, who also tells me that the Minister of Marine has notified him that the army must be out of Mexico before the 15th of March, and that it is the expectation of his government that they will have all embarked by or before that time, if they are permitted to. And that brings me to the subject of the closing paragraph of M. de Moustier's communication of the 3rd instant, herewith enclosed, in which he expresses his readiness to come to an understanding with the United States in view of possible events in Mexico. This paragraph may be treated as an overture to our government which M. Barthelmy is instructed to develop if he is encouraged to do so.

The situation that will present itself when Mr. Campbell arrives in Mexico will be this: Maximilian will have either abdicated or have been dethroned, for the power that he claimed as Emperor is now in the hands of General de Castelnau, representing France. The only other power recognized in Mexico is represented by President Juarez. France will not recognize Juarez nor treat with him. She is there as a belligerent, and he is her enemy. France is ready to come to an understanding with us for the organization of any sort of provisional government in Mexico with powers to take such steps as may be necessary to form a permanent one, provided such provisional government is not represented by Juarez or any of the Generals who have been specially prominent in supporting his cause. And, on the other hand, she does not expect such provisional government to consist of men who have been prominent in resisting him. In the organization of such a provisional government, France desires to act with the United States just so far as the United States are inclined to act with her and to lend to her the weight of their influence and the aid of their counsel. As I understand it, she has no choice whatever about the composition of the provisional government ex-

cept so far as I have stated, and any other man or men than those excepted, that would suit us, would be satisfactory to her.

The objects of France in inviting this understanding are, so far as they have been communicated to me, such as we can fully sympathize with. She wishes to arrest the fighting and bloodshed; to diminish the risk of any indignity being offered to her returning army which the French nation would be called upon to resent; and to leave a government behind her, if possible, which would prove more auspicious for Mexico, and a more fortunate expression of the national will, than that which she had attempted unsuccessfully to establish.

I do not think that this government will propose any other conditions to its co-operation with the United States in the formation of a provisional government than such as I have named. It does not expect us to become in any way responsible for its pecuniary claims upon Mexico, though of course a large party will intrigue on both sides of the Atlantic for such a step as long as they imagine there can be a chance of success; nor indeed have I encouraged the Ministers who have discussed this subject with me to expect any formal or strictly official participation in the organization of a provisional or any other government in Mexico. Having always recognized President Juarez as the lawful ruler of Mexico, I have represented that we can do nothing to prejudice his authority, but if our friendly offices can be successfully employed in re-establishing friendly relations between France and Mexico, in affording the people an opportunity of exercising their constitutional right, which the French occupation has for a year, more or less, placed in abeyance, of choosing a President and of consolidating their government, I have said that I did not think the President would hesitate to exert them. I am given to understand that nothing more is expected or desired in the premises than what will be most agreeable to the United States and tend most to promote friendly relations between them and France. M. Barthelmy goes to the United States to-morrow, instructed to bring about, if possible, an understanding that shall look to some such results. General de Castelnau is fully imbued with the same views and had written to his government that its first duty should be to come to an understanding with us; while here nothing is more desired by the govern-

ment, and by the people of all parties, than a prompt and durable settlement of all differences, and the renewal of cordial relations between the United States and her oldest ally.

Such, sir, is the substance of the impressions which I have received from repeated and protracted conversations with the Emperor's most trusted and influential counsellors during the past ten days. I communicate them to you that you may be prepared to receive M. Barthelmy in the way that shall be best calculated to promote what you regard as the true interest and policy of our country.

As this is probably the last time that I shall have occasion to address you officially upon this subject, I am sure you will pardon the expression of my own conviction—and I do not doubt it is yours also—that it is the true interest and policy of the United States to profit by the opportunity here presented of placing both France and Mexico under such obligations to us as will not fail to be appreciated and gratefully remembered by the entire population of both countries.

I have the honor to remain, Sir, with great respect, etc.

As the foregoing was the last official communication I ever had occasion to address to Mr. Seward, I am unwilling to quit this without leaving a record of the estimate I made of him some seventeen years ago, at the special request of Mr. Pierce, the devoted biographer of Mr. Sumner, and part of which he incorporated into the biography of that statesman.

BIGELOW TO EDWARD L. PIERCE

Highland Falls, N. Y.,
Oct. 6th, 1892.

My Dear Mr. Pierce:

Between illness in my family and pressures of various kinds from without, I have not found till to-day a moment that I could conscientiously devote to a compliance with your request

for my estimate of Seward. To the neglect of many matters and at the risk of expressing myself imperfectly, I am resolved that another day shall not elapse without some sort of an answer to your letters of the 23d and 29th of August.

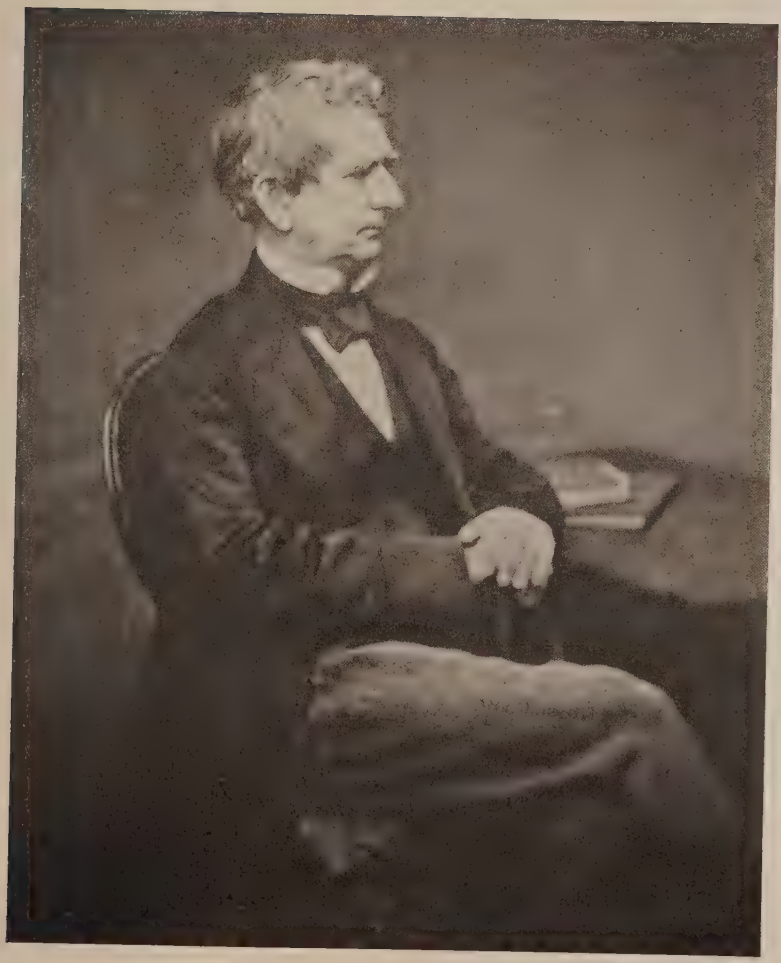
My acquaintance with Seward commenced shortly after the defeat of Fremont for President. Until the formation of the Republican party we hailed, as you know, from hostile camps politically. I had very little intercourse with him until Mr. Lincoln sent me to France, and then our intercourse was of course of an official character. Upon my return in 1867, I saw more of him personally, when the impressions I had received of him from our official correspondence were deepened but not materially modified.

It is an easy thing to point out many of Seward's limitations. Though college-bred, he was not in any proper sense of the words a liberally educated man. He was licensed to practise law, but he embarked in politics so early in life that he was never much of a lawyer. He may be fairly enough said to have spent his entire adult life in politics, which, though calculated to develop a certain range of faculties very highly, is not apt, in our country at least, to make an entirely symmetrical man. The necessity and the habit of deferring to popular opinion weaken a man in the inverse ratio to his native force. The weak it crushes; the strong it elevates, but not symmetrically. To this influence Mr. Seward was no exception. Possessing too much talent and ambition to be content with being a mere political swashbuckler, he aimed to rank among the leaders of men; but his wings, like those of the ostrich, though they served him to run with greater speed, could not lift him entirely from the ground. And yet, whenever he appeared at the bar he appeared with distinction, and he never appeared in politics except as a leader, and usually a successful leader. He was the first antislavery man in the country who had and retained a national party behind him. If he did not march as fast as some, he always kept ahead of his troops, but never so far that they could not hear his word of command. There were many earnest and able antislavery men in the Senate while he was a Senator, but Seward was the one who was usually held responsible by the slaveholders for all the antislavery agitation, and it was against him that their guns were always turned in controversy. This was an uncon-

scious homage to his sagacity as a leader of the phalanx of freedom, which was paid to no other Northern Senator.

The documents to which you refer me in the life of Lincoln, standing by themselves, are susceptible of a construction not entirely favorable to the soundness of Mr. Seward's judgment when they were penned, but it is very manifest to me that the whole story of those papers is not told. Evidently Mr. Lincoln did not pass as severe a judgment upon them as you seem disposed to, for instead of preparing the public for their author's dismissal from his cabinet by giving them to the press, he annotated them and retained their author at his side. He did this, too, in spite of the appeal from nearly all the Republican Senators, Sumner among them I believe, that he would get a new Minister of Foreign Affairs. No one had better means of knowing Mr. Seward's value as a counsellor in that trying time than Mr. Lincoln, and I am not aware of any evidence that after the first year of the war he ever, for one moment, entertained the idea that there was any man in the nation who could replace Mr. Seward to the advantage of the public service. In a crisis like that through which they were conducting the country, no one is wise and cool enough to make no blunders. Mr. Lincoln himself made as great blunders as either of those you refer me to. For example, not only Mr. Lincoln but a majority of his cabinet made no secret of their opposition to the surrender of Slidell and Mason, and when Mr. Lincoln made his views known to Mr. Seward, the Secretary replied, "Then, Mr. Lincoln, you will have to write the answer to Lord John Russell's letter, for I cannot." Again, Mr. Lincoln allowed Grant to send an army of 75,000 men to the Rio Grande at the close of the war, just at the time when successful negotiations were progressing at Paris for the retirement of the French from Mexico—a very imprudent as well as unwise proceeding. Happily, Mr. Seward got the troops away before any mischief came of it.

It is a remarkable evidence of the power and value of Mr. Seward in Mr. Lincoln's cabinet that, while no one was so uniformly held responsible for everything that went wrong and for all the disasters which befell our arms, the State Department was the only department of the government the conduct of which was never seriously assailed by Congress, by the press or by the public, and the only department the opera-



A.D. 1801 W. H. Seward A.D. 1872

tions of which, so far as I can recollect, were uniformly and unconditionally approved by the nation. The criticisms and censures of which Mr. Seward was the victim were always levelled against transactions outside of his department which were justly or unjustly attributed to his influence. This has been the fate of every man who has exercised an overshadowing influence in public affairs. There will always be some who will complain that flowers will not flourish under the monarch of the forest, but most people feel amply compensated by the majesty of its proportions and the luxury of its shade, and the music of the birds that nestle in its branches, for the loss of the flowers.

I must say for myself that I cannot conceive of a pleasanter or a more considerate chief to serve under than Mr. Seward always proved to me, and I have always felt that his management of our foreign affairs during the war was wiser than he was himself aware of. His mistakes—of course he made some—were trifling, but his achievements were those of a man who seemed to have been specially called and equipped for the crisis in which, without in the least undervaluing Mr. Lincoln's services, Mr. Seward never occupied a secondary position.

He was criticised by some of the high-flying republicans for remaining in Johnson's cabinet. I doubt if there was any period of his life in which he placed his country under greater obligations than during the three years of President Johnson's administration, and I am sure that the country would have been profoundly disturbed, and with good reason, had Johnson undertaken to replace him. If any one was ever the necessary man, he then was that man.

It is true that there was always a group of men who boasted of their friendship with Mr. Seward and traded upon it, whose acquaintance was a credit to no one and of advantage to very few. But that is a misfortune to which all leaders of successful parties are exposed. The birds of evil omen scent their prey from afar, and camp-followers most abound on the trail of a successful army. But what prominent statesman in our history has suffered less personally from scandal of any kind than Mr. Seward? No one has ever pretended that he took any improper advantage of his official position to enrich himself to the value of a penny.

In his private and domestic life who was more exemplary? We have had many men in public life each of whom was greater in some respect than Mr. Seward was, but not many, if any, as great as he in so many respects. One thing in which he excelled all the men of his time that I knew, was his sagacity in discerning the trend of public opinion. When he discerned it, he reverently bowed to it. In that sense he was pre-eminently a representative man. What Jefferson said of Lafayette might be said of Seward and eke of Sumner. Both had a "canine appetite for praise." But, like Sumner and like Lafayette, Seward sought for praise mostly by trying to do praiseworthy things. Besides, the world is not yet so good or so wise that it can afford to dispense with approbativeness as a motive power. I fear a great deal of what we call patriotism, philanthropy and heroism would never have been heard of without it, and as long as it is fairly earned we should not regard the soil in which it grows too critically.

I fear this letter will read to you more like a panegyric than the judicial estimate which you asked of me. If my estimate is not shared by posterity, I think it will be for the same reason that we have heard so little of the brave men who lived before Agamemnon—*carent quia vate sacro.*

The late Charles Francis Adams, in his memorial discourse on Seward at Albany, committed the deplorable mistake of trying to construct the monument of his hero of the bones of President Lincoln. I believe you have too high and just an estimate of Sumner to think the bones of any one will be required for his monument.

Yours very faithfully

To this very deliberate estimate of Mr. Seward as a statesman I should like now further to add that he was nearly, if not quite, the only member of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet who from the beginning to the end of the Civil War never for a moment lost sight of the all-important fact that the time must inevitably come when the people of the free and the slave States would have to sleep in the same bed or to both sleep their last sleep as Popular Sovereignties. I may add that he was the

only member of that Cabinet whose lips never gave public utterance to a word of censure of any of his colleagues, which goes far to explain the fact that to the last he was the minister whom Mr. Lincoln most uniformly consulted, whether the subject pertained to his own or any other department. Of this fact the Diary of Mr. Secretary Welles furnishes an abundance of the most conclusive evidence.

BIGELOW TO A. H. REDFIELD, COMPTROLLER OF THE CITY OF DETROIT

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, December 11, 1866.

Sir:

Your communication of the 25th of July last, covering a request from the Common Council of Detroit that I would assist them in procuring all possible information from the municipal authorities of the city of Paris concerning "the ingredients, cost and durability of the asphalt or composition roadways in use in some of the principal streets in the city," came duly to hand and received my immediate attention.

I was fortunate enough to interest in the subject Mr. Arthur Beckwith, a young American gentleman, who has just graduated with the highest honors from one of the first colleges of this metropolis, and who has proved himself by his report annexed, as I knew he would, eminently competent to give you in a compact form precisely and all the information required. For this service you will owe nothing but your thanks to Mr. Beckwith, who, I have no doubt, will one day, if his life is spared, render it a source of pride to the citizens of Detroit that he commenced his career as Civil Engineer in their service.

I am happy to have had an opportunity to aid in rendering what I hope may form an acceptable service to the Common Council of Detroit, to whom I pray you to present my respectful salutations.

Yours very respectfully

BIGELOW TO G. V. FOX

PARIS, December 11, 1866.

My dear Mr. Fox:

I enclose for your edification and for that of Mrs. Fox, whose acquaintance I hope some day to add to my other valuables, the enclosed note from the Italian legation. You are to be decorated with the order of St. Lazarus. If I have been correctly informed of the pay you received for your services to your country during the late war, this decoration would have come more appropriately from your own government than any other. General Dix is here, and we are awaiting the turn of the official wheels to find the hole he is to fill. I hope to be liberated by Christmas. Contrary to the plans I was deliberating upon when I last saw you, I now think some of running home in January, but I would like to avoid it if possible. If I should, I hope to find you still in Washington.

Yours very sincerely

P.S. Don't forget to remember me reverently and affectionately to Mr. and Mrs. F. P. Blair when you see them.

RICHARD H. DANA TO BIGELOW

BOSTON, Dec. 16, 1866.

My dear Mr. Bigelow:

I am much indebted to you for your kind manner of welcoming my Wheaton. It has been a matter of vast labor to me, and almost broke me down; but I feel rewarded by the manner in which it has been received and reviewed in all directions. The only malcontent is Beach Lawrence. He cannot get over being displaced and supplanted, although it was done in the kindest way possible.

He has brought a suit against Miss Wheaton, claiming a right in equity to the entire copyright, and demanding that it

be conveyed to him; and, failing that, he claims that he has a contract with her under which she cannot make any use of his notes, and alleging that I have unduly used his notes, etc., etc. It is a most grievous annoyance and expense to Miss Wheaton; and the fellow is such a Mohock that nothing can be done with him. He joins me in the Bill as confederating, etc., etc., so I have expense and trouble, too.

Having disposed of my own affairs, let me express the surprise I felt, in common with all others, at your resignation. You did not give me a hint of it when I saw you in September, diplomatist as you are, although it must then have been sent forward. You leave with the respect and best of feeling towards you of all your countrymen.

Pray present me to Mrs. Bigelow, and believe me

Truly and gratefully yours

AUGUSTIN COCHIN TO BIGELOW

Translation

PARIS, 18 Dec., 1866.

Dear Sir:

Madame Cochin and myself regretted not finding Madame Bigelow and yourself at home yesterday, and if I had not been quite ill for a month past, you would have long since received our visit. I should not have wished to content myself with a letter, and I shall endeavor to see you before your departure.

Permit me, however, not to delay farther the expression of my appreciation of your good offices, so often proved, and of my profound sympathy for your character and person.

I may not presume to judge of the intelligent, prudent and faithful manner with which you have represented your nation during the most difficult hours of its history and of its relations with France, but I can, for my humble part, render homage to your constant affability, to your worthy and gracious conduct and your earnest consideration for the sincere friends of your country, among which I am proud to count myself. I hope that our good relations will not be entirely interrupted by

your return to America, and if I could ever be useful or agreeable to you, you may count upon the durable and devoted sentiments of your very affectionate servant

[P.S.] Please offer to Madame Bigelow the kindest remembrances of Madame Cochin, with my respectful homage.

Early in December, 1866, the diplomatic world was quite taken by surprise at the resignation of Mr. Motley from the Austrian Mission on the 21st of the preceding month of November. Though Mr. Motley and I had entertained a friendly correspondence for the previous four or five years, he had given me no intimation of leaving Vienna; nor could I imagine any.

Mr. Seward's part in the events which led to Mr. Motley's resignation were severely criticised and by many condemned, perhaps through ignorance of the circumstances under which it occurred. Some of these circumstances made it later seem to be my duty to make a statement upon the subject which I received from the lips of Mr. Seward himself.[1]

One evening after my return to the United States in the winter of 1867, when I chanced to be a guest of Mr. Seward in Washington, I alluded to a correspondence I had been requested to initiate, between the Emperor Napoleon and our President, Andrew Johnson, with a view to a better understanding between the French and American governments in regard to the French occupation in Mexico.[2]

Mr. Seward said that President Johnson was disposed to reply over his own signature to the letter with which the Emperor opened the correspondence; that he objected to that, saying to the President that European sovereigns might write to each other about their public concerns, for no one could call upon them for their correspondence, but it would never do for him to engage in a correspondence with any foreign potentate which might not be suitable to communicate to Congress. Mr. Sew-

[1] See *International Review*, July and August, 1878.
[2] See letters to and from Seward, *ante*.

ard then went on to say that President Lincoln had a habit, of which he himself could not approve, of writing to everybody who wrote to him about the public business, and even about matters most distinctly the attribution of his Cabinet ministers. Johnson, he said, was in that respect more considerate to his associates in the Government. He never entertained a complaint from any quarter that he did not submit to those whom it specially concerned. He then instanced the letter which McCrackin wrote about the diplomatic representatives of the Government in Europe in 1866, and went on to give a history of the incidents which finally led to Mr. Motley's retirement from Vienna.

Some two years later, in the month of March, 1869, while I was breakfasting with Mr. Seward at his house in Auburn, and a few weeks only after he had ceased to be Secretary of State, Mr. Motley's nomination to the English Mission the day previous became, very naturally, the subject of conversation. I remarked that nothing had happened during Mr. Seward's career as Secretary of State from which his reputation had suffered so much with the more enlightened classes of our country as from the part he was supposed to have had in the incidents which led to Mr. Motley's resignation of the Vienna Mission, and I expressed my regret that judgment had been allowed to go against him by default.

He said he knew the impression left by that incident was a bad one, but he could not help it. Then, having obviously forgotten that he had given me an account of the transaction two years before, he proceeded to recite it again. I made a memorandum of his statements, on both occasions, the day they fell from his lips. They differed in no important particular. Without pretending to use Mr. Seward's precise language, I am able, with the aid of these notes before me, to give, with entire accuracy, the impressions which he may be presumed to have intended to leave upon my mind. They were in substance as follows:

President Johnson had been very much irritated by what he regarded as the treacherous desertion of him by leading Republicans in Congress. Many of the most conspicuous among them, who, like himself, had aspirations for yet higher honors, had not hesitated to treat him and his measures with deliberate and flagrant disrespect. While smarting under these attacks from the "enemies of his own household," he received a

letter from abroad which led him to apprehend that the diplomatic representatives of the Government were equally unfaithful to him, and were coöperating with his enemies at home to bring him and his Administration into contempt. The author of the letter was an obscure man, by the name of George W. McCrackin, whose communication would not probably have received any attention, even from the President, but for the morbidly sensitive condition of his mind at the moment it reached him.

Instead of throwing the letter into the fire, the President handed it to the Secretary of State, and suggested the propriety of asking the parties inculpated if the allegations were true. Mr. Seward knew every man referred to by McCrackin, for he had appointed him; he needed no information such as the proposed inquiry was expected to elicit, for his own edification. This, however, he did not say to the President. He simply answered, "Certainly, sir." McCrackin's letter had rendered the President more suspicious than before of everybody about him, and the Secretary did not deem it a propitious moment to appear less sensitive about the President's dignity than the President himself did.

When Mr. Seward returned to the State Department he handed McCrackin's letter to the chief clerk, and requested him to address a letter of inquiry, usual in case of complaint against the service, to each of the officers whose conduct was arraigned in it. On the following day Mr. Hunter brought to Mr. Seward for his signature the letters which he had prepared in obedience to his orders; among them was one to Mr. Motley.[1]

[1]The letter of the department to Mr. Motley ran as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, Nov. 21, 1866.

Sir:

A citizen of the U. S. has addressed a letter to the President from Paris, in which he represents he had travelled extensively in Europe during the past year, in the course of which he had occasion to see something of our Ministers and Consuls in various countries. That most of those whom he met were bitterly opposed to the President and his administration, and expressed that hostility in so open a manner as to astonish Americans and leave a very bad impression on Europeans.

He adds that you do not pretend to conceal "your disgust," as he says you style it, at the President's whole conduct. That you despise American

The letters were posted, and in due time their answers came. "Mr. Motley was unwise enough," said Mr. Seward, "to make a long story of it, and at the end I was pained to see his resignation." I think I may add, though Mr. Seward did not say so, Motley's was the only answer charged with resentment. The Secretary paid no attention either to his reproaches or to his resignation, but immediately addressed to him a dispatch, briefly informing him that "his answer was satisfactory," presuming that Mr. Motley had given his resignation under a misapprehension of the importance attached to the McCrackin letter, and that that would be the end of the matter.

On the following day Mr. Seward waited upon the President, as was his wont, with his portfolio, in which, with other dispatches, he placed this letter and the reply of Mr. Motley.

democracy, and loudly proclaim that an English gentleman is the model of human perfection. That the President has deserted his pledges and principles in common with Mr. Seward, who, you say, is hopelessly degraded. Your denial or confirmation of the truth of these reports is requested.

I am, etc.,

W. H. Seward.

The passage in McCrackin's letter which referred to Mr. Motley ran as follows:

Extract from the Letter of George W. McCrackin, of New York, to President Johnson, dated Paris, 23d October, 1866

. . . . . .

Mr. Motley, Minister at Vienna, does not pretend to conceal his "disgust," as he styles it elegantly, at your whole conduct.

Having been appointed exclusively by Charles Sumner, he applauds him and his revolutionary doctrines, despises American democracy, and proclaims loudly that an English nobleman is the model of human perfection.

There is not in all Europe a more thorough flunky or a more *un*-American functionary. He tells every traveller that Sumner is entirely justified, and that you have deserted your principles in common with Mr. Seward, who, he says, is hopelessly degraded.

. . . . . .

Massachusetts seems to monopolize a lion's share of the consulates, and Boston has no less than three first missions—Messrs. Adams, Burlingame and Motley.

MR. MOTLEY TO MR. SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE U. S.,
VIENNA, Dec. 11, 1866.

Sir:

An hour or two ago I received a letter from you, dated Nov. 21st, 1866, to which I hasten to reply. [Mr. Motley here recites at length the language of the letter from the State Department signed by Mr. Seward, and then proceeds as follows.]

My first impulse on receiving your letter was to content myself with a flat denial of their truth. On a little further reflection, however, I do not wish that there should be doubt as to my political sentiments as a representative of the foreign politics of the government. I have done my best faithfully to discharge my duties in strict conformity with my instructions. In the conflict of opinions in regard to home questions, especially that of Reconstruction, my views have never been asked for by the U. S. Government, and I should have considered it unbecoming and superfluous to volunteer a public declaration of them, as certainly should I have deemed it my duty to express them frankly whenever they were officially demanded. I do not understand that I am even now directly questioned on the subject, but after reading your letter I owe it to myself to say a few words.

I have always believed that strong guarantees should be taken against a recurrence of the rebellion and the establishment of any form of slavery, before the seceded States should be readmitted to representation in Congress. Latterly, I am inclined to the opinion that the noblest and safest course would be, by an amendment of the Constitution, prohibiting the distinction of race or color in regard to the attainment of the franchise, together with a general amnesty to be proclaimed by the President. These opinions, in the privacy of my own household and to an occasional American visitor, I have not concealed.

The great question now presenting itself for solution demands a conscientious scrutinizing by every American who loves his country and believes in the human progress of which that country is one of the foremost representatives. I have never thought, during my residence at Vienna, that because I have the honor of being a public servant of the American people I am deprived of the right of discussing within my own walls the gravest subjects that can interest freemen. A Minister of the U. S. is as deeply interested as others in all that affects the welfare of his country.

In conversation with such of my colleagues or members of the government here as were interested in our politics, I have uniformly stated

that the conflict of opinion now prevailing in the United States was inevitable in a new country. That such discussion was the very evidence of our freedom and of our capacity to govern ourselves. That to silence discussion belongs to despots and not to a republican government like ours, and that I had entire faith that the American people would settle all disputed questions with justice. I have always been cautious, however, in such considerations to avoid any expressions of disrespect towards the President or his Cabinet. I have uniformly stated that in our own country the people were not only theoretically but practically sovereign, and that when great political questions were to be solved, appeal was made to the ballot-box. I have steadily expressed the opinion that the President and Congress would be reconciled after the people should have pronounced its solemn verdict; and I have added that all parties in the United States, as I believed honestly, desired and required the re-establishment of the Union, however they might differ as to the wisest means of securing it. This is the way in which I have been in the habit of speaking officially or semi-officially, and this is my reply to the charges contained in your letter, so far as they regard in any way the President of the United States. That "I despised American democracy, and loudly proclaim that an English gentleman is the model of human perfection," is so pitiful a fabrication, that I blush while I denounce it. Any one personally acquainted with me, or who has tåken the trouble to read my writings, whether official or historical, knows that a more fervent believer in American democracy than I am does not exist in the world. My expressions of reverence for the American people during these few heroic years have erred, if at all, on the side of enthusiasm, and have often seemed to the skeptical somewhat extravagant. I scorn to dwell longer on the contemptible charge. That I have called "Mr. Seward hopelessly degraded" is a vile calumny, and it wounds me deeply that you could listen for a moment to such a falsehood. In conclusion, I have only to add that I beg herewith respectfully to resign my post as United States Minister at Vienna.

I am, etc.,

J. Lothrop Motley.

When the President reached the closing paragraph of Motley's letter, in which he "begged respectfully to resign his post as United States Minister to Austria," the President, without waiting to learn what Mr. Seward had done or proposed to do, exclaimed with a not unnatural asperity, "Well,

let him go." "On hearing this," said Mr. Seward, laughing, "I did not read my dispatch."

For the same reason that he did not remonstrate against the President's previous directions for a letter of inquiry, Mr. Seward did not remonstrate now against this order to relieve Mr. Motley. He felt that in doing so he would only compromise himself with the President without saving Mr. Motley. He repaired to his office, and, as was his habit when returning from Cabinet meetings, took out his dispatches and distributed them to the different clerks charged with their expedition, and by accident omitted to withdraw his reply to Motley. The next day, on inquiring for it, he found it had been mailed. He immediately cabled the Legation at London to withdraw it from the bag when it should arrive, and wrote to Mr. Motley a letter formally accepting his resignation.

When I expressed my regret that this explanation could not have been given to the public at the time, Mr. Seward replied that that would have been to purchase his own peace at the expense of the President's; to divert public indignation from himself to his chief. That, he said, did not comport with his notions of official duty. I remarked that it was a pity Motley, at least, could not have known how his resignation came to be accepted. "He does know it," was the reply. "Are you sure of that?" I inquired. "Yes," said Mr. Seward, "I am sure of it, but, though knowing it, he has taken no steps to let it have its weight with the public." Mr. Seward's manner and language signified that, with Motley's friends and with the new President (Grant), antagonism to Mr. Seward was a not unavailing qualification for office or favor, and that Mr. Motley was ambitious.

Such was the substance of Mr. Seward's explanation. I have been careful to exclude from it all the implications, pure and simple, which it necessarily conveyed to the mind of a person familiar as I was with the political and official relations of all the parties, and all the facts and inferences not expressly stated by him, but presumed to be known by me, which could in any way qualify or illuminate his narrative.

Mr. Motley, in sending in his resignation to Mr. Seward so precipitately, committed a mistake not uncommon with people who have not been trained to official life, nor accustomed to

the subordination of their personal will to that of the aggregate official force, of which they are only a fraction. Revenge, said Bismarck, is a delicacy that should be eaten cold. Motley acted with haste and with temper—two most indiscreet counsellors in every profession, but especially in politics and diplomacy. Had he been accustomed to the harness of official life, when he received Mr. Seward's note he would have asked himself, "What can be Mr. Seward's motive in sending me this letter?"

"It was from the hand of Mr. Seward," he might have said to himself, "that I received the honorable commission which I hold; Mr. Seward conferred it upon me at a time when he was personally not in the least beholden to me in any way whatever; in conferring it, he probably did not secure the gratitude of a dozen politicians in the country. Mr. Seward has always treated me with courtesy and kindness; he has never furnished me the slightest pretext for supposing that my official conduct had not been at least as satisfactory as he had any right to suppose it would be when he appointed me. Till this letter arrived I had no reason to suppose that his feelings had undergone any change to my prejudice."

Should McCrackin's letter have worked any change?

Mr. McCrackin was an entirely unknown man, and Mr. Motley must have remarked, upon the first perusal of the letter, that its author could write nothing on any subject which, unless true and supported by evidence, could seriously affect a person of his high literary and official rank. Besides which, his letter was addressed, not to Mr. Seward, but to the President; which should have suggested to Mr. Motley that it was with the President, and not with Mr. Seward, that he was dealing. This should have led him to reflect that the President was the accident of an accident; that the controlling members of his own party in Congress had deserted him, and were using every means in their power to thwart his policy and to embarrass and degrade his Administration, as every one in Washington knew, with a view of preventing his being the candidate of their party for the Presidency at the next election; that Mr. Seward himself had been for some years prominent on the list of Presidential candidates, and had a large body of influential friends, who did not yet despair of his

ultimate success; that the representatives of the Government abroad had generally been selected by Mr. Seward upon the recommendation or the approval of those who were conspicuously identified with the present opposition, and that under such circumstances the course Mr. Seward might take upon any matter affecting the President's influence and popularity with the country was not beyond the reach of suspicion, and was likely to be watched and scrutinized by the President himself with more than ordinary jealousy.

Had Mr. Motley placed himself for a moment in Mr. Seward's position when the letter of McCrackin was shown him by the President, he would have realized Mr. Seward's embarrassment. He would at least have taken counsel of his pillow, and had he done so, with all his official inexperience, he would probably have followed the example of his colleagues at other posts, and the course which it was his own first impulse to take—of contenting himself with a brief and square denial of the calumnious allegations, if they were calumnious, of McCrackin. Instead of this, he gave way at once to passion; he saw only and felt only his own trouble; he treated Mr. McCrackin's accusations as if they were Mr. Seward's; and all the kindness and consideration which he had received at the hands of the Secretary went for naught. A letter written obviously by instruction of the President made him unmindful of the consideration due either to the years or to the public service or the experience of Mr. Seward, and incapacitated him for seeing or imagining any of the circumstances which might palliate, and perhaps excuse, what seemed to him offensive in it. In his impetuosity, he betrayed the lack of a quality of first importance to a man in his position—the faith in the superior sources of information of his chief, and trust in the presumption that things which he does not understand are not necessarily wrong or unwise. Had Mr. Motley known Mr. Seward better, or had he better comprehended the difficulties of the situation of a Minister of State and especially the situation of a man occupying such a commanding position in the country as Mr. Seward did at that time, he would have taken it for granted, on reading that letter, that it was written in obedience to some new and strange current of influences, which, though he might not be able at once to comprehend, he would deem it his duty to reconcile with the relations of friendliness which

had always subsisted between him and the writer, until at least he had unequivocal evidence of the contrary. The absence of this sort of faith and trust will be found to constitute the special defect in the character of those public men who are commonly termed "impracticables."

It doubtless will occur to many who may read the recital of Mr. Seward which I have given, to ask why he did not remonstrate with the President when directed to call upon Mr. Motley for an explanation of the McCrackin letter, or why, having received what he pronounced a satisfactory explanation, he did not say as much to the President. The answer which Mr. Seward would have given to that question I have already stated. At the moment when this letter arrived, Mr. Johnson was in a state of intense irritation and more or less suspicious of everybody about him. He was not in a frame of mind to reason coolly upon its contents; the appearance of hesitation on the part of Mr. Seward to resent what the President construed into an indignity as well as ingratitude from Mr. Motley, would have been regarded as a proof of defection. The question therefore involved in his action at that moment was, possibly, whether the country should lose the services of Mr. Motley at Vienna, or those of Mr. Seward in Washington. I do not say that such was the ascertained alternative, but I do say that there might well have been sufficient danger apparent to Mr. Seward's experienced vision to make it seem highly imprudent, if he wished to retain his position, to do anything that should encourage in the slightest degree the suspicions that infected the judgment of the President. Mr. Johnson was a man of strong and undisciplined passions. He doubtless saw no good reason why he should not succeed himself as President, and Seward was then his most formidable rival. Though his views of public policy were generally sound, his judgment of the measures and men by which those views were to be sustained and propagated was provincial and narrow. He did not habitually dwell upon a very high plane of political thought; and he was suspected or at least accused by prominent members of his own party of a disposition to strike an alliance with the enemies of the Union, to revenge himself upon what he regarded as the treachery of a dominant group of the Republicans in Congress. While Mr. Seward remained in the Cabinet such an alliance was impossible. No one sup-

posed that he would permit, nor did any one doubt his ability to prevent, any such reactionary design.

To what extent Mr. Seward supposed President Johnson capable of carrying his vindictiveness, and how far he regarded the apprehensions of such an alliance, if he were out of the Cabinet, well founded, I have no means of determining; but I do remember with great distinctness the feeling of security which pervaded the circles of commerce and finance, usually most sensitive to political changes, when this peril was alluded to; and the reason, if any, invariably assigned for such security was, that there will be no danger of any disturbance or serious conflict between the President and Congress so long as Mr. Seward remains in the Cabinet.

There are no doubt some, perhaps many, who will say that Mr. Seward would have exhibited a higher order of statesmanship in refusing to lend his name to a letter which he may have thought was calculated unnecessarily to alarm or wound a member of his staff; there are many, perhaps, who will think it would have been higher statesmanship for a prime minister, after having announced himself completely satisfied with Mr. Motley's explanation, to have declined afterwards by the direction of the President to pursue a course which practically pronounced it unsatisfactory. Such would perhaps be the general judgment of theoretical statesmen, while practical statesmen, in this country at least, would more generally justify the course taken by Mr. Seward. I do not here undertake to say which of these two schools of statesmanship would be in the right in this instance; but I will say that the practical result of pursuing the policy of the doctrinaire in such a case would be sooner or later to put what I have designated as the practical statesman in the theoretical statesman's place. When an issue is made between a minister and his chief, one must yield. In this case Mr. Seward would necessarily have been the yielding party, and he would probably have been succeeded by a man of less refined notions of official responsibility, and less tenacious of his own views; or, as the practical statesman would explain it, he would have taken a juster view of the relative importance to the country of Mr. Motley's services at Vienna, and of his own in the Cabinet at Washington.

It is possible, of course, to ascribe Mr. Seward's course to

the lowest or to the highest motives; to a vulgar love of official importance, or to a profound sense of the danger liable to result from bringing on a crisis that should throw the State Department, and its then most important influences, into the hands of some man to be selected in a fit of jealousy and resentment by a President whose standards, at their best, were none of the highest. I prefer to believe that Mr. Seward felt as I felt, and as I know that many others felt, that his continuance in the State Department during the remainder of President Johnson's term of office was of serious importance to the country, and that there was great peril in any change likely to result from his retirement.

Next to the danger incident to Mr. Seward's quitting the State Department would have been the inconvenience likely to result from any weakening of his influence with the President. He could not afford to have any suspicion of disloyalty to him get a lodgment in the President's mind, and the country could better afford in that crisis to have sacrificed a dozen ministers plenipotentiary than the Secretary of State—which would have been the inevitable consequence of any serious distrust of his fealty. If Mr. Seward was to remain there, it was for the exercise of all his powers and influence, unimpaired by half-confidences and paralyzing suspicions. Samson shorn of his strength was no more formidable to the Philistines than any ordinary man; and if Mr. Seward was to exercise that control in the Government which was then deemed so vital, it was equally vital that he should be fully equipped with all the resources which properly belonged to his position.

Mr. Motley tendered his resignation for one of two reasons: either because he felt that Mr. Seward had wronged him in asking for an explanation of McCrackin's letter, or because Mr. McCrackin had so correctly represented the views which Mr. Motley was known to entertain in regard to Mr. Seward and the President as to render resignation the only means of extricating himself from a false position. The offence, if any, in the first place consisted, not in any charge or accusation from the State Department against Mr. Motley, for none was made; but for informing Mr. Motley that certain charges had been made against him to the President by an American citizen who recently had been in Vienna.

Mr. Motley was simply asked to state whether McCrackin's stories were true or false. He should have been aware that there was nothing unusual in this letter; that it was the familiar usage of the State Department to communicate to its foreign representatives who were concerned, any complaints which reached it through a responsible source. The complaints of McCrackin came through a source than which there was no higher: they came from the President. Let us suppose for a moment that Mr. Seward had been Mr. Motley's warmest friend, and that Mr. Seward had been the Minister to Vienna, and Mr. Motley Secretary of State. On receiving such a letter about his absent friend, would it not have been his first impulse to advise that friend of the fact, that, if true, he might be more careful of his audiences or more prudent in his discourse; if false, that he might have the means of ascertaining the lair of his decrier, of exposing his misrepresentations, and disarming their power for mischief, whether at home or abroad? He certainly would not think it consistent with faithful friendship to allow charges authenticated by a signature, addressed to and entertained by the President, to lie festering at Washington, their venom percolating through manifold official channels into Congress and gradually through the country, poisoning the minds of his fellow-citizens against him, and he never suspecting the existence of the cancerous rumors that were eating away his reputation. Had Mr. Seward suppressed that letter, had he allowed it to have its work upon the mind of the President and of the President's friends in Washington and through the country, then he would have justly incurred Mr. Motley's resentment; then he would have been unfaithful, not only as a friend, but as an official colleague; then he would have done precisely what he did not do, and what he was incapable of doing.

Remains the question, whether Mr. McCrackin had so correctly represented the views which Mr. Motley entertained in regard to Mr. Seward and the President as to make his resignation, under the circumstances, his only dignified and manly resource.

This is a question about which it is not so easy to arrive at an entirely satisfactory conclusion. It is a matter of public notoriety that Mr. Motley owed his appointment largely if not entirely to a desire on the part of Mr. Seward to conciliate

Mr. Sumner,[1] who was very sore at the appointment of Mr. Adams to the English Mission.

In the conversation with Mr. Seward to which I have referred, he distinctly stated that he would not have thought of appointing Mr. Motley upon any other ground. It was notorious that the political relations subsisting between the Secretary and Mr. Sumner had not for a long time been harmonious, and it is equally notorious that Mr. Motley's political as well as personal sympathies were entirely with Mr. Sumner. It would be very strange if a person naturally so frank in his utterances, and so entirely unaccustomed to the restraints which political life sooner or later imposes upon the tongue, should not have allowed his partialities to find expression in his intercourse at least with the foreign society, especially with its English members, in which he moved. Even had Mr. Motley been of a more reticent nature than he was, he might easily have been thrown off his guard by the impression, which he undoubtedly shared with many others, that, as between Mr. Seward and Mr. Sumner, the latter was the greater political force at the seat of government, and therefore that there was less occasion for him, on prudential grounds, to measure his words.

The absence from Mr. Motley's letter of anything approving of, or extenuating, the course of the President or his Cabinet, lends color to the suspicion that he had not been so reserved in the expression of his opinions about them as he perhaps supposed he had been, till the question was officially brought to his notice. Probably the two hours he took for reflection before writing his letter were sufficient to satisfy him that there were but two courses for him to take as a gentleman: one, a full and frank statement of his attitude toward the Government; of his entire sympathy with the course pursued by its adversaries in Congress, warred on by Mr. Sumner; or to withdraw from the office into a position where neither Mr. Seward nor any one else would have a right to call him to account. If such seemed to him the logic of the situation, he

[1] It appears to have been upon the same terms that Mr. Motley subsequently received his appointment to the English Mission. In a letter which the late J. C. Bancroft Davis published, entitled "Mr. Sumner, the *Alabama* Claims and their Settlement," he said: "It is no disparagement to Mr. Motley to say that but for Mr. Sumner's influence he probably would not have been selected for this responsible post" (the English Mission).

chose the latter alternative, and in doing so indirectly admitted that without any provocation, with nothing to remember in his official intercourse with Mr. Seward but kindness and respect, without a word of complaint or accusation from the State Department—for the letter addressed to him from the department, which is the subject of this discussion, contained neither—he resigned because he was conscious that the feelings he entertained, and which, after what had occurred, true manliness required him to disclose if he remained in office, were inconsistent with the relations which should subsist between a minister and his chief.

Mr. Motley was rather given to speak impulsively and without deliberation. I remember meeting him in Paris in the spring of 1861, and naturally the political situation at home became a topic of our conversation. "Well," said he, "I am in favor of letting the slave States go and getting rid of them."

The fact was that from the time of his graduation from college he had lived pretty continuously in Europe and had become unconsciously denationalized, meanwhile absorbing not a little of the patronizing contempt for republican America which Lowell so artfully described in one of his addresses in England.

INVITATION OF MR. BIGELOW TO A FAREWELL DINNER BY THE AMERICAN COLONY IN PARIS AND ITS ACCEPTANCE

About two weeks before the time I had fixed for my departure from Paris, the following letter was handed me, I think, by Mr. Richards, senior member of the banking firm of John Munroe & Co.:

His Excellency John Bigelow, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States near the Emperor of the French.

Sir:

In behalf of many of your countrymen long resident in Paris, and of others casually here at present, we ask the opportunity, on the occasion of your retiring from the high func-

tions you have so worthily filled, to offer to you a testimonial of our appreciation of your personal qualities and your public services.

During the whole period of the great conflict through which our country has so triumphantly passed, exhibiting as it did our attachment to its Constitution, our love for its rights and liberty, and the illimitable resources of our inseparable Union, it was committed to you to uphold its honor and maintain its rights at this court, and it is a witness at once of combined ability and courtesy on your part to have so discharged your diplomatic functions that now, having satisfactorily arranged the various and difficult questions arising from time to time between the two governments, you have felt at liberty to ask to be relieved and go back to your country, and fall again into the rank of private citizens as we all are.

It is with such sentiments that we ask you to name a day that will suit your convenience when your loyal countrymen may at a public dinner testify to you their consideration and respect.

Paris, December 8th, 1866.

Charles King,
Wm. C. Bryant,
Henry T. Butterfield,
Samuel F. B. Morse,
Smith Clift,
John Lamson,
Dr. Theo. S. Evans,
H. E. Russell,
D. S. Blodgett,
Isaac J. Lloyd,
F. Vogel,
Aug. Cleveland,
Wm. Slade,
M. W. Borland,
James Milliken,
Wright E. Post,
N M. Beckwith,
Chas. S. P. Bowles,
James Phalen,
John Munroe,
George T. Richards,
Thos. W. Evans, M.D.,
Edw. Gould Buffum,
Sam. McLean,
J. O. Bartholomew,
Geo. S. Partridge, Jr.,
E. Riggs,
Isaac H. Burch,
R. J. Sherman,
Thomas M. Toole,
Samuel A. Way,
John W. Crane,
Adolph E. Borie,
Beauveau Borie,
Charles Pepper,
Elijah Ward,
A. Van Burgen,
Jas. W. Tucker,
Edw. R. Andrews,
Geo. D. Phelps,
Jno. A. C. Gray,
Wm. C. Emmett,
Geo. E. Townsend,
E. H. Kellogg,
Chas. H. Marshall,
Francis A. Stout,
Aug. Heard, Jr.,
John O. Sargent,
J. B. Carnac,
Benj. S. Welles,
George T. Davis,
H. T. Dickey,
Henry Dudley,
Aaron Kemp,
Lorillard Spencer,
W. E. Johnston, M.D.,
Richd. S. Greenough,
Parke Godwin,
Walter Cary, M.D.,
H. A. Shackleford,
Thos. R. Richardson,
L. J. Hubbard,
Shelden Leavitt,
Henry Woods,
Douglas W. Burnham,
Franklin Burgess,
J. A. Randolph,
Frederick Marquand,
Alanson Trask,
John H. Swift,
Joseph Tuckerman,
Jotham Post,

L. D. Newell,
Wm. W. Tucker,
Dr. C. Mifflin,
Henry L. High,
—— Wheeler,
Mrs. J. D. Locke,
W. J. Glover,
H. S. Jaffray,
P. H. Storms,
Ed. Bayland,
A. J. Rich,
G. R. Wilson,
John L. Swift,
Emory McClintock,
W. H. Riggs,
A. B. Stockwell,
Henry Farnam,
A. B. Stone,
J. G. Grafton,
W. Pembroke Fetridge,
Thomas Balch,
Lewis C. Jones,
R. G. Hazard,
C. Melett,
D. H. Haight,
E. H. Pendleton,
Wm. H. Paine,
Edw. C. Post,
Henry Winthrup Sargent,
J. Wyman Jones,
John B. Lesieur,
Charles R. Reed,
J. D. B. Curtis,
Frank Warden,
A. Eldridge,
L. Merchant,
Charles L'Herbette,
Bowles Colgate,
J. A. Roosevelt,
Jno. Hobart Warren,
Curtis Noble,
Geo. A. Haines,
Jas. H. Van Alen,
—— Kingman,
—— Kingman,
W. W. Clarke,
Geo. P. Clapp,
J. B. Curtis, Jr.,
Chas. T. Litchfield,
W. Wagstaff Craig,
Wm. J. Flagg,
Henry C. Eno,
Wm. F. Moore,
Martin Zoborowski,
Samuel H. Clapp,
Frederick Townsend,
John A. Lewis,
John T. Hallock,
J. Howard Wells,
N. N. Williams,
D. C. Enos,
Capt. Sommers,
Col. Curtis,
Henry T. Capen,
L. R. Lyon.

I give all the names of the signers to this invitation, first, because they embrace all the members of the American colony in Paris who had any claim to share in the entertainment contemplated; and, secondly, because gratitude is the one possession with which Providence has endowed me that I specially wish to entail. This was the second time in my life that I had been invited to a public dinner in recognition of public service. The first I declined almost as a matter of course, for I felt that it was the homage of a few personal friends, to which, however gratifying to myself and family, there was no occasion to give further public importance.

It was my first impulse to put the same estimate upon this invitation and to dispose of it in the same way by a civil letter of declension. I intimated my purpose to those who brought me the invitation. They urged me to accept, saying that the invitation was given that it should be accepted, and that my declension would be a disappointment to those who had signed it. After giving the subject a night's reflection, I concluded to accept. I saw no occasion to suppress my personal gratification at a compliment so unanimously paid me by such a large and intelligent body of my countrymen, among most of whom I

had been living for the previous five years on terms of considerable intimacy. I appreciated such a mark of their esteem the more because my position during all that period had been one of peculiar responsibility. Not one of the men who signed this letter but might have seriously suffered from any grave error or indiscretion in the discharge of my diplomatic function. Had I been disposed to play the demagogue, I had had abundant opportunities of making myself the most talked-of American at home or abroad, and my indiscretions would have been tolerably sure of passing at home for sublimated patriotism and public spirit. To what extent my forbearance to avail myself of these opportunities to gratify vanity or ambition was known to and appreciated by my hosts I cannot say. But that in the discharge of what I supposed to be my duty I had been so fortunate as to earn and receive such a unanimous and flattering expression of approval from those who were in a better position than any of my fellow-citizens, not holding official relations with me, to judge my work, was to me a source of profound satisfaction; and when the cup was put to my lips I felt myself at liberty to drink it.

It occurred to me also that it was the first time in our history that such a compliment was ever paid to any of our foreign representatives. In that sense it seemed to accentuate the gravity of the crisis through which our country had been passing. I felt, therefore, that in accepting the invitation I was not inviting comparison of my services with those of my predecessors in the public service, so much as a comparison of the crisis through which the country had been called to pass during my mission, with its crises which had preceded.

Then, again, I felt that such a demonstration of American sentiment as was foreshadowed in this invitation would not be wasted upon the Emperor and his advisers. It could do them no harm and might do them good to know that in the policy of our Government which I had represented, especially in reference to the threatened recognition of the Confederate Government and in reference to the French occupation of Mexico, I was sustained with entire unanimity by such of my compatriots as were not compromised as rebels.

For these and other reasons of secondary importance I concluded to accept the dinner, and thereupon addressed Messrs. King, Bryant and others the following letter:

Paris, December 13, 1866.

Gentlemen:

I have had the honor to receive your flattering request that I would name a day when I might meet at a public dinner my compatriots now in Paris.

It gives me great pleasure to comply with this request, and to name the 19th instant as a day which, if satisfactory to you, would be entirely convenient to me.

I need not say how deeply and how gratefully I appreciate this compliment, and the generous terms in which you have been pleased to refer to my public services in France.

I have the honor, gentlemen, to be, with great respect, your very obedient and very humble servant,

John Bigelow.

It was decided to have the dinner at the Grand Hotel, and as William Cullen Bryant had planned to leave for the Mediterranean shore before the time appointed for the dinner, Charles King,[1] who had resigned the presidency of Columbia College in 1863 because of ill health and who was then in Paris, should preside. Unfortunately for him and for all of us, the illness for which he had sought relief in Europe took a serious turn, sent him to his bed, and in a few short months to his grave. He was a man of singularly fine appearance and presence, very gallant in his carriage and speech, and in his day, after Mr. Bryant, the most accomplished man connected with the press in New York.

It was then decided to invite the Hon. Francis W. Kellogg of Massachusetts to preside. It is needless to say that the dinner was sumptuous and, as a spectacle, impressive. About two hundred and fifty of both sexes filled the three tables by

[1] Mr. King, when I went to New York in 1835, was editor of the *New York American*. Soon after that paper was merged in the *Courier and Enquirer*, of which James Watson Webb was the editor, Mr. King was chosen president of Columbia College. His ill health compelled him to resign that position and go abroad with his family at an early stage of our war. They spent a portion of the winter of 1866-67 in Paris. One of his daughters married M. Waddington, afterwards French Minister of Foreign Affairs and Ambassador to England.

which the vast dining-hall of the Grand Hotel was intersected. After the cloth was removed, addresses of greater or less length and merit were made by the presiding officer, by Parke Godwin (who responded felicitously to a toast "To our Countrywomen" with a special reference to my wife), by John Hay (First Secretary of Legation at Paris), the Rev. Drs. Eldridge and Duryea, Professor Morse, General Ames, E. G. Buffum, and Colonel Hoffman (the Secretary of my successor). Mr. Kellogg concluded his introductory speech by proposing first the health of the Emperor of the French and then the health of the President of the United States, which were both drunk in silence. He then proposed my health, with some complimentary allusions to my diplomatic services.

To this I replied:

It is needless for me to say, Mr. Chairman, with what feelings I rise to make my acknowledgments for the festal compliment which you have interpreted to me in such graceful and generous terms.

I could under no circumstances have separated myself from a circle of friends in the midst of whom I had passed the five most eventful years of my life, without emotion; but when I find myself the object of such a tribute from those who during that period have shared my anxieties as well as my hopes, who have cheered me by their friendship and strengthened me by their counsel, I feel as if nothing I can say would be either so appropriate or so eloquent as silence. There are emotions, and my heart is swelling with them, of which silence is the most eloquent interpreter. The terms, however, in which our chairman has been pleased to refer to my official career before this imposing assembly have deprived me of that resource, and constrain me, as well as I can, "to wreak my feelings upon expression."

I thank you, then, my friends, for the honors with which you have distinguished me to-night; I thank you with all my heart; I thank you not only for myself, but for her who shares my joys as well as my sorrows; I thank you, also, in behalf of my children, who, in common with ourselves, will always hold your names in grateful remembrance.

In bidding adieu, as in a social sense I feel that I am now doing, to the exalted position to which the partiality of our late President—now one of the noble army of martyrs—unexpectedly assigned me, surrounded with everything that is gay and brilliant and distinguished and lovely, I find myself irresistibly impelled to contrast the circumstances under which I shall return to our country with those under which I left it with an aching heart in the summer of 1861.

Then a rebellious flag floated over eleven States of the Republic; treason among their officers had rendered our little army and navy almost ridiculous; the first battle of Bull Run was but a few weeks old; the people of the loyal States, at first almost paralyzed by the unexpected proportions of the danger to which their great political inheritance was exposed, were gradually committing their private interests to the aged and infirm, and applying themselves to the study of the rudiments of war; the enemies of the Union had already secured in foreign countries the privileges and immunities of belligerents; the credit of our Government was shaken abroad, and it was already apparent that the expenses of an exhaustive war must be provided for exclusively from our own resources.

Our friends in foreign countries began to despair of popular government—"a great empire," it was confidently proclaimed by a leading European journal, "lies like a crystal under the hammer; the first blow has smote it in twain, and every one can see that if the blows are not stayed, slighter blows repeated will pound it into fragments."

We were censured for prosecuting what we were told in the highest quarters must prove a fruitless and ruinous struggle. Like Samson, with his eyes put out, grinding in the prison-house of the Philistines, the Great Republic beyond the sea had become the sport of the privileged classes throughout the world. "Our God," they cried, "has delivered our enemy into our hands!"

Such were some of the painful meditations to which my mind was a prey when I last took leave of our country, little more than five years since. How changed the spectacle that awaits my return!

After a struggle of which, when I left, no one began to imagine either the sorrows or the glories, thanks to a heroism never surpassed and to a patriotism perhaps never equalled, I shall find the Stars and Stripes floating unchallenged upon the Capitol of every State in the Union. I shall find three millions of creatures, whom I left merchandise, independent citizens; I shall find more than a million of men who have, since I left, not only learned the art of war, but seen more military service than any army in the world, regularly absorbed into the industry and commerce of the country; I shall find the debt of the nation diminishing at the rate of nearly ten thousand millions of francs every year, and our national securities selling freely in more foreign markets than the securities of any other government in the world; and, finally, I shall find the flag of the United States more universally and more justly respected, both at home and abroad, than it ever was at any previous period of our history.

Is it surprising, then, my friends, that I am anxious, even at the sacrifice of a position which is at the height of any reasonable ambition, to revisit a country which has done so much, since I left it, to make us all proud of belonging to it? Painful as necessarily will be my sep-

aration from the land which has been my home for no inconsiderable fraction of the longest human life, it will, nevertheless, be my privilege to carry away with me many most agreeable recollections of my residence in France.

You will pardon me if of these I place first what is by no means first in the order of importance, the unfaltering kindness which I have received from the head of that department of our government with which I have been in official correspondence. It will always be to me a source of unqualified pride and satisfaction to have occupied a position which gave me an opportunity, enjoyed in the same degree by scarcely any other person, to appreciate the great ability and discretion with which the foreign affairs of our country have been conducted during the most critical period of its existence. History can do such services but tardy justice.

It will also be to me the source of unmingled satisfaction to recollect that during my residence here I can reproach myself with the neglect of no becoming effort to maintain and cultivate the hereditary friendship of France for the United States, and that I leave at a moment when I may say, with entire propriety, that the most friendly disposition animates and directs the councils of both governments.

I trust, also, that I shall take with me more correct notions of the people whose hospitality I have been sharing so long than are usually entertained in countries where the English language prevails. My observation has led me to accept unreservedly the opinion expressed by my earliest and most illustrious predecessor, that "the French are a most amiable nation to live with"; and, speaking generically, that "there is nothing wanting in the character of a Frenchman that belongs to an agreeable and worthy man."

I have been fortunate enough to find among them many warm friends from whom it will be a trial to part, and whose kindness to me and mine I can never forget. In enumerating the circumstances which will serve to sweeten the solitude and repose to which I am looking forward with some impatience, I must not omit to mention the appointment of a gentleman to succeed me in this mission, whose past services in the field, in the cabinet, and in the forum will lend new lustre to a position with which my name is henceforth to be associated.

I regret with you, Mr. Chairman, and with all within reach of my voice, the reasons which prevented his accepting your invitation tonight, that I might have said to his face what I am now constrained to say behind his back, that in the selection of such a distinguished citizen as General Dix for this mission the President has scarcely paid a greater compliment to the General than to all his predecessors. I commit you with confidence to his charge, and I bespeak for him the same kindness—the same forbearance he will not require—that you have always shown to me.

At the invitation of M. Berryer, the eminent French barrister, my wife and I spent an hour before the dinner with him at his apartment in the Rue Neuve des Petits Champs, where his sister, the Duchess Riario Sforza, had come also to take leave of us. The old gentleman was in very good spirits, admired my wife's diamonds which I had recently presented to her, and was very sensibly impressed with the demonstration of which we were the objects. I never saw him again. On the occasion of his death, which occurred only a few months later, I endeavored to pay a suitable tribute to his memory as a friend of our country in its hour of need, in a discourse which I delivered before the New York Historical Society, in which, however, I came much nearer doing justice to my own feelings than to his merits.

General John A. Dix, my successor in the French Mission, reached Paris some two days before the dinner was to take place. Of course he was invited to be present. He declined in the following note:

VERSAILLES, 17th Dec., 1866.

Gentlemen:

I have received your invitation to the complimentary dinner to be given on Wednesday to His Excellency Mr. Bigelow; and I regret exceedingly that, in consequence of my very recent arrival here, I cannot do myself the honour to accept it. My regret is the greater because it would have given me sincere pleasure to testify by my presence my great personal regard for Mr. Bigelow, and my high appreciation of his ability, fidelity and zeal in the discharge of the very delicate and responsible duties from which he is about to be relieved at his own request.

Please convey to our countrymen, whom you represent, my thanks for their courtesy, and believe me,

Very respectfully yours,

On Sunday the 23d of December I had my farewell audience with the Emperor at the Tuileries, on which occasion I said to him:

"*Sire:* After an uninterrupted absence of over five years from my country, in its service, the President has been pleased to accept my resignation as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary near your Majesty.

"In retiring from a position of such distinction and responsibility it is to me a source of infinite satisfaction to reflect that, during my residence near your Majesty, the friendship of our respective countries, which had its origin with our own national existence, has been uninterrupted, and that the counsels of our respective governments are animated toward each other and directed by the most friendly dispositions. However little I may have been able to contribute personally toward such an auspicious result, it is but justice to myself to say that it has always been my ambition, as the representative of my country near your Majesty, to secure them.

"I am happy to believe that the distinguished gentleman who is to succeed me will be faithful to the traditions of our people, who are taught from their earliest youth to cherish and cultivate the friendship of France. I beg to express my sincere thanks for all the kindness I have received at the hands of your Majesty, and I pray that God's choicest blessings may descend upon your Majesty, upon your family, and upon your people."

The Emperor made a brief speech, thanked me for my good wishes, rejoiced in the good accord of our respective governments, hoped it would continue, and was pleased to express his personal regret that I was leaving—an emotion, I am sure, he could hardly have felt, for I had been nothing but a thorn in his side from the beginning to the close of my mission. On leaving him I went into an adjoining room to take leave of the Empress, where I found my wife sitting with her. She asked me to take a seat (which was more than the Emperor did) and wished to know if I was going into Congress or any other pub-

lic position. I said I was not thinking of anything of the kind; that I would not have retired from so distinguished a position as the one I had been occupying if I had desired any public place.

"But," she said, "one must follow the career in which he has commenced."

I replied that I was not reared in diplomacy, and that there were other careers for one's ambition in the United States out of political life more congenial to me. I reminded her of her proposal made to me the year previous to visit America one day with her son, and expressed the hope that she would not forget it. She replied that she did not expect to go herself, but she was resolved that the Prince should go for a few months when old enough.

It was ordered otherwise and in ways of which she little dreamed.

This was the last time I ever saw the Emperor of France or his consort. With Maximilian and Mexico he had no further concern. Nor was the diplomacy of the United States to be any longer a thorn in his flesh. But the crisis of popular sovereignty had not yet come to a head. At the very time that the remains of Maximilian were crossing the sea on their way to their final resting-place with those of his ancestry, the Emperor of France was opening an international exhibition in the Champ-de-Mars in Paris. It was at that time that Satan led him to the top of a high mountain and promised him all the kingdoms of the earth if he would fall down and worship him. He was tempted. When all the dynastic rulers in Europe came in person or were represented, to pay their court as never before at any of the many preceding international exhibitions, the Emperor believed, and fell down and worshipped. Such was his faith in Satan's promise that, regardless, alas! of the wise Christian advice he had received from his royal parent less than forty years before,[1] he immediately set out to reduce that world to his possession. He began with a war with Prussia to extend the territory of his empire to the Rhine. In a few short months his soldiers were all killed, prisoners or scattered, and he was at the mercy of his conquerors, by whose

[1] In the twenty-second year of his age Louis Napoleon wrote to his father for permission to volunteer in the Russian army against the Turks in 1830. His father replied:

"I suspected that the great victories of the Russians over the barbarous

grace he was permitted to pass the remainder of his days an exile in England; while the people whose confidence he had betrayed reëstablished the republican government he had overthrown, which reëstablished government has endured already five times as long as the average dynastic governments in France for the previous four centuries and is still in the enjoyment of unprecedented peace and prosperity. With him fell the fourth and, let us hope, the last formidable champion of personal government established by fraud, the last formidable enemy of popular sovereignty.

Yturbide, who had been expelled from Mexico for his abuse of power in 1823 and regardless of the conditions upon which his life was then spared, returned with the purpose of overturning the existing republican government, was arrested and shot in 1824.

Napoleon I., disregarding the terms upon which he became the chief executive of France, wickedly caused himself to be proclaimed her Emperor, and shared the fate of Yturbide, except that he was detained a prisoner on the remote island of St. Helena until he died a natural death instead of being shot.

Maximilian, who lent himself to aid in overturning the republican government of Mexico, to subject her people to his capricious will as their Emperor, shared the fate of Yturbide.

With the defeat and exile of the second Napoleon, who proved faithless to all his engagements made on coming to power, may we not safely assume that the providential wheel of government of the people, by the people, for the people, has passed its centre; that the doctrine of popular sovereignty "has come full circle" and has set the pace at which human civilization is destined to march, until the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp; the weaned child shall put his hand on the basilisk's den; and the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea?

Mussulman would arouse your warlike ardor. But your understanding and your qualities are so good that a little reflection will calm you thoroughly. . . . War, excepting the case of legitimate defence, that is to say, unless it is made for the welfare of one's country and in defence of its homes, is simply a barbarity, a ferocity which differs from that of a savage and ferocious beast only by greater skill, deceit, and futility in its object. . . . This is enough on that head. I can only conclude by repeating what I have often said to you—a man should fight for his country only."

His neglect of this advice about war cost the son an empire and humiliations from which death could only be a welcome relief.

That the lesson of Louis Napoleon's life and death might not be too soon lost to the memory of that portion of the world still in need of its instruction, his widow, whose picturesque career raises the tales of the Thousand and One Nights almost to the dignity of history, though happily spared in a measure the fate of her unfortunate sister of Belgium, shares another fate scarcely less pitiable. Like Salathiel, she still tarries, one of the most unhappy of mortals, an empress without a country.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, 15 Dec., 1866.

Sir:

Your private letter of the 30th of November has been received and submitted to the President. He directs me to commend your diligence and to express satisfaction with the disposition of the French Government in regard to the withdrawal of troops from Mexico, as it has been explained to you.

I am, Sir, etc.

As our legation had to concern itself no longer with the French occupation of Mexico, my readers must naturally have an interest in glancing at the fifth and last act of this the greatest international tragedy of modern times, to the dénouement of which the three preceding years and the most anxious of my life had been specially consecrated.

Maximilian having determined, as fully as his fickle nature could determine anything, to remain as long as he could an emperor, without further regard for him, Bazaine proceeded to carry out the instructions of his own imperial master, and

A.D. 1829 Mrs. John Bigelow A.D. 1889

called in at once all the scattered detachments of his army and arranged for their repatriation immediately, instead of by detachments as had been his Majesty's orders previous to my visit to St. Cloud. As the troops were thus called in for their march to the seacoast, every day witnessed some new diminution of Maximilian's empire. Oajaca fell into the hands of Porfirio Diaz. Matchuala and San Luis Potosi soon followed. On the 12th of December, 1866, Guadalajara was abandoned.

Querétaro was the rallying-point of Bazaine's army and the last place where the flag of his imperial master was permitted to wave in Mexico.

In accord with the orders of Napoleon, Bazaine took with him all the troops upon which Maximilian had a right to confide. Instead of staying in his capital, Mexico City, as he should have done, Maximilian rallied all of what he called his army, about ten thousand men, at Querétaro. Meantime the republican army had been concentrated in that neighborhood under the command of Escobedo. In two or three months after the departure of Bazaine and his army, Maximilian found himself besieged at Querétaro by the Juarist forces. Among the companions of Maximilian was Lopez, a mercenary wretch who had acquired his confidence. Before the dawn of the 15th of May, 1867, for which time Mejia had planned a sortie, Lopez treacherously showed the soldiers of Escobedo the way into the city, while several cannon had been brought by the Juarists to bear upon the city. It was soon apparent to Maximilian that resistance only involved fruitless bloodshed. From a piece cut from one of their tents the imprisoned party manufactured a white flag which was given to the breeze. Escobedo soon arrived, and in his hands Maximilian placed his sword. Maximilian was conducted to the Convent de la Cruz, where he had been residing during the siege and was now lodged as a prisoner. Mejia, Castillo and Miramon were taken prisoners at the same time.

What to do with the captives was now the chief preoccupation of the victors. Five years before, at an early stage of the French occupation, a law decreed the punishment of death to invaders of the army of occupation and their accomplices.

A dispatch from the Minister of War was soon received by Escobedo, directing that a council of war should be called and the cruel law which had been enforced against the defenders

of the republic should be enforced against its flagrant enemies, Ferdinand Maximilian of Hapsburg, calling himself "Emperor of Mexico," Generals Mejia, Castillo and Miramon.

This news found Maximilian exhausted by dysentery and suffering from a high fever. Magnus, the Austrian Minister, procured the ablest counsel to be found for the archduke's defence. The military court convened the 13th of June. The trial was opened by the reading of the following indictments presenting the offences for which the prisoners were to be tried:

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE
AND OF THE WAR AND NAVY DEPARTMENTS.

SECTION I[a]. Upon occupying by force of arms the city of Querétaro, you reported that there were captured there 8000 soldiers and more than 400 generals and other officers of the army, among them Ferdinand Maximilian of Hapsburg, calling himself Emperor of Mexico. Before deciding upon any action regarding the prisoners, the Government has wished to consider the case with calm and deliberation appropriate to the gravity of the circumstances. It has put aside such sentiment as may have been inspired by a prolonged war, desiring only to hear the voice of its lofty duties toward the people of Mexico. It has thought not only of the justice with which the laws might be applied, but also of the necessity there might be of applying them. It has considered how far clemency and magnanimity may be carried and the point which cannot be passed without disregarding justice and conditions necessary to insuring peace, to protecting legitimate interests, and to maintaining the rights and the future existence of the republic.

Statement by the General-in-Chief of the Crimes for which the Prisoners were to be tried by the Court Martial

After Mexico had suffered all the misfortunes of a civil war for fifty years; when the city had finally succeeded in having the laws and constitution of the country respected; when it had repressed and subdued certain corrupt classes, who, to satisfy their own private interests, were sacrificing all the interests and all the rights of the nation; when peace and tranquillity revived as a consequence of a wish of the city and the impotence of those who wished to subject it—then the more ignoble of the vanquished classes appealed to the stranger, hoping to

gratify with his help their cupidity and vindictiveness. They were to further the ambition and indolence of a strange monarch, and foreign intervention and treason presented themselves to the republic iniquitously associated with each other.

The Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian of Hapsburg allowed himself to become the principal instrument in this iniquitous enterprise which has afflicted the republic for five years with every kind of crime and every sort of calamity.

He came to oppress a people, intending to destroy the constitution and its laws, without any other rights than a few votes extorted by the presence and force of foreign bayonets.

He came voluntarily to assume the gravest responsibilities condemned by the laws of all nations and which were covered by various preëxisting laws of the republic, the last being that of January 25, 1862, enacted to define offences against the independence and security of the nation, against the law of nations, against the rights of individuals, and against order and public peace.

The notorious actions of Maximilian include the majority of responsibilities specified in this law.

Not only did he lend himself to serve as an instrument of foreign intervention, but also to wage for himself a war of filibustering, bringing with him Austrians and Belgians, the subjects of nations that were not at war with the republic.

He tried to subvert forever the political institutions and government with which the nation had freely provided itself, and arrogated to himself supreme power without other title than the votes of the few persons named and delegated by the foreign invader or coerced by the presence and threats of foreign force.

He disposed by force alone with the legitimate title of the lives, the rights and the interests of the Mexican people.

He promulgated a decree barbarously prescribing the assassination of Mexicans who defended or would not report those who defended the independence and institutions of the country.

In accordance with that barbarous decree and its enforcement, he caused numerous executions of distinguished Mexican patriots even before it could be presumed that they knew of the promulgation of that decree.

He ordered his own soldiers, or authorized, under the false pretence of being chief of the nation, the soldiers of the foreign invader, to burn or destroy many entire villages in Mexico, especially in the states of Michoacan, Sinaloa, Chihuahua, Coahuila and Nuevo Leon.

He ordered his own agents, or authorized the agents of the foreigner, to assassinate many thousands of Mexicans to whom was imputed as a crime the defence of their country.

And when the armies of the foreign power withdrew and he saw the

whole republic risen in their place, he still wished to surround himself with some of the men who had been most culpable in the civil war, employing all the means of violence and depredation, of death and desolation, in order to maintain to the last moment his false title, which he refused to surrender until obliged by force.

Among those men who wished to preserve it to the last moment, intending to consummate all the consequences of treason to the country, the said generals Miguel Miramon and Tomas Mejia, who occupied prominent positions in Querétaro as generals-in-chief of bodies of troops of Maximilian, figure as ring-leaders.

Both therefore had a grave responsibility for having kept up the civil war for many years, without stopping at the most culpable acts and being always an obstacle and constant menace against the peace and consolidation of the republic.

Article 28 of the aforesaid law provides that the penalties imposed therein be applied summarily to criminals caught in the act or in act of war subject to the identification of the persons.

As both circumstances are combined in the present case, the notoriousness of the acts would suffice to require procedure under this article of the law.

Nevertheless the Government, wishing to use its ample powers in a way to secure the fullest justification of its proceedings, has resolved that they be conducted as the same law provides in other cases, in order that hearing be given to the defence which the accused may wish to make and sentence be pronounced in accordance with justice. The President of the republic has accordingly decided that you institute proceedings against Ferdinand Maximilian of Hapsburg and his said generals, Miguel Miramon and Tomas Mejia, the trial to be conducted in entire accordance with articles 6–11, inclusive, of the law of January 25, 1862, which are those relating to the form of judicial proceeding.

Respecting the other officers and functionaries taken at Querétaro, you will please send to the Government a list of them, specifying the classes or offices which they respectively occupied with the enemy, in order that proper action may be taken in accordance with the circumstances of the case.

Independence and Liberty. S. Luis Potosi, May 25, 1867.

M. Escobedo.

Of course the trial was a formality. The alleged crimes of the prisoners had been read and known of all men to have been persistently prosecuted for the three or four preceding years. The conviction of the prisoners was inevitable, but the penalty

prescribed for their crimes awakened a lively sympathy for them, because the instigator, organizer and responsible promoter of the conspiracy for which they were tried was not also brought to justice, being outside of the jurisdiction of the court. There was a feeling of indulgence for the accessories, upon whom the penalty was threatened which was due only to the absent principal. The diplomatic representative in Mexico of nearly every civilized government received instructions to solicit from President Juarez the pardon of the archduke under whatever conditions he might prescribe. Mr. Seward also tried to appeal to the magnanimity of Juarez, but the disturbed condition of the country prevented his appeal from reaching the President of Mexico in time to be of any use. Nor is it probable that the result would have been different had it reached Juarez in time. He knew full well that those who cross the seas change their skies but not their dispositions, as witness the examples of Yturbide, Santa Anna, Miramon and Almonte. He knew also that no faith could be placed in any pledges that Maximilian might give as to his future behavior, and he apprehended, not without good cause, that the moment Maximilian returned to Europe he would begin anew to conspire and intrigue in Rome, in Paris, in Vienna, and with the defeated monarchical party in Mexico, to embarrass the constitutional administration of Juarez's government; that clemency to the archduke might prove to be only less criminal in the President of Mexico than were the crimes themselves which he was punishing.

Juarez probably decided wisely, for Mexico has enjoyed a degree of peace and prosperity during the forty years since Maximilian's execution such as she had never enjoyed in her history before and such as could hardly have been expected of her had such a nucleus of conspiracy and intrigue been tolerated as the survival of Maximilian might easily have proved.

So soon as the news of the execution of Maximilian transpired, numerous appeals were made to Juarez for the privilege of taking the remains of the fallen Emperor back to his native land. They were severally denied. At last Austria selected Admiral Tegetthoff, who had escorted Maximilian on his visit to Brazil in 1857 and who defeated the Italian fleet in the waters of Lissa in July, 1866, which won for him the rank of Vice-Admiral and the general direction of the Austrian

marine, to repair to Mexico and in his unofficial character to make the same appeal. Lerdo de Tejada, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Juarez, asked by what authority he came. Tegetthoff replied: "I thought the Mexican Government would prefer me to come without an official mission and only as an ambassador of the family—of the Archduchess Sophia, the mother of the deceased archduke."

But in this he was mistaken. The Minister of Juarez required an official request from Austria or a written application from the family of the archduke. The Prime Minister of Austria, Beust, was finally compelled formally to solicit the surrender of the remains of the archduke in the name of his Government and thus officially recognize the restored republican order of things in Mexico. The request thus made was granted without further hesitation. The frigate *La Novara,* which had brought Maximilian to Mexico, took back to Europe his remains, which found final repose in the sepulchre of his ancestors in Vienna.

While the fifth act of this imperial tragedy was being enacted at Vienna, one who should have been its chief mourner, her

> "Sovereign reason,
> Like sweet bells jangled, out of tune and harsh,"

was aimlessly wandering through the park of her brother's palace at Laaken, still, providentially, as insensible of her own fate as of that of her deluded husband.

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